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HISTORY *of the* MONGOLS

FROM THE 9th TO THE 19th CENTURY.

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PART III.

THE MONGOLS OF PERSIA.

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BY

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TO

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR A. CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,

AND

M. CHARLES SCHEFER,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, ETC., ETC.

IT is very grateful to me to be able to associate this volume of a long and laborious work with the names of two friends whom I hold in high esteem, and whose reputation is world-wide—Sir Alexander Cunningham, who for forty years has studied so well, and so much to our profit, the archæology and history of India, and who is not less known for his urbanity and high character than for his deep and scientific knowledge of the East; and M. Charles Schefer, the *doyen* of French Orientalists, whose encyclopædic knowledge of the history, literature, and art of the Muhammedan world are unrivalled, and who has always been ready and willing to put his knowledge and his skill at the service of others.

My two friends will, I know, somewhat qualify their fastidious standards in judging of a work so multiform and so full of perpetual difficulty as the present, and they will not be displeased that a student who has learnt so much from their labours should wish to associate their names with his own.

May the golden autumn of their lives be prolonged, and may we continue for many years to profit by their ripe and matured judgment, and by the harvest which they have sown and reaped.

PREFACE.

FIVE years have elapsed since the appearance of the previous volume of this work, a longer period than I had intended, and justified only on the ground of my indifferent health and very engrossing occupations in other fields. Those who have been over the ground, or some part of it, will perhaps admit that this new instalment contains a good deal of honest work. Its author knows too well that it is full of imperfections. His original purpose was not to produce a final work; finality is not the fate of any human undertaking. We cannot control the languid attention, the dull eye, and the hasty thought. They are the continual companions of the best of us at times, and more especially do they stand by us when our head is aching, and our health is fragile. To travel away from the beaten track of scholars into the great tangled jungle of Eastern history is in itself a toilsome task. To bring together and to reconcile the various versions of the same tale, told by imaginative Eastern story-tellers, is too often a despairing duty. Having done so, to make a chronicle of the whole so that it can be understood even, is by no means the easiest of labours. Beyond this it is nearly hopeless to venture. When the matter has to be packed so closely that there is no room of any kind for ornament or rhetoric, and every sentence is the statement of a new fact, it is impossible to indulge in the luxury of style. All this binds down the weary author, and robs his work of its philosophy. Nay, more, it not only clips his wings and makes him cling to the humble ground, but it too often leads to obscurity, and nearly always to dulness. All this I know and feel better than my critics can. Beyond the ordinary blemishes which disfigure all histories when carefully tested, this one has the further weakness which it shares with much Eastern story, in that the spelling of the proper names is uncertain, and in many cases irregular and inconsistent. When myriads of names, recorded by various writers with various modes of transcription, have to be reduced to a common orthography, it is almost impossible to avoid many slips; and unfortunately, when the reader looks over the pages he cannot realise or guess the tremendous labour involved in the compilation of a few phrases, even where the matter has had to be sifted from the reading of many books, nor can he recognise the very large number of cases where a mistake has been corrected and a blot removed. His careful eye naturally sees only "the flies in the ointment," and these motes in his brother's eye are too often made the excuse for ignoring the beam in his own. I have no fear that real students will be too exacting. They will accept the imperfect as inevitable, and try to improve it. If their path has been lightened by my labours, I cannot wish for a better justification of my own.

Jingis Khan was succeeded as Imperator of the Mongols by his second son, Ogotai, and he by his son Kuyuk. By a curious fortune the supreme rule in the Mongol world, on the death of Kuyuk, fell into the hands of the descendants of Jingis Khan's youngest son, Tului. For a while the families of Ogotai and Tului struggled, but the former were presently overwhelmed, and the Mongols, properly so called, still obeyed princes descended from Tului when they were conquered by the Manchus.

While one branch of this family controlled the furthest east, another became supreme in Persia. When Tului's son Mangu Khakan succeeded Kuyuk, as Imperator of the Mongol world, he dispatched his brother Khulagu to conquer Persia. The empire thus founded by Khulagu, which lasted for a hundred years, is the subject matter of the following pages. The story is an interesting one in many ways. Khulagu was a mere nomade chief, with the antipathy to civilisation and to town life which was shared by his grandfather Jingis. His path was marked by ravage and destruction, and his army was a plundering horde—ruthless, cruel, disciplined, brave, and, indeed, endowed with the usual virtues of the desert. He swept away the pernicious power of the Ismaelites or Assassins, who, under the mysterious chieftain known in Europe as the Old Man of the Mountain, had planted a number of strong fortresses in the hilly country of Demavend. He compelled the various petty princes of Kerman, Luristan, Yezd, and Fars to do him homage. He did the same with the Christian rulers of Georgia and Little Armenia, and the Mussulman rulers of Iconium. His greatest feat, however, and one which greatly altered the course of Eastern history, was his destruction of Baghdad, and of its famous line of pontiff rulers, the Abbassidan Khalifs. The Khalifate was presently revived as a mere shadow by the Mamluk rulers of Egypt, with its seat at Cairo, but the institution as a potent fulcrum and focus of Muhammedan power was extinguished by Khulagu. His merciless troops also laid waste Mesopotamia and Syria, and reduced the princes of those flourishing cradles of the arts to the condition of the desolated province of Khorasan. The followers of Khulagu were really a nomade army, moving each season into winter and summer quarters, and not a settled body of colonists. Their trade was that of herdsmen, qualified by that of soldiers. They were Shamanists by religion, their aristocracy largely patronising Buddhism.

Nomades the Mongols remained until their conversion to Muhammedanism, a conversion which had a very important effect upon Eastern history. What might have been the course of Asiatic annals if they had remained Shamanists is not easy to picture. Muhammedanism, in the first place, brought in its wake culture. Never, probably, did literature flourish so marvellously in Persia as during the reign of Ghazan Khan and his successors. No nobler specimens of Eastern architecture exist than the magnificent ruins of Sultania, which was built by the Mongols; while the finest brass work of Mosul dates from the same era. In the second place it induced the invaders to adopt a sedentary life instead of a nomadic one. They planted cities, and largely ceased to move hither and thither with their herds. In the next place, it broke the ties which the Mongols had with the Christian principalities in the East, the Crusaders, the kings of Cilicia or Little Armenia, the rulers of Georgia, the emperors of

Constantinople and Trebizond. It also interfered very largely with the permeating influence of the crowds of Franciscan and Dominican friars, who planted convents in almost all the great towns of the East, under the tolerant shield of the early Mongol khans, and thus interwove for a while threads of European culture with the web of Eastern life. Lastly, it tied together once more, if somewhat loosely, the various states of the East which accepted Islam, into a virtual confederation of allies, and eventually, no doubt, broke down and enervated the power of the conquering caste, as was the case in China, and led to the rapid emancipation of the country from their yoke, a result which proved to be by no means an unmixed blessing. The Mongol supremacy in Persia was also marked by a remarkable succession of able administrators. Whether this was due to the central authority being a strong one, and affording opportunity for skill in this respect, I will not profess to decide; but it would be difficult to find in Eastern history a more remarkable example of good government, and of its best theories put into practice, than that presented by the reign of Ghazan Khan, whose laws and regulations remind us of the far-seeing prudence and wisdom of Akbar. Of course the lives of even the best of these men were continually in peril, and few viziers of the Ilkhans died peaceably. Their very ability and uprightness made the best of them the eventual victims of jealous and envious masters. As has been well said: "In the East the death of an official is not too often the result of his ill deeds, but only a means of appeasing the cupidity of an avaricious tyrant."

While Muhammedanism went through these vicissitudes in Persia, it reached its highest point of culture and prosperity in Egypt and in India, where the most active spirits of that faith naturally took refuge, and under their patronage were built the magnificent tombs of the Mamluk Sultans at Cairo, and the equally splendid palaces and mosques erected contemporaneously by the Muhammedan rulers of Delhi.

Abel Remusat has summed up in some graphic paragraphs the general effects of the Mongol invasion of the West, which I shall not hesitate to appropriate. He refers to the great moral revolution in the affairs of the world caused by bringing together the civilisations of the East and West, which had hitherto grown apart, without communication, and without mutual influence. It was not only by means of the many stately embassies which passed to and fro, but also by the more humble journeys of merchants, missionaries, and of those who naturally follow in the wake of armies. The invasion of the Mongols opened the various roads which had hitherto been closed, and brought men of all races together, while one of the chief consequences of their invasion was the transportation of whole peoples to and fro. Among the royal princes who made their way to the heart of Asia, to press their interests there, were Sempad, the Orpelian; Haithon, King of Armenia; the two Davids, Kings of Georgia; Yaroslaf, Grand-Prince of Russia, and many others. Italians, Frenchmen, Flemings, &c., went on the same errand as envoys to the Great Khan. Mongols of distinction came to Rome, Barcelona, Valencia, Lyons, London, and Northampton. A Franciscan from Naples became Archbishop of Pekin, and was succeeded by a Professor in the Faculty of Theology from Paris. These were all famous people, whose names were likely to be preserved; but what crowds of

obscure folk must have followed the same way, drawn by the double temptation of gain or curiosity to visit the unknown and romantic East. Accident has preserved the names of some of them. The first envoy to the King of Hungary on the part of the Tartars, was an Englishman who, having been banished from his country for various crimes, became a vagabond in Asia and eventually joined the service of the Mongols. A Flemish Franciscan met in the depths of Tartary with a woman from Metz, named Paquette, who had been captured in Hungary, a Parisian goldsmith, whose brother had a shop on the great bridge at Paris, and a young man from Rouen, who had been present at the capture of Belgrade. He also met with Russians, Hungarians, and Flemings there. A chanter, named Robert, after traversing Eastern Asia, returned to die at the cathedral of Chartres. A Tartar made helmets for the army of Philip le Bel, as we learn from the receipts of the Treasury between 1296 and 1301, preserved in a manuscript in a French library. Plano Carpini found a Russian at the Court of Kuyuk, acting as interpreter there; and the Franciscan friar himself tells us how he was accompanied on his journey by merchants from Breslaf, Poland, and Austria. Others accompanied him on his return by way of Russia; among them Genoese, Pisans, and Venetians. Two Venetian merchants, whom accident took to Bukhara, joined an embassy which Khulagu sent to his suzerain, Khubilai. After spending some time in China and Tartary they returned with letters from the Great Khan for the Pope, returning again to the Great Khan, taking with them one of their sons, the famous Marco Polo, whose narrative is such a mine of materials for Eastern history and geography. Both uncles and nephew returned again to Venice. Similar journeys were not less frequent in the next century, as we know from the fantastic story of Sir John Mandeville, Odoric of Friuli, Pegoletti, William de Bouldeselle, and others. Many such adventurers doubtless remained and died in the far East. Many others returned home as obscure as they went, and no doubt told famous stories in the monasteries and the lordly castles, where such visitors were always welcome. Such travellers would take with them a knowledge of many handicrafts, as well as precious objects. Silks and porcelain from China and from India thus probably became familiar objects in the West of Europe, which had been shut off from intercourse with the East since Roman times. Curiosity was everywhere stirred, and curiosity is the great mother of progress. It was proposed to found a chair at the University of Paris for the study of Tartar; and how far reaching the effects may have been we can perhaps gather from the fact that it was in search of the "Zepangri" of Marco Polo that Christopher Columbus set out to discover a new world. Nor was the influence only on one side. The Mongols probably introduced Indian figures into China, as they introduced the Mussulman methods of astronomy. The New Testament and the Psalms were translated into Mongol by the Latin Archbishop of Khanbaligh. It was the Mongols who founded the hierarchy of Lamaism in Tibet, in which they seem to have combined the dogmas of Buddhism with the ritual of the Nestorians. It was the Mongols who probably introduced the knowledge of the mariner's compass, which had long been known in China, into Europe. Gunpowder had been used by the Hindus and Chinese from early times. It apparently first became known in Europe after the Mongol invasions, and doubtless through

their influence. Paper money was another early Chinese invention, the introduction of which by the Mongols into Persia forms an interesting incident in the following pages; and it is curious to find the traveller Josaphat Barbaro telling us how he learnt from an intelligent Tartar whom he met at Azof, in 1450, and who had been as envoy to China, how this kind of money was annually printed there, as he says, "con nuova stampa." Lastly, playing cards, whose origin is so interesting, because they would appear to have been among the first efforts of engraving on wood, were known in China in 1120, and were very likely introduced through the Mongols. It is at least curious that the earliest playing cards used in Europe, in the so-called "Jeu de tarots," were in their shape, their designs, their size and number, similar to those used by the Chinese. It may be that printing from wooden blocks also came to us from the far East by the same channel.* Thus, again, the Shan-pan, or arithmetical machine, of the Chinese was introduced into Russia and Poland, where it is still universally used by the women who cannot read, in their calculations. In speaking of this interchange of most fertile ideas and inventions through the agency of the Tartars, Remusat says it was by the *mortal* struggle of nations that the dark clouds of the Middle Ages were dissipated. Catastrophes which seemed to bring only suffering to the human race, in fact awoke it from the lethargy into which it had fallen for centuries, and the destruction of twenty empires was the price which Providence exacted from Europe for the civilisation which it now enjoys.†

One of the main difficulties I have had in writing the following volume, a difficulty which has prevented the story from flowing evenly, has been the necessity of incorporating the history of the various subordinate principalities under the suzerainty of the Mongols in Persia, with the main story. It must be remembered that while the invaders in many cases conquered large districts, and exacted allegiance from the conquered, they allowed them to continue subject to their own rulers; and I have felt bound, therefore, to collect and interweave in my narrative the events which occurred in the dependent principalities. So that what follows is not merely the history of the Ilkhans in Persia, but also that of Herat, Kerman, Fars, Luristan, Mardin and Hosn Kaifa, Rum, Little Armenia, and Georgia, all of which had rulers of their own during the Mongol domination.

I have also endeavoured to arrange and tell in detail the confused and yet important history of the various fragments into which the Ilkhans' empire was broken up, a story which has been hitherto almost entirely neglected; so that this volume may be accepted as a fairly complete history of Iran and its borders, from the invasion of Khulagu to the conquests of Timur.

The next volume will comprise a more obscure, but perhaps more interesting, section of the work, namely, the history of the descendants of Jagatai, who ruled at Almaligh and Kashgar, and also the history of Timur and his descendants. It is partially written, and I hope I may have health and strength

* This was the view of Paul Jovius, who has the following very remarkable sentence on the subject: "Cujus generis volumen à rege Lusitaniæ cum elephante dono missum Leo P. humaniter nobis ostendit, ut huic facilé credamus hujus artis exempla, antequam Lusitani in Indiam penetrarant, per Scythas et Muscovitas ad incomparabile litterarum præsidium ad nos pervenisse."

† Memoirs French Academy, vii. 409-419.

to finish it. The main authority for the history of the Ilkhans is of course the great history of Rashid ud din, the vizier and historiographer of Ghazan Khan, and the continuation of it, devoted to Ghazan's successors. This work was partially printed, translated, and edited, with very elaborate notes, by Quatremere. It seems a duty incumbent on French Orientalists to complete what he so well began. The same work has been digested by the two Western historians of the Mongols; D'Ohsson, who has devoted the two last volumes of his work to this dynasty, and Von Hammer, who wrote a monograph upon it, in two volumes. They have also incorporated much material from other sources, Eastern and European. I need not say that these three works have been continually before me, as has also Major Raverty's edition of the "Tabakat-i-Nasiri," the notes to which are so much disfigured by rancour and bitterness, and so wanting in references. I have carefully used both the Syriac and Arabic chronicles of Abulfaraj Bar Hebræus, and the annals of Abulfeda, which are accessible in translations. My friend Mr. Guy Lestrange has generously placed at my disposal a MS. translation of the "Tarikeh Guzideh" of Hamdullah. In addition to these authorities, I have continually used the very valuable "Georgian Chronicle" which has been published by Brosset since the works of D'Ohsson and Von Hammer were written; and have incorporated the material preserved by the Armenian historians, especially the Chronicle of Haithon, and those of Makaria, Guiragos, &c., only recently made accessible. For the later story I have chiefly used Dorn's memoir on the Serbedarians, Quatremere's paper on the Muzaffarians, the Chronicle of Herat, published in the "Journal Asiatique," &c., &c. It will be seen that I have made considerable use of coins in fixing chronology, &c., and have searched the writings of Frœhn, Dorn, Tiesenhausen, and Stanley Poole. The last of these, a close friend of mine, has also supplied me with notes from his own examination of the Russian collections. Another generous friend of mine, Dr. Rieu, has continued his kind services. To him I owe the notices of the later history of Great and Little Luristan, of Hosn Kaifa and of Mardin, and other help. I hope I have duly acknowledged all particular obligations whenever I have used an authority.

I must ask my readers, before they pass judgment upon any statement in this volume, as in the previous ones, to see that it is not corrected or modified in the too long list of notes and errata. The fact is, my scanty means, upon which this publication is a heavy burden, will not allow of repeated corrections of proofs. The consequence is that, between my indifferent sight and writing and the human frailty of my friend the printer, the list of errata has grown considerably. As previously, no doubt my critics will find fault with the absence of an index; for this I must ask them to wait until the conclusion of the work is reached.

In again sending out a volume dealing with an unattractive and seldom traversed field of human inquiry, I hope I may have eased some student's burden, and done somewhat to build up, or at least to supply materials for, that vast palace of history which it will take many generations of patient workers to complete. Meanwhile, I will conclude with the words of a much greater man than myself: "Nescio benevoli auditores, an vestram patientiam his nugis fatigaverim, meam certe eas scribendo fatigavi."

CHAPTER I.

THE PREDECESSORS OF KHULAGU.

WHEN Jingis Khan drew off his forces beyond the Oxus, he left a terrible waste behind in Khorasan and Afghanistan. His campaign south of that river had been one of revenge against the Khuarezm Shah rather than one of conquest. He had chased him with the pertinacity of a blood-hound, till he brought him down and had driven one of his sons into the recesses of India and the other into those of Southern Persia, but he does not seem to have treated the intervening country as a permanent addition to his Empire. Khorasan and the country east of it, as far as the Indus, was virtually reduced to a wilderness, and as we shall see, was shortly after, at least nominally, re-occupied by the Khuarezmians. The Mongol possessions towards Persia, on the withdrawal of Jingis, may be roughly drawn at the southern limits of the modern Khanates of Bukhara and Khiva. South of this, the land was reduced to desolation.

Well might the Mussulman and Christian world shrink down upon its knees in the presence of such a terrible visitation. "We pray to God," says Ibn al Athir, "that he will send to Islam and to the Mussulmans some one who can protect them, for they are the victims of the most terrible calamity, the men killed, their goods pillaged, their children carried off, their wives reduced to slavery or put to death, the country, in fact, laid waste."* Juveni says that in the country traversed by the Mongols, only a thousandth part of the population remained, and where there were previously 100,000 inhabitants there remained but a hundred. "If nothing interferes with the growth of population in Khorasan and Irak Ajem from now to the day of resurrection," he adds, "it will not be one tenth of what it was before the conquest."† Pachymeres also reports how the terror of the Mongol arms reached the Court of Byzantium, where the Emperor John Ducas put his fortresses in order, and where popular rumour painted the invaders as having dogs' heads, and eating human flesh.‡

In order to understand the subsequent movements of the Mongols in Persia, we must enter in some detail into the history of the sons of the Khuarezm Shah Muhammed. Of these, Rokn ud din had been killed by

* D'Ohsson, i. 350. Note. † *Id.*, 351. Note ‡ Stritter, iii. 1028.

the Mongols in the fortress of Sutun-avend. Jelal ud din was a fugitive in India, while Ghiath ud din had taken refuge in the strong fortress of Kharendar, in Mazanderan. After the retreat of the Mongols, Irak again became the scene of a struggle between two Turks, the Atabeg Togan Tayissi* and Edek Khan, who divided the province, the latter taking Ispahan. Edek was speedily defeated and killed by Togan, whereupon Ghiath ud din, who repaired to Ispahan, gave him his sister in marriage and received his submission. In a short time he found himself master of Irak, Khorasan, and Mazanderan.†

Meanwhile, Jelal ud din, when he heard of the retreat of Jingis, having received an invitation from some officers in Irak, who were discontented with Ghiath ud din, determined to return to his paternal dominions. Leaving his General Uzbeg in charge of his conquests in India and Hasan Karak, styled Vefa Malik of the countries of Ghur and Ghazni, he traversed Makran, leaving a portion of his followers in its unhealthy climate, and with but 4,000 men arrived in Kerman, where Shuja ud din Abul Kasim, who nominally commanded there on behalf of Ghiath ud din, was having a struggle with a rebel named Borak, styled the Hajib or Chamberlain. Borak was a native of Kara Khitai, and a near relative, probably the brother of Jai Timur i Baniko or Taniko, the son of Kalduz, who commanded the forces of the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai, and was defeated and made prisoner in 1210 A.D., by Muhammed Khuarezm Shah. Borak and his brother, Husam ud din Hamid-i-Bur, had been previously sent by the Gurkhan to Khuarezm during the reign of Sultan Takish to collect tribute. They had settled there, become Muhammedans, and Borak himself rose in the Sultan's service to the position of a Hajib or Chamberlain.‡ After the retreat of the Mongols, Borak had joined Ghiath ud din, and, according to D'Ohsson, had been appointed Governor of Ispahan. With him Ghiath ud din marched into Fars, where he defeated the Atabeg Said, and committed great ravages and afterwards withdrew. This was in 620 HEJ. He seems now to have quarrelled with Borak, who left him and set out intending to go to India to the Sultan Shams ud din Altamsh, who, like himself, was a native of Kara Khitai. D'Ohsson says he quarrelled with Ghiath ud din, and asked permission to go and join Jelal ud din Khuarezm Shah in India. As he traversed Kerman he was attacked, near Giruft, by Abul Kasim, who held Kuwashir, otherwise called Kerman, the capital of that province, on behalf of Ghiath ud din.

Borak defeated and slew his assailant, who was captured and put to death, and he was about to attack Kuwashir, whose citadel still held out under Abul Kasim's son Shuja ud din, when he heard of the arrival of Jelal ud din, to whom he offered presents and the hand of his

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* *Tayi*, says D'Ohsson, means maternal uncle in Turkish, and *Tayissi* means the uncle. Togan was Ghiath ud din's maternal uncle. (D'Ohsson, iii. 13. Note.)

† D'Ohsson, iii. 2-3. ‡ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 283, 1118. Notes.

daughter. Kuwashir opened its gates to the Sultan, who appointed Borak his deputy in Kerman. Borak presently began to show signs of treachery; but, being advised that it would not be prudent to punish the first chief who had submitted to him, Jelal ud din determined to move on to Fars, and confirmed Borak in his authority as Governor of Kerman, which he seems to have held as a dependent of Jelal ud din till the latter's death, and then on his own behalf. His descendants ruled for 86 years, the dynasty being known as that of the Kara Khitaians of Kerman.*

At this time the Atabeg Abubekr Said, son of Zengui, ruled at Fars. He was descended from a Turk named Salgar, whence the dynasty was known as that of the Salgarids. Said sent his son with 500 horsemen to welcome Jelal ud din to Shiraz, but he excused himself from going in person, on the ground that he had made a vow never to present himself there. He was, in fact, much irritated against the Khuarezmians, on account of the raid Ghiath ud din had recently made; but he sent his son, Salghur Shah, with 500 horsemen to do the Sultan honour. With him he sent splendid presents, among which Habashi, Hindi, and Turkish slaves are especially mentioned. Said was given the title of Farzandkhan, and confirmed in his authority. Jelal ud din also cemented this friendship by marrying his daughter.

Thus did he prudently make his harem a bond of union between himself and his greater dependents. He also took Said's son with him. Quitting Shiraz, Jelal ud din marched on towards Irak to oust his brother. The latter, a feeble and voluptuous prince, was incapable of repressing the anarchy which had followed the invasion of Jingis. Each district had its petty tyrant, who had the *khutbeh* said in the name of Ghiath ud din, but paid him no tribute. While he, having no money to pay his Turkish mercenaries with, was constrained to let them plunder. Their officers when discontented were rewarded with higher titles—an Amir became a Malik and a Malik a Khan.† On his way, Jelal ud din was joined by the Atabeg Ala ud daulah, who had ruled over Yezd for 60 years, and was a lineal descendant of the last of the Dilem rulers of the Buwiah dynasty.‡ Jelal ud din having reached Ispahan, advanced upon Rai, where Ghiath ud din was collecting his forces. The former had given his men white standards, like those of the Mongols. The latter had mustered a force of 30,000 cavalry, with which he, however, withdrew. Jelal ud din sent his brother a friendly message, to say he had merely come to visit him, but seeing he was hostile to him he proposed to retire again. Taken in by this message, Ghiath ud din returned to Rai and disbanded his troops. Meanwhile, Jelal ud din had corrupted his generals and sent them rings as pledges of his goodwill. News of this having reached his brother, he had his agent arrested, but Jelal ud din, who felt sure the

* D'Ohsson, iii. 5-6. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 283, 295. † D'Ohsson, iii. 7-8.
‡ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 296. Note.

troops were with him, marched on, although with but 3,000 men. His brother fled, but presently went to his camp and offered his submission.

Jelal ud din was now generally recognised, and the various petty chiefs of Khorasan, Mazanderan, and Irak deemed it prudent to offer their allegiance, and were treated with generosity. He then marched to punish the Khalif Nasir, who had been most unfriendly towards his father, and was accused of having invited the Mongols to invade his dominions. He ravaged Khuzistan, laid siege to its chief town, Shuster, and advanced as far as Ya'kuba, or Bakuba, seven parasangs from Baghdad. The army of the Khalif, commanded by Kush Timur, consisted of 20,000 men. A battle ensued, in which, although his troops were much weaker, Jelal ud din planted an ambuscade, and the result was that Kush Timur was defeated and killed. This defeat was followed by the capture of Dakuka, and of the Prince of Erbil, who had marched to the assistance of his suzerain, the Khalif.* This is Mirkhond's story; Ibn al Athir says nothing of his capture, but tells us he made peace with Jelal ud din.†

Jelal ud din, for some reason, now abandoned his enterprise against Baghdad, and turned towards Azerbaijan, then subject to the Atabeg Uzbeg. Having reached Meragha, he proposed to rebuild it, but set out again to encounter Togan Tayissi, already named, who was maternal uncle to Ghiath ud din, and who, having been invested with the districts around Hamadan by the Khalif, had made a profitable raid upon Arran and Azerbaijan, and had a great collection of cattle, &c., the result of his foray around his camp. Jelal ud din made a night march, and at dawn Togan, who had married his sister, disconcerted by the unexpected appearance of the Imperial umbrella, which marked his presence and that of his troops, deemed it best to submit, and returned with him to Meragha. Meanwhile, Uzbeg Ibn Alpehluvan, the Prince of Azerbaijan, who, as we have seen, had been very accommodating to the Mongols, left Tebriz and went towards Gandza, or Kantzag, the capital of Arran, leaving his wife, a Seljuki princess, in charge of his capital. Jelal ud din attacked it. In five days the citizens surrendered. The Sultan reproached them for having put to death the Khuarezmian fugitives the year before, when they sent their heads to the Mongols. They laid the blame on Uzbeg. Having occupied Tebriz, he made over the town of Khoi and some other possessions in Azerbaijan to Uzbeg's wife, and then set out for Georgia.‡

When the Mongols invaded the steppes north of the Caucasus, the Kipchaks who lived there dispersed. One section of them retired through Derbend, and lived for awhile in the country of the Shirvan Shah, much to the discomfort of the latter.§ They eventually took possession of Derbend, and then marched to Kabala, a town of Georgia, situated on

* D'Ohsson, iii. 11-12. † Weil, iii. 390. Note 3. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 14-15.
§ Ibn al Athir, Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xiv. 463-466.

the left bank of the Kur, near Berdaa. Its chief made overtures to them to join him in conquering the neighbouring districts. They thereupon refrained from molesting his people for a few days, when their predatory instincts overcame them, and having plundered after their wont, they passed on to Arran, and settled near Kantzag. Kushkareh, a freed slave of Uzbeg, Prince of Azerbaijan and Arran, who then ruled there, treated them well by order of his master, and they were assigned a camping ground on the mountain of Kielgun (*i.e.*, "like a navel"). The Georgians, who were then at constant feud with the Mussulmans, and doubtless feared the proximity of such marauders, attacked them, but were defeated with terrible losses.*

The following year (1224) they were amply revenged, however. The Kipchaks were defeated and dispersed. Many of them were waylaid by the inhabitants of the country, the Georgians and the Lesghs joining in the work, so that Kipchak slaves were sold at Derbend for very small prices.† The Georgians, apparently animated by this success, invaded Arran, and attacked the town of Bailekan, whose inhabitants were busy restoring it after its devastation by the Mongols. Having captured it, they slaughtered the inhabitants, and behaved even worse than the Mongols.‡ The Georgians now attacked Surmari, a dependency of Ashraf, Prince of Khelat, where they suffered severely. In 1225 they advanced against Kantzag, but were obliged to raise the siege after a short time. They were not more fortunate in a campaign against Shirvan, whose ruler had appealed to them to assist him against his revolted son. They were defeated here, as they also were in a raid they made upon Azerbaijan.§ At this time they seem to have been a scourge in fact to their Mussulman neighbours all round. They were preparing a fresh expedition to revenge their recent defeat in Azerbaijan, when Jelal ud din arrived at Meragha, as we have mentioned. They thereupon made overtures to Uzbeg for a common alliance against the Khuarezm Shah.‖ The latter was burning to revenge the wrongs suffered by the Mussulmans. He sent a messenger to declare war against the Georgians, and they bravely replied that the Tartars who had destroyed his father had been forced to withdraw before them. They mustered a force of 70,000 men. Having captured Tovin, he sacked the country round. The Constable Ivaneh informed his mistress, Queen Rusudan, of his approach, and was ordered to go and meet the enemy. Jelal ud din encamped his army at Karni, or Garhni, one of the most ancient towns of Armenia, situated in the district of Kegh'arkunik and the province of Siunik.¶

The two brave brothers, Ivaneh and Shalwa of Akhal Tzikhé, were put in the advance guard. The Constable was apparently jealous

* *Id.*, 468. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 201-202. † Ibn al Athir, Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xiv. 468-470.
‡ *Id.*, 472. § *Id.*, 472-481. ‖ *Id.*, 481. ¶ Vartan, Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xv. 280.

of these two chiefs, and refused to march the main army to help them when hard pressed. The Georgians were accordingly defeated. Shalwa was captured and treated well for some time by the Sultan, but was put to death a few months later for refusing to apostatize. Nissavi says for carrying on treasonable correspondence with the Abkhazians. His brother was killed in the fight by a stone rolling down upon him.* Another account says that Shalwa had smeared his face with blood, and lay down among the corpses to escape detection, when he was captured. The Georgians are said to have lost 20,000 out of their army of 70,000.† Vartan accounts for the defeat of Ivaneh as a punishment for a gross act of sacrilege which he had committed in disinterring and burning the remains of a saint named Parcecht, and immolating a dog on his tomb in derision of the crowd of pilgrims who had gone there attracted by the saint's relics. Ivaneh was attached to the Georgian Church, which was in union with that of Constantinople, and had a strong antipathy to the Armenians, who were tainted with the Eutychian heresy, and were not deemed orthodox.‡ After his defeat Ivaneh retired to the fort of Kheghi (the *Georgian Chronicle* says to Bejni). The Khuarezmians now overran Georgia as far as the frontier of the Abkhazians, and would have marched to Tiflis, but Jelal ud din was recalled to Tebriz by an impending revolt in favour of Uzbeg.§ Leaving his army in Georgia, under his brother, Ghiath ud din (Ibn al Athir says Tiflis was left in charge of Ak Sonkor, a mamluk of Uzbeg), he went there, put to death the *reis* or mayor of the town, and arrested the conspirators. Having married Malika, the wife of Uzbeg, who was divorced from the latter by a legal fiction, he captured Kantzak, the capital of Arran (whence Uzbeg fled to Alenjik, near Nakhchivan), after which he returned to Georgia.‖ Uzbeg shortly after died.¶ The Georgians, after their defeat, had mustered a force, comprising Alans, Lesghs, Kipchaks, &c., which was speedily crushed, and the district of Somkheth was devastated. Jelal ud din then marched upon Tiflis, whence Rusudan had retired to Kuthathis, leaving a garrison in the place in charge of two chiefs, named Memna and Botzo. Some Persians, who guarded one of the gates of the city, proved treacherous, and opened a way for his men. The citizens were mercilessly slaughtered, except those who would accept Islam. The men were circumcised in large numbers, and the women ravished. The *Georgian Chronicle* gives some ghastly details, and compares the catastrophe to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus. The churches were ruined, and the sacred images torn down. This was a terrible blow to the cause of Christianity north of the Caucasus, of which the Georgians were a famous bulwark, and Ibn al Athir speaks of the event with corresponding elation.

* Brosset, Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 497-500. † Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xiv. 482-483.
‡ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 280-281. § Brosset, Hist. de la Géorgie, 308. ‖ D'Ohsson, iii. 17.
¶ Brosset, Add., 312.

The *Georgian Chronicle* describes how Jelal ud din proceeded to ravage the surrounding districts, Somkheth, Kambejian, the banks of the Yor, Karthli, Trialeth, Javakheth, Artan, Samtzkhe, Tao, Carniphora (Kars), and Ani.* The wretched Georgians were pursued into the country of the Abkhazians, into which numerous raids were made, and Georgian slaves were sold for two or three gold pieces each.†

The Ayubit prince Ashraf, lord of Harran and Roha, was brother to Moazzam, Sultan of Damascus, and Khamil, Sultan of Egypt, all three being nephews of the great Saladin. Moazzam had a very high opinion of Jelal ud din, and used to wear a robe and to ride a horse which he sent him, and used also to swear at his banquets by the head of Jelal ud din. Being at issue with his brothers, he sent to urge the Khuarezmian prince to attack Khelat, also called Akhlat (situated on the northern shores of Lake Van), which was subject to Ashraf.‡ This was a sufficient temptation, and the Sultan accordingly marched thither, but hardly had he begun the siege when he raised it, on hearing that Borak was meditating revolt in Kerman, and had informed the Mongols of his (Jelal's) increasing power. He thereupon marched against him, reaching Kerman on the eighteenth day from leaving Tiflis, only 300 horsemen having kept up with him. Borak retired to a strong fortress, and sent envoys with his submission to Ispahan. These Jelal received affably, and confirmed him in his government.§ Meanwhile, some of Jelal ud din's troops having made a foraging expedition towards Erzerum, were attacked on their return by the people of Khelat, who secured the booty they were carrying off.

Nissavi tells us that during the Sultan's absence, Sherif ul Mulk, his Vizier, remained in charge of Tiflis, and devastated the country by numerous raids. He was prodigal in the largess he distributed, but was not favourably looked upon by the generals of Jelal ud din (who are referred to as "the Khans" by our author), except Ur Khan. News having arrived that the Vizier was being pressed, at Tiflis, by the Georgians, the latter went to his assistance with 5,000 men, but the tidings proved to be false. Presently the Sultan returned in person, and the prodigal Vizier gave 4,000 gold pieces to the messenger who brought the news, and a fresh devastation of Georgia was the consequence.‖ Jelal ud din now marched to attack Ani, where the Constable Ivaneh had sought refuge with the *débris* of his army. He invested it, as well as Kars, but found them too strong, and again returned to Tiflis, whence, by way of a ruse, to persuade the people of Khelat that he was a long way off, he made a ten days' raid into Abkhazia, and then speedily advanced upon Khelat, which he would have captured but for some traitors in his camp, who duly informed its governor. He arrived there on the 5th of November, 1226, and attacked

* Op. cit., i. 507. † Ibn al Athir, Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xiv. 494-495. Brosset, Add., 313.
‡ Novairi, in D'Ohsson, iii. 18. § D'Ohsson, iii., 18-19. ‖ Brosset, Add., 315-316.

it vigorously; but the citizens, knowing what they might expect at the hands of the Khuarezmians, resisted bravely. Meanwhile Ashraf went to Damascus, and persuaded his brother Moazzam to ask Jelal ud din to withdraw. This he did not do, however, until compelled by the severity of the weather, and by a raid which some Turkomans, called Ivanians, had made into Azerbaijan. He thereupon hastily left, cut off the retreat of the freebooters, put them to the sword, captured their wives and the booty they had made, and then returned to Tebriz. This was in December, 1226.*

Jelal ud din now went again to superintend the siege of Khelat (called Akhlat by Nissavi). In the autumn, Sherif ul Mulk went with his troops into winter quarters at Kantzak. Presently, profiting by the absence of the Sultan and the weakness of the garrison, the Georgians at Kars, Ani, &c., assembled a force, with which they attacked the capital. It was abandoned by Kar Mulk, who was then in charge. Knowing that they were not strong enough to hold it, they set fire to the town.†

Jelal ud din now invaded the territory of the Ismaelites or Assassins, to punish them for having killed one of his officers who had been given the fief of Kantzag. He next attacked a body of Mongols which had traversed the desolated districts of Khorasan and appeared at Dameghan. This, we are told, he pursued for several days. It was doubtless a small reconnoitring body merely.

Jelal ud din's temper, and the asperity of his troops, having caused discontent, which was fanned by the intrigues of his wife, recently the wife of Uzbeg, who regretted her new position, induced Hussam ud din Ali, who commanded at Khelat for Ashraf, to enter Azerbaijan, where he captured the towns of Khoi, Merend, and Nakhchivan, with other fortresses, while he carried off the discontented lady with him to Khelat.‡ Jelal ud din had to postpone his revenge, on account of the approach of a more dangerous body of Mongols.

It would seem that it was an army sent by the Mongol Governor of Transoxiana, or of Khuarezm. Rashid ud din says the invaders marched with five divisions, under the Generals Taji, Baku, Assatogan, Taimaz, and Tainal, and drove before them a detachment of 4,000 men, whom Jelal ud din had posted towards Rai and Dameghan. He himself made his head quarters at Ispahan, which was approached by the Mongols. He was very self-possessed, and when his generals reported the enemy's approach, created much confidence by his *sang froid*. Having pressed his officers to prove themselves men, he had the armed citizens mustered by the kadhi and reis of the town. The Mongols detached 2,000 horsemen to the mountains of Lur for foraging purposes. They were waylaid in this difficult country, and 400 of them captured. Jelal ud din handed a portion

* D'Ohsson, iii. 20-22.

† Nissavi, in Hist. de la Géorgie, Add., &c., 316.

‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 22-23.

of them to the rabble of Ispahan, who killed them, while others he slew with his own hand in the palace court. Their bodies were left to the vultures and dogs.* The astrologers having fixed the 26th of August, 1227, as a fortunate day for the fight, Jelal ud din ranged his men in order of battle, when he was treacherously abandoned by his brother Ghiath ud din, and by the General Jihan Pehluvan Ilchi (*i.e.*, by the Uzbeg already named, as left by him in command of the troops when he left India), with their troops. He nevertheless determined to fight. The battle was fought in the evening. His right wing, under Otuz or Uz Khan, drove back the left of the enemy as far as Kashan. Jelal ud din was reposing on his laurels, when he was urged to pursue his enemies by one of his officers. Advancing confidently, his left and centre were attacked by a body of Mongols placed in ambush in a ravine, a favourite stratagem of theirs. His officers died at their posts like men, and he himself fought desperately, and with his own hand slew his standard-bearer who was attempting to fly; but it was of no avail—there was a general flight. Some went towards Fars, others to Kerman, others again to Azerbaijan,† while those who had lost their horses remained at Ispahan. The successful division, which had advanced towards Kashan, having turned and learnt what had taken place, also disbanded. The Mongols had suffered too severely, however, to renew the fight, and withdrew by way of Rai and Nishapur. They lost a great many men in the retreat, and recrossed the Oxus much weakened.‡ For eight days Jelal ud din lay *perdu*, and it was proposed at Ispahan to elect a fresh ruler, and to plunder the harem and goods of the Khuarezmians. The Kadhi persuaded the citizens to wait till the feast of Bairam, when at the hour of prayer, if the Sultan had not returned, he proposed they should put the Atabeg Togan on the throne. Jelal ud din, who had fled to Luristan (according to Ibn al Athir to Khuzistan, whence, not being well received by the Khalif's deputy, he went to the Ismaelites), returned on the day of the feast, and was received with great joy. He delayed a few days at Ispahan, to await the return of the fugitives, and rewarded his generals of the right wing, conferring the title of Khan on those who were merely Maliks. Those who had misbehaved were promenaded through the town with women's veils about their heads. Meanwhile, Ghiath ud din had retired to Khuzistan, where he sought an alliance with the Khalif. The ill-will between the two brothers had come to a head a few days before the recent battle. Muhammed, son of Kharmil, of an illustrious family, and a favourite of Jelal ud din, had taken into his service some troops who had detached themselves from Ghiath ud din, on account of arrears of pay. The latter, annoyed at this, had, after an altercation at a banquet given by his brother, run a poignard into Muhammed.

* D'Ohsson, iii. 24-25. † *Id.*, 26. ‡ *Id.*, 27.

Jelal ud din, who was naturally enraged, declared that he no longer felt any obligations towards him, and should not protect him if the relatives of the murdered man claimed the blood-penalty, while he ordered the latter's funeral *cortège* to pass twice in front of the door of his assassin.* Ghiath ud din, as I have said, sent to the Khalif, offering to serve him faithfully, and asking for his aid. His envoy was well received and given a subsidy of 30,000 dinars.

Meanwhile, Jelal ud din, having sent a body of troops in pursuit of the Mongols as far as the Oxus, repaired to Tebriz. He was playing at his favourite game of polo in the great square of the town, when he heard that his brother was marching against Ispahan. He threw down his mallet and hastened to the rescue. Learning *en route* that Ghiath ud din had retired to the fortress of Alamut, in the country of the Assassins, he demanded his surrender from the famous chief of the Ismaelites. The latter replied that Ghiath ud din was a Sultan, and the son of a Sultan, and he could not think of surrendering him. He would, however, guarantee his good behaviour, and he gave Jelal ud din leave to ravage his territory if his guest behaved badly while he harboured him. Jelal ud din professed to be satisfied, and was ready to overlook the past, but Ghiath ud din was apparently not reassured, and preferred to retire to Kerman. There the ambitious Borak insisted upon marrying his mother, who accompanied him. She refused for a long time, but as he was all-powerful she had to give way. Presently, two of Ghiath ud din's dependents having plotted to kill Borak, the latter heard of it and had them cut in pieces before his eyes. Ghiath ud din himself was then strangled with a bowstring, and his mother suffered the same fate, while the 500 companions who had gone with him were also put to death.† Thus perished another son of the Khuarezm Shah Muhammed. Borak sent the head of the murdered prince to Ogotai Khan as a peace-offering, which secured the friendship of the Mongols, who confirmed him in the possession of Kerman.‡

The Kankalis and Kipchaks were closely connected with the Khuarezm Shahs, who intermarried frequently with their chiefs, whence the pertinacity of Jingis Khan in attacking them. Jelal ud din, after his defeat at Ispahan, had sent to ask assistance from them. They assented; and we are told that Kurkhan, one of their leaders, embarked on the Caspian with 300 picked men, and went to join him at Mughan, where he passed the winter. It was arranged that Jelal ud din should secure the Pass of Derbend in the Eastern Caucasus, by which alone a substantial force could reach him from Desht Kipchak. A body of 50,000 Kipchak families marched to aid in its capture, while the Sultan tried to negotiate with the young prince who ruled at Derbend, and with his

* D'Ohsson, iii. 30. † *Id.*, 33. ‡ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 284 Note.

Atabeg, Al Asad (*i.e.*, the lion), for the surrender of the place in lieu of certain fiefs, &c., but the plan failed.* We now read of Jelal ud din securing the district of Gushtasfi, situated between the Araxes and the Kur. This belonged to the Shirvan Shah, and was made over to the latter's son, Jelal ud din Sultan Shah, whose father had sent him apparently under constraint into Georgia, with the intention that he should marry the daughter of the famous Queen Rusudan. When the Khuarezm Shah overran Georgia he was released.† Jelal ud din claimed tribute from the Shirvan Shah, as the successor of the Seljuki who, when master of Arran, had exacted tribute from him.‡

Having spent some time at Mughan, Jelal ud din sent an army under Ilek Khan, which captured Lôré, in the district of Tashir, the principal town of the Orpelians, and then advanced along the Lake of Erivan. The Georgians fell on him at night and defeated him, whereupon the Sultan withdrew his army.§ Meanwhile, the Georgian Queen Rusudan and her Constable Ivaneh had assembled a force of 40,000 men, consisting of Georgians, Armenians, Alans, Serirs, Lesghs, Kipchaks, Suans, Abkhazes, and Janits (the Jiks of the *Georgian Chronicle*). Jelal ud din, although his army was very inferior in numbers, marched against them, and pitched his camp at Mendur. His Vizier, Sherif ul Mulk, counselled a delay, but received a blow on the head with a writing-case for his pains, and was told that a lion should not fear a flock of sheep like that. He was also mulcted in a fine of 50,000 dinars. When the two armies drew near together, the Sultan made overtures to the Kipchaks, who to the number of 20,000 were in the right wing of the opposite army, and recalled the services he had done their people, whereupon they drew off. He then proposed to the Georgians that they should enter into a truce, and that each side should send a champion and let them fight in view of both armies. He himself went out to encounter the Georgian hero, and pierced him through with his lance. He also killed three of his sons, as well as a fifth champion, a man of gigantic size, after which he gave the signal for the struggle, and notwithstanding the treaty, charged the Georgians, who were defeated.‖ The *Georgian Chronicle*, in describing these events, says that when Rusudan heard of Jelal ud din's approach, she summoned all the troops from both sides of Mount Likh. Shahanshah, the chief of the Mandators; the Generalissimo Avak (son of Ivaneh); Varam-Gagel, chief of the Makhurs; those of Hereth, Kakheth, Somkheth, Jawaketh, Meskhia and Tao, the Dadian Tzotné, the Abkhazians, and the Jiks. She opened the Gates of Dariel, and summoned the Osses, the Durdzuks, and all the mountaineers. Having gathered them together at Najarmagef,

* Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xiv. 505-507. † *Id.*, 507-509. ‡ *Id.*, 509-510.
§ *Id.*, 510. ‖ D'Ohsson, iii., 34-35.

they traversed Tiflis, and encountered the invaders in the Valley of Bolnis. The Georgians were defeated and fled, and Jelal ud din re-entered Tiflis, and re-enacted the massacres and ravage of his previous visit.*

He now proceeded to waste the territory of Vahram, the Armenian Prince of Shamkor (a town situated in the Province of Udia, west of the Kur), the Varam-Gagel of the *Georgian Chronicle*, who had recently plundered the environs of Kantzag, close by. The Sultan captured Sékan, or Sagam, and Ali Abad. He then besieged Kak (Gaga) and another fort, which were constrained to sue for peace, and to pay a ransom. Sending his baggage through Kakezvan, or Gaghzvan, a town situated in the district of Gapéghean, north of the Araxes, he himself went by way of Nakhchivan, and again defeated the Georgians near Pdchni, or Bejni, and having delayed for a few days to arrange the affairs of Khorasan and Irak, went on to renew the siege of Khelat.† This he pressed during the winter of 1228, during which he received a visit from the Seljuk Prince of Erzerum, Rokn ud din, Jihan Shah, who presented him with 10,000 dinars, and a more valuable gift in the shape of a great catapult and some shields and weapons. The Princes of Amid and Mardin also submitted, and consented to have the khutbeh said in his name. The Khalif Nasir had died in 1225, soon after the defeat of his General Kush Timur, and was succeeded by his son Zahir, who in nine months gave place to his son Mostansir. The latter sent an envoy, requesting that the Sultan would not exercise any rights of suzerainty over the Princes of Mosul, Erbil, Abuyeh, and Jebal, who were his feudatories, and that he would re-insert the Khalif's name in the public prayers in Persia, whence it had been excluded by his father Muhammed. Jelal ud din consented willingly to these requests, and sent an envoy in turn to the Khalif, who soon returned with some officials bearing the robe of investiture of Persia for Jelal, together with some rich presents. The Khalif styled him Khakan, and also Shahin Shah, but would not consent to give him the title of Sultan. Thenceforward he called himself servant of the Khalif in his letters, and styled the latter his lord and master.‡ He now ordered a splendid tomb to be prepared for his father's remains at Ispahan, and pending its building, had them removed to Erdehan, near Demavend, and ordered his aunt, with a grand *cortège*, to escort them from their resting-place in the island of the Caspian, where he had died. Muhammed of Nissa, the biographer of Jelal who wrote her the order, did it unwillingly. He was afraid the Mongols might return, and desecrate the tomb, for, deeming the graves of all kings they met with connected with the Khuarezm Shahs, they treated them accordingly. Thus they tore Mahmud, the great Ghaznevid chief, who had been dead for more than two centuries, from his sepulchre. Muhammed's fears proved to be justified, for eventually the Mongols captured Erdehan, and the ashes

* Brosset, Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 510.
† Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xiv. 510-511. ‡ D'Ohsson, op. cit., 35-37.

of the greatKhuarezm Shah were sent to the Khakan in Mongolia, who had them burnt.

At this time, Jelal ud din had a correspondence with the Seljuk ruler of Rum, Alai ud din Kai Kobad, and the latter asked that his son Kai Khosru might marry his daughter, and thus unite more closely the buttresses of Islam, in the east and west; and that Jelal would surrender to him his cousin and vassal, the Prince of Erzerum, who had behaved badly to him. Jelal ud din refused either to give his daughter to the Seljuk chief, or to surrender his guest; while his Vizier, Sherif ul Mulk, who was annoyed at the paucity of their master's presents, treated the envoys with marked incivility, and boasted that if the Sultan would permit him, he would enter their country with his own troops only, and conquer it. When they returned home, Kai Kobad, disgusted with this treatment, resolved to ally himself with his rival Ashraf.*

Meanwhile, Jelal ud din continued his feud with the latter prince, and especially pressed the attack against Khelat. The siege continued for a long time, and at length, after an obstinate resistance, the town fell, on the 2nd April, 1230,† one of its Amirs having surrendered it by treachery. Contrary to the wishes of the Sultan, and under pressure from his generals, the place was given up to be sacked for three days, and a great number of the inhabitants perished. The garrison had suffered severely, and the fare of the besieged citizens had gradually deteriorated. Ibn al Athir thus enumerates the descending scale: Sheep, cows, buffaloes, horses, asses, mules, dogs, cats, and even mice; and he goes on to declare that God, the Most High, to punish Jelal ud din for his conduct at Khelat, did not permit him to survive its capture long.‡ Abulfaraj says a Damascus pound of bread cost an Egyptian gold piece. Thamtha, daughter of the Constable Ivaneh, the Georgian wife of Ashraf, who was living at Khelat, was captured there, and was married by the conqueror, who also took prisoners Yakub and Abbas, two young brothers of Ashraf. He distributed the lands of the district of Khelat among his generals.§ Ashraf was the brother of the Sultan of Egypt, who had appointed him to the Principality of Damascus, and received in exchange Harran, Roha, Suruj, Reesain, Rakka, and Jemelein. On the capture of Khelat, he accepted the overtures of the Seljuk Sultan of Rum, and also demanded help from the Princes of Aleppo, Mosul, and Mesopotamia. Kai Kobad joined him at Sivas, and together they marched towards Khelat. On his side, Jelal ud din sent out Chaushes and Pehluvans to summon his own dependents, and on the advice of the Prince of Erzerum, marched to meet the advancing enemy to Khartpert, hoping to attack each army separately; but he fell dangerously ill there, and his enemies succeeded accordingly in uniting. Kai Kobad had 20,000 horsemen, and Ashraf 5,000 picked men. He, on

* D'Ohsson, iii. 39-40. † Brosset puts it a year earlier. Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 513, Note 1.
‡ Journ. Asiat., 4th ser. xiv., 500-501. § D'Ohsson, iii. 41-42.

the other hand, had not recalled the contingents from Arran, Azerbaijan, Irak, and Mazanderan, whom he had dismissed to their homes: while one division of his army was delayed at Manazguerd under his Vizier, and a second body was besieging Berkeri. Nevertheless he resolved upon a fight, and met his opponents at Erzenjan. He was very badly beaten, and lost most of his men. Among the prisoners was the Prince of Erzerum, who had promised to hand over to Jelal ud din a portion of the territory of his cousin Kai Kobad, and instead, lost his capital, his fortresses, and treasures. The Khuarezmian officers captured were put to death, while the fugitives fled to the mountains of Trebizond and to Georgia. Alai ud din was received with an ovation by his people, Christians and Mussulmans alike. Jelal ud din fled to Manazguerd, and drawing off the troops who were laying siege to it, retired upon Khelat, where he pillaged what could be carried off, and burnt the rest. He also took with him Ashraf's brothers and his Georgian wife, and departed for Azerbaijan, leaving his Vizier at Sekman Abad, to watch the enemy. He at length halted near the town of Khoi, and found himself deserted by his generals. Meanwhile, however, the two allies, who apparently deemed him their best bulwark against the Mongols, did not press their advantage. Ashraf, in fact, made overtures for peace, which were at first rudely spurned, and Jelal for some time also refused to entertain a friendly disposition towards Kai Kobad, whom he deemed a traitor to himself in having joined the Prince of Syria, and only consented to do so in view of another formidable Mongol invasion.*

On the death of Jingis Khan, and in the spring of 1229, Ogotai was nominated his successor at a great kuriltai held on the banks of the Kerulon, as I have described.† At this kuriltai, it was determined to send two armies towards the west—one against Kipchak and Southern Russia, whose doings I have chronicled,‡ the other against the family of the Khuarezm Shah. The latter was commanded by the Noyan Churmagun, or Charmaghan.§ Von Hammer says he was a Jelair, and Major Raverty a Mangkut—I know not on what authority, for Rashid ud din distinctly tells us, that like several other great Amirs, he was a Sunid. He had belonged to Jingis Khan's body guard.‖

As he was nominated to such a responsible post, he was doubtless a person of great reputation. The Armenian historian, Chamchean, gives a list of the Mongol chiefs who accompanied him (I give it in his corrupt orthography, which I have no means of correcting): "Benal Noyan and Mular Noyan, Ghataghan, Chaghata, Tughata, Sonitha, Jola brother of Charmaghun, Asutu, Bachu (Baichu), Tutu, Khuththu, Asar or Aslan,

* D'Ohsson, iii. 46-47. Abulfaraj, Chron. Arab., 307. † Ante, i. 116.
‡ Ante, i. 137-155. ii. 38, &c.
§ He is called Charman, Charma, Chorma, Chormakhan, and Charmaghan, by various Armenian authors. Rashid ud dun always calls him Charmaghun. Abulfaraj, in his "Syriac Chronicle," Sharmagun; and in his Arabic one, Jurmaghun. St. Martin Memoires, ii. 272. Note 31.
‖ Erdmann, 178.

Ogota, Khola or Khoga, Khurunji, Khunan, and Ghatapugha or Karabugha." Stephen Orpelian mentions Charman, Chagatai, Arslan, Asavur (*i.e.*, Yassaur) and Ghadaghan.* The *Georgian Chronicle* mentions but four commanders, Charmaghan, Chaghata, Yosur (*i.e.*, Yassaur), and Bechui (*i.e.*, Baichu), each at the head of 10,000 men.† Others tell us the army was 30,000 strong, and comprised contingents from the various Mongol appanages. Chin Timur, who governed Khuarezm for the family of Juchi (*i.e.*, the princes of the Golden Horde), was also ordered to join him with his troops. The latter accompanied him to Khorasan, where he remained as governor, with four colleagues representing the four branches of the family of Jingis, namely, Kelilat, Keulbilat, or Kalbad, nominated by the Khakan, Nussal by Batu, Kul Tuga by Jagatai or Chagatai, and Tunga by the widow and children of Tului.‡ The author of the "Tabakat i Nasiri" says the force under Charmaghan numbered 50,000 Mongols, together with those of other races of Turkestan and captives of Khorasan, in all about 100,000 men.§

Charmaghan speedily traversed Khorasan, and advanced by Esferain and Rai. The *Georgian Chronicle* says his men were much molested by the Mulahids or Assassins.‖ Meanwhile Jelal ud din, under the impression that the Mongols would winter in Irak, went from Khoi to Tebriz, but withdrew on learning from one of his pickets that they had reached the district between Zanjan and Ebher. Leaving his harem at Tebriz, he thereupon repaired to the plain of Mughan, where he proposed to muster his men, and awaiting their arrival he, with but a thousand fellowers, spent his days in hunting and his evenings in dissipation. Meanwhile he sent the governors of Khorasan and Mazanderan to watch the enemy, with orders to plant post-horses at Erbil and Firuzabad. He was suddenly attacked by a body of them, near the fort of Shirkebut, situated on a height in the Mughan plain. He barely escaped, and fled towards the Araxes, whence he turned towards Azerbaijan, and on arriving at Mahan, which was well stocked with game, he sent his prisoner, Yakub, to his brother Ashraf, to bid him march to the rescue. Jelal ud din's Vizier, Sherif ul Mulk, who, as we have seen, had a grudge against Ashraf, and was not faithful to his own master, being ordered to send an envoy to accompany Yakub, gave him perverse instructions, at issue with those of Jelal ud din. The Vizier had conveyed his master's harem into Arran, and lodged it in the fortress of Sind-Surakh, and deposited his treasures in several forts belonging to the chief of the Turkomans of Arran. He then repaired to Khizan, where he raised the standard of revolt, his grievance being that the Sultan had interfered with his management of the revenue. When the latter was surprised at Mughan he had written to the Sultan of Rum and the Prince of Syria, offering, if they would make over Azerbaijan and Arran to him, to do

* St. Martin Memoires, ii. 123 and 272. Note 31.
† Brosset, Hist. de la Geor., i. 511. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii 103-104. § Op. cit., 1116. ‖ Op. cit., 511.

homage for those provinces, and to have the khutbeh there said in their names. In his letters he had referred to Jelal ud din as "the fallen tyrant." He now endeavoured to tamper with the various Khuarezmian officers, and to induce the Turkoman chief already named to keep a firm hold on the harem and treasures in his care. Jelal ud din, convinced of his treachery, issued orders that he was no longer to be obeyed. This is the account given by Nissavi. Novairi reports that the Vizier's discontent was due to the extreme prodigality and extravagance of his master, which also alienated from him the goodwill of some of his generals.* Having passed the winter of 1231 in the plain of Mahan, he heard the Mongols had left Aujan to search him out, and set out for Azerbaijan. On passing the fortress where the Vizier was living, he summoned him to his presence, professing to be ignorant of his treachery. He appeared with a cord about his neck, and Jelal ud din did him the unusual honour of offering him a cup of wine, it not being usual for the Khuarezmian sovereigns to feed with their viziers. But this was only an apparent civility, and he was really deprived of all authority. Meanwhile revolts broke out in various parts of Azerbaijan and Arran, where the people presented the heads of the Khuarezmian officers as a peace-offering to the Mongols. Nissavi succeeded in collecting a considerable contingent in Arran, whereupon the Mongols again retired to Aujan. They were speedily busy again, however, and a Mussulman officer in the service of Taimaz, one of their generals, was sent to summon Bailekan. Taken before Jelal ud din, who promised him his life if he reported truly the strength of the enemy, he said that when reviewed at Bukhara, Charmaghan's army numbered 20,000 fighting men. The Sultan ordered the man to be killed, for fear his troops should be disheartened by the statement.† Meanwhile he repaired to Jarapert, near Kantzag, in the mountains of Artsakh, where he issued orders for the arrest and execution of the Vizier. On seeing the guard who were commissioned to put him to death, he asked for a few minutes' respite. Then, having performed his ablutions, said his namaz, and read a piece of the Koran, he remarked on the fate of those who relied on the word of an ungrateful person. Being asked if he preferred to die by the sword or the rope, he chose the sword. "It is not usual to decapitate grandees," was the reply, and he was strangled.‡

Meanwhile, a revolt broke out at Kantzag, where the Khuarezmians were killed. Jelal ud din marched to the town, which, after a show of resistance, surrendered, and thirty of the principal malcontents were beheaded. The Sultan spent fifteen days at Kantzag, and, much against his inclination, determined to ask help from his recent foe, Ashraf, the Prince of Syria, who, hearing that his envoys were on the way on this errand, withdrew to Egypt, and sent them courteous but insincere letters

* D'Ohsson, iii. 50-51. † *Id.*, 52-54. ‡ *Id.*, 54-55.

to Damascus, offering to send help, but really meaning to stand aloof. Jelal ud din then sent to Ashraf's brother, Mozaffer Gazi, who had been appointed the Chief of Khelat by Ashraf, to go to him with the Princes of Amid and Mardin. Nissavi was chosen as his envoy, and he was to promise to reward Mozaffer with a large accession of territory; but he did not expect much from these Turkish princes, whose policy was generally limited to their own advancement. Mozaffer said he could do nothing without the consent of his brothers, the King of Egypt and the Prince of Syria; that his contingent would be so small that it would be of little assistance to the Sultan; that he could not do homage to Jelal ud din without also doing it to Kai Kobad, the Seljuk ruler of Rum; and that the Princes of Amid and Mardin were not subject to him. Nissavi warned him that by standing neutral, he would fail to share in the division of the spoil if Jelal ud din succeeded, while if defeated, he would be at the mercy of the Mongols. He merely replied he was not his own master. It seems they had written to the Khalif and other princes, counselling them not to assist Jelal ud din.*

Meanwhile the Mongols continued their advance. A letter, borne by a pigeon from Perkri, announced that they had passed that town; and Nissavi, on returning from his embassy, found only the harems and baggage of the army at Hany, the Sultan himself having withdrawn to Jebel Jor. He had been joined by a Mongol officer, who had deserted on account of some punishment he had undergone. By his advice, Jelal ud din abandoned his baggage and posted his men in ambush, so that he could fall on the Mongols while they were pillaging. Otuz Khan was commanded to make a feint with 4,000 men, and to draw them on into the ambush; but he was afraid, and returned with the misleading message that they had abandoned the district of Manazguerd. Jelal ud din thereupon left his retreat and went to Hany, where, after an interview with Nissavi, who reported the result of his fruitless mission, it was determined to go to Ispahan. While *en route* thither a messenger came from Masud, Prince of Amid, who tried to persuade him to conquer Rum, which he urged would be easy; master of this, and secure of an alliance with the Kipchaks, he might then make head against the Mongols. Masud himself promised to join him with 4,000 horsemen. This suggestion was made out of revenge, Kai Kobad having conquered several fortresses from him. Jelal ud din approved of the plan, and went towards Amid. On the way he had been spending an evening in drinking, when a Turkoman arrived and reported that he had seen some strange troops at the place where the Sultan had passed the previous night. Jelal ud din declared this to be a lie, and a trick of the Prince of Amid, but he was undeceived in the morning, when a body of Mongols surrounded his

* *Id.*, 57-58.

tent while he was in a drunken sleep. Their commander is called Baimas Noyan by Abulfaraj.* His general, Orkhan, charged them with a body of his men, while some of his officers rushed into his tent, put a small white tunic upon him, and seated him on horseback. He only thought of one of his wives, the daughter of the Prince of Fars, whom he ordered two of his officers to escort. He himself fled towards Amid with only 100 followers. Its gates he found closed against him, so he sped on to Mesopotamia. The Mongols were in pursuit, and by the advice of Otuz (called Uz Khan by Raverty) he determined to double upon them. He arrived at a village of Mayafarkin, and dismounted at a farm, intending to spend the night. Otuz Khan left him there, and at dawn he was again surrounded by them. He had barely time to mount, and most of his people were killed. The Mongols having heard from their prisoners that the Sultan was there sped after him to the number of fifteen. Two overtook him, but he killed them both, and the rest could not reach him. He then escaped to the mountains (one of the mountains of Sophane, says Abulfaraj), and was captured by some predatory Kurds. They stripped him, as was their wont, and we are told his saddle, girdle, and quiver were more than usually loaded with precious stones. They were going to kill him, when he disclosed himself to their chief, asked him to conduct him to Mozaffer, Prince of Erbil, who would reward him, or else to escort him to some part of his dominions, and promised to grant him the title of malik if he saw him safe. He therefore took him home with him, and left him with his wife while he went to look for his horses. Meanwhile a Kurd who came up asked who this Khuarezmian was, and why he was not put to death. She told him who he was, and said he was under the protection of her husband. The Kurd thereupon said, "Jelal ud din, at Khelat, killed my brother, who was a better man than himself," and he struck him dead with his javelin. This was on the 15th of August, 1231.

Thus perished the last of the Khuarezm-Shahs. His biographer describes him as brave to excess, calm, grave, and silent, laughing only at the tips of his lips. He spoke both Turkish and Persian.† He was of middle stature, with a Turkish face and a dark complexion, his mother having been a Hindoo. As D'Ohsson says, he was rather a brave and reckless Turkoman chief, than a skilled general or sovereign. Pillage, drinking, and music were not put aside, even in the presence of the Mongols. He did not know how to conciliate his troops, who being paid irregularly, had to eke out their income by rapine, which again increased his unpopularity. While at Tebriz there died a young eunuch slave to whom he was much attached; he had a magnificent funeral prepared for him, followed the corpse himself on foot, and ordered his troops

* Chron. Arab., 308 (? a corruption of Taimaz). † D'Ohsson, iii. 63.

to do the same. He was angry with the people of Tebriz because they did not show sufficient concern for the corpse, and ordered that when his meals were brought to him, some meat should also be taken to the body, while he had a slave put to death who ventured to tell him his favourite was dead.* He was, in short, a fickle, reckless, eastern Sybarite, with a great deal of courage and energy.

Some time after his death, Mozaffer, Prince of Erbil, sent for his bones, which were buried in a mausoleum, but the rumour arose (his death having been so obscure) that he was still alive, and it was reported that he had been seen in several places, especially in Persia. A person at Ispahan professed to be him, and the Mongols had him seized and examined by people who knew the Sultan, and then they put him to death. Twenty-two years after his disappearance, a poor man dressed as a fakir, in crossing the Jihun, told the boatmen: "I am the Sultan Jelal ud din, Khuarezm Shah, who it is said was killed by the Kurds in the Mountains of Amid. It was my squire who was thus killed, and I have travelled for many years without letting it be known." The Mongols seized him and put him to the torture, but to his last breath he continued to affirm the truth of his story.† Major Raverty reports a more circumstantial tale. He says, Sheikh Ala ud Daulah al Byabanki of Simnan relates as follows:—"When at Baghdad, I used daily, at noon, to wait upon the pious and venerable Sheikh Nur ul Hak wa ud din, Abd ur Rahman i Isferaini. May his tomb be sanctified. I happened to go upon one occasion, at the usual hour, and found him absent from his abode, a rather unusual occurrence at that time of the day. I went again on the following morning, and inquired the cause of his absence on the previous day. He replied, 'My absence was caused through Sultan Jelal ud din Mangbarni having been received into the Almighty's mercy.' I inquired, 'What! has he been living all this time?' He answered, 'You may have noticed a certain aged man, with a mole upon his nose (mangbarni means with a mole on the nose), who was wont to stay at a certain place,' which he named. I had often remarked the venerable devotee in question. 'And that was the heroic but unfortunate Sultan Jelal ud din.'" According to this account, he could not have died till 688, *i.e.*, about 60 years after the date above mentioned.‡ These stories are of course mere stories, and doubtless largely arose from the fact of his having a mole on his nose, a feature which would draw attention to others similarly endowed, and easily give rise to imposition.

Abulfaraj says that after attacking Erbil, the Mongols went to Nineveh, and laid siege to Khamalic (?), the citizens fleeing. Thereupon they burnt the churches. They placed two of their leaders at two of the city gates, one of whom gave life and liberty to those who passed him, while the other put

* D'Ohsson, iii. 63-64. † Abulfaraj, Chron. Arab., 309. ‡ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 299. Note.

the fugitives who endeavoured to escape by his gate to the sword. Thence they went to Shigra, and plundered and killed a great number of merchants on their way to Syria.*

Orkhan, after leaving the Sultan as I have mentioned, was joined by some troops, and reached Erbil with 4,000 men. Thence he went to Ispahan, which he captured, and which was, shortly after, again taken by the Mongols.† A large portion of Jelal ud din's men took service after his death with the Seljuks of Rum and the Syrian princes. Many others were waylaid and killed by the Kurds, Bedouins, &c. We have seen how, when Jelal ud din captured Khelat, he secured Thamtha, the daughter of Ivaneh, the Georgian Constable, whom he married. On his death she fell into the hands of the Mongols, who sent her, according to Guiragos, to Ogotai Khan, in Mongolia. Brosset suggests that she was really sent to Batu Khan. She lived several years in Tartary.‡

On the death of Jelal ud din the Mongols proceeded to ravage the districts of Amid, Erzerum, and Mayafarkin.§ After a siege of five days they captured Sared, two days' journey east of Mardin, and put its inhabitants, to the number of 15,000, to the sword. Tanza, and Mardin itself, except the citadel, suffered a similar fate. The district of Nisibin, save its capital, was ravaged. The Mongols then entered Sinjar, and laid waste Al Khabur and A'raban. Another division of them went towards Mosul, and pillaged the town of Al Munassa, situated between it and Nisibin. Its citizens, as well as the peasants from the country round, had taken refuge in a *khan* in the middle of the town, where they were all slaughtered. A native of the place, who secreted himself, told Ibn al Athir, the historian, that when they killed anyone they shouted "La illahi," and their cruelties were accompanied with laughter and merrymaking.‖

Another division marched upon Bidlis, whose people escaped, partly to their citadel and partly to the mountains. The town was burnt. The strong fortress of Balri, in the district of Khelat, was now captured, and all who were found in it were killed. The same thing happened at the large town of Argish.

A third body attacked Meragha, which submitted on condition of its people being spared, but a great number perished. Azerbaijan was laid waste, and then Erbil, where the Ivanian Turkomans, the Kurds, and Cheburkans were trampled upon, and where terrible atrocities were committed. Mozaffer ud din, Prince of Erbil, collected his men, and received aid from the Prince of Mosul, whereupon the prudent invaders drew off and went towards Dakuka. Within two months after the disappearance of Jelal ud din, Diarbekr, Mesopotamia, Erbil, and Khelat

* Op. cit., Chron. Syr., 513.
† D'Ohsson, iii. 65-66. ‡ Brosset, Hist. de la Géorgie, 505-506. Notes.
§ D'Ohsson, iii. 67. ‖ *Id.*, 68.

were desolated, without encountering any resistance. The rulers of these small districts hid away in their fastnesses, while the people were stupefied. I have related some anecdotes reported by Ibn al Athir, showing the fatuous conduct of the inhabitants.*

It was now three months since Jelal ud din had been seen, and it was unknown whether he was dead or merely hiding away. The Mongols meanwhile were in the heart of Azerbaijan. Tebriz was summoned, and offered a ransom of silver, of rich stuffs, &c., and of wine. The kadhi and mayor went to their camp, and the town agreed also to send a number of artisans. Persian artisans were a most welcome present to the Great Khakan at Karakorum, who was a patron of the arts. They also sent him a splendid tent, and agreed to pay an annual tribute.† Meanwhile the Khalif mustered his supporters to the rescue, while Khamil, the Egyptian sultan, marched from Cairo with a considerable army into Syria. He passed Damascus, and went towards the Euphrates, losing many men between Salamiyat, north-east of Hims, and that river. Having learnt at Harran that the Mongols had evacuated Khelat, he went towards Amid, then ruled by Masud, of the Ortokid stock, the capture of which, and not the defeat of the Mongols, was apparently the main object of his march. He was accompanied by his brother Ashraf, by the various Ayubit princes, and by the Sultan of Rum. The siege lasted but five days, when the voluptuous Masud surrendered the place, which was made over to Khamil's son, Salih, while Masud received an appanage in Egypt. Khamil also attacked Hosn-Keifa, which was the term of his expedition. These events took place in 1232.‡ Meanwhile the Mongols proceeded systematically to ravage Azerbaijan, Dilem, and the other western provinces which had been subject to the Khuarezm Shah. They made the fertile plain of Mughan their winter quarters, and thence sent out expeditions in various directions.§

In the year 1233 they laid siege to Kantzag, called Gandja or Guenja by the Persians, the Jelizavetpol of the Russians, the capital of Arran. Guiragos tells us the greater part of its inhabitants were Persians, but that there were a few Christians there, who were subjected to constant insult and contumely, and quotes as an example that crosses were put on the ground at the gates so that they might be trodden under. Its destruction was presaged by some unusual phenomena. The earth opened and vomited out a torrent of black water. A very tall cypress outside the town was seen to stoop down and then become erect again. This happened three or four times, after which the tree fell down altogether. The Mongols assailed the place with their battering engines, destroyed the vines in the environs, and eventually breached the walls. As they delayed the assault,

* Ante, vol. i. 131-132.
† D'Ohsson, iii. 70-71. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii., 72. § Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi., 213.

the inhabitants set fire to their houses and property. This greatly exasperated the invaders, who rushed in, sword in hand, and made a general massacre of men, women, and children. Only a body of troops, which cut its way through, and some who were reduced to servitude, escaped. The Mongols spent some days in digging among the ruins for treasure, and then withdrew. Fugitives afterwards returned to look for hidden furniture, &c., and many objects in gold and silver, bronze and iron, were thus recovered.

Kantzag remained in ruins for four years, when the Mongols ordered it to be rebuilt.* Meanwhile they made another attack upon Erbil, which they captured, with a great booty. The citizens withdrew to the citadel, where, although many perished from want of water, they successfully resisted the attack, and the Mongols at length withdrew, after receiving a sum of money. They overran the northern part of Irak Arab, as far as Zenk Abad and Surmenrai. This district belonged to the Khalif who put Baghdad in a state of defence. He also put it to the Ulemas which was more meritorious, a pilgrimage to Mekka, or war against the infidels. They unanimously replied the latter, whereupon a holy war was preached. The grandees and expounders of the law joined in the exercises of the troops. They marched out and inflicted a defeat on the Mongols at Jebel Hamrin (*i.e.*, the Red Mountain), on the Tigris, near Takrit, and released the prisoners who had been carried off from Erbil and Dakuka.† Another body of 15,000 invaders, who had advanced as far as Jaferiya, now withdrew. A similar division had a more fortunate engagement at Khanekin. Near Holvan they encountered 7,000 troops of the Khalif, under the orders of Jemal ud din Beilik, drew them into an ambush, and killed them nearly all, including their commander. To revert to their operations further north. We find Charmaghan now setting out from Mughan, and methodically overwhelming Arran and Great Armenia, which were distributed among his chiefs or noyans, who, we are told, proceeded to take possession of the portions thus assigned them, accompanied by their wives, children, and baggage, and consumed all the herbage in the fields with their camels and flocks.

When the Mongols invaded Armenia, that province was assigned as an appanage to Arslan Noyan. Elikum, the chief of the once powerful family of the Orpelians, fortified himself in the impregnable fortress of Hrashkaperd. Seeing he could not capture it by force, Arslan sent a messenger to Elikum, to tell him he was irrevocably settled in Armenia, and that it would be better for him to come down from his fastness, where he would starve, and make friends with him. Elikum received these overtures favourably, and having exacted an oath from Arslan, went to visit him, with great presents. The latter treated him well, and numbered him among his

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 116-117. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 213-216; xvi. 282.
† D'Ohsson, iii. 73-74. Ilkhans, i. 110.

generals. He then advanced to Ani, which he conquered, as well as the country of Vaio Tzor and Eghégik, as far as the town of Eréron, opposite Garhni, all of which he gave to Elikum. He told him what he conquered by the sword was as much his property as what he bought with money, and he freely gave it to him, on condition that he should be faithful to him and the Grand Khan. Thenceforward Elikum was a good friend to the Mongols. He took part in the siege of Mayafarkin, where he fell ill and died. It was reported he had been poisoned, by order of the Georgian Prince Avak. He was succeeded by his brother Sempad, of whom we shall have more to say.* Let us now turn to Georgia.

At the time of the Mongol invasion, Georgia was in every way the most powerful kingdom subject to the Christians. Defended by its mountains, says Remusat, its line of rulers had never been interrupted. The generals of the Khalifs had only made momentary raids, or gained a very precarious footing there. The Seljuki Turks had laid their hands more heavily upon it, but at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, David, surnamed the Restorer, took advantage of the disunion among the Turkish princes, recaptured Tiflis, and drove the Turks beyond the Araxes. His successors followed in his steps, and numbered among their vassals all the Armenian princes north of the Araxes, whom they rescued from the Mussulman yoke. The family of the famous Ivaneh, Constable of Georgia, which ruled in the greater part of the country from the Araxes to the Kur, the Princes of Shamkor and Khachen, &c., recognised the suzerainty of the Georgian kings, who at the beginning of the thirteenth century dominated from the Black Sea between Trebizond and the possessions of the Krim Tartars as far as Derbend and the junction of the Kur and the Araxes, *i.e.*, over Colchis, Mingrelia, the land of the Abkhazes, Georgia, properly so called, and Northern Armenia, with many small adjacent districts.† George Lasha, King of Georgia, died January 18th, 1223.‡ He was succeeded by his sister Rusudan, famous for her beauty and her peccadilloes. Her subjects became noted for their debaucheries, and she gave herself up to pleasure.§ The country was virtually ruled by the Constable Ivaneh. Rusudan married the Mussulman Prince Mogit ud din Tughril Shah, son of Kilij Arslan, the Seljuk Prince of Erzerum, who was a handsome person, and by whom she had a daughter, Thamar, and a son, David. This marriage took place, according to Wakhoucht, in 1228 A.D.|| She was very unfaithful to her husband, who on one occasion surprised her in bed in the arms of a Mamluk, and duly imprisoned her. Having later heard of the beauty of two Alans, she sent for and eventually married one of them. She also fell in love with a Mussulman of Kantzag, whom she could not, however, persuade to abjure his faith.¶ Rusudan's

* Hist. de la Siounie, 227-228. St. Martin, ii. 123-127. † A. Remusat, Mems. French Acad., vi. 400
‡ Brosset, Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 496. Note. § *Id.*, 496.
Brosset, Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 501. Note 3. ¶ Abulfeda, sub. ann. 620, *i.e.*, 1223.

daughter, who was also a great beauty, was named Thamar. She attracted the attention of Ghiath ud din Kai Khosru, the second son of the Sultan of Rum, who, although a Mussulman, was readily accepted by the diplomatic Queen as a suitable partner for her daughter. Ghiath ud din promised not to interfere with her religion. This marriage probably took place about 634 HEJ., *i.e.*, 1236 or 1237. She received Atskur as an appanage, and was accompanied by her cousin David, son of Lasha, who acted as her *paranymph!!!* He was a dangerous aspirant for the Georgian throne, and at the instance of his aunt Rusudan was imprisoned by Thamar. She shortly after became a Mussulman, and, according to Abulfaraj, became the mother of Alai ud din Kaikobad, who had a separate appanage, and whose name appears on the coins with those of his half-brothers, Iz ud din and Rokn ud din.

David, son of Lasha, was the next heir to the throne. Rusudan was exceedingly jealous of the young prince, and according to the *Georgian Chronicle* she sent more than one message to Thamar and her husband urging that they should put the young man away. As this was not carried out she became very irritated, and even had the wickedness to write to Ghiath ud din to suggest to him that his wife, her own daughter, was carrying on an intrigue with her nephew.* Ghiath ud din, on hearing this calumny, began to treat his wife very badly, dragged her by the hair, kicked her till she was blue, broke the sacred images, &c., before which she said her prayers, and threatened her with death unless she abjured her faith, which she was constrained to do.† This statement of the *Georgian Chronicle* is confirmed by Abulfaraj. The former goes on to say that Ghiath ud din, having ill-used the young Prince David, ordered the captain of a ship to take him out to sea, and when he had got him fairly away from the land to throw him into the water. They accordingly set out for Pelagon (*i.e.*, for the Ægean). He was duly thrown out, but was given a plank by a benevolent sailor. With the assistance of this he made his way towards the land, whence he was seen by a traveller, who sent a good swimmer to his rescue. He then took him home, provided for him, and kept him for six months. All this having come to the ears of Ghiath ud din, he was greatly enraged. He ordered the young prince to be thrown into a dark pit, tenanted by reptiles and vermin, whose mouth was closed by a stone. One of his father's dependents, Sosna, "a Rowth" (Brosset suggests a Russian) by nation, dug a hole secretly at night, by which he passed victuals into the pit, and thus fed him for five or, according to another paragraph, seven years. He used to pass down two bags by cords to him, one containing bread and the other water. Our author, in reporting the saga, makes out that the serpents in the hole did him no harm, he being preserved like Daniel in the lions' den. One

* Hist. de la Georgie, 524. † *Id.*

of them having bitten him, in consequence of his having leaned on it heavily, was consumed by the rest.* We shall revert to the distinguished prisoner, and meanwhile turn again to Georgia.

Its beautiful and amorous queen was dominated by a crowd of courtiers. Her most trusty counsellors were the Generalissimo Ivaneh and his son Avak, Shahanshah son of Zak'aria, Vahram, and others. Georgia was not in a position to resist the Mongols, having been so terribly ill-used by Jelal ud din, Khuarezm Shah, as we have shown. When she heard of their approach, therefore, she quitted Tiflis and went to Kuthathis, leaving Goj, son of Mukha, in charge of the capital, with orders, if the enemy should appear, to set fire to Tiflis, except the palace and the quarter called Isanni, so that they could find no shelter there. When Goj heard of their approach he fired the place, not even sparing the palace and the Isanni.† Chamitch tells us Rusudan took refuge at the fortress of Usaneth, but Brosset suggests that this was too dangerous a locality for a place of refuge, and argues that she retired to the district of Suaneth.

Meanwhile the various chieftains withdrew, and each one sought safety in some retired place. Guiragos compares the swarms of Mongols who overran the country to flights of locusts and drops of rain. Fear and decrepitude overcame the people. "He who had a sword hid it, for fear that if found upon him he might be pitilessly killed; children were broken to death upon the stones, and young maidens cruelly ravished. The Tartars had a hideous aspect, and bowels without pity; they were insensible to mothers' tears, or to the white hairs of age, and they sped to carnage as to a wedding or an orgy. Everywhere were unburied corpses, the services of the church ceased, while the people preferred the night to the day. The avarice of the invaders was insatiable, and what they could not carry away they destroyed. Having wasted the open country they attacked the towns. As their campaign was undertaken in the summer, and without warning, the latter were speedily reduced by want of water, and their inhabitants were duly slaughtered or reduced to slavery." ‡ The district of Shamkor belonged to Vahram (*i.e.*, Vahram Gagel) and his son, Akbuka, who had captured it from the Persians. It now fell to Molar Noyan. Setting out from Mughan, he sent on an advanced guard of 100 men, and forbade the inhabitants to pass in or out of its gates. They sent for aid to Vahram, and informed him of the small number of the invaders, but he would not move. When Molar himself and the main army arrived, he had the ditch filled with fascines; these were, however, burnt by the citizens. He then ordered each man to carry a load of earth in his robes and to throw it into the ditch, which was speedily filled up. The Mongols stormed the

* *Id.*, 526-527. † Hist. de la Georgie, i. 514. ‡ Op. cit., Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 216-218, ‡ *Id.*, 219-221.

place, massacred the inhabitants, and burnt the houses. They then invested the remaining fortresses belonging to Vahram, Derunagan or Terunakan, Erkevank, and Madznaperd, all situated near Shamkor, in the district of Kartman, in Armenian Albania. The last town belonged to Kyrikeh the Fourth, of the dynasty of the Bagratids of Dashir. They also captured Kartman, in the district of Udi. Meanwhile, another Mongol chief, named Ghataghan Noyan, conquered Charek and Kedapag, or Getabac.* Vartan says he conquered the four cantons of Kedabag and Vartanashad.† Vahram, who was at Kartman, fled and escaped. Having imposed a tribute upon them, the Mongols withdrew. The army which had taken Shamkor also subdued Tavush, Kadzareth, Norpert, Kak or Gag, &c.‡ At this time, the great Vartabied, or doctor, Vanakan, had made himself a retreat with his own hands on the summit of a high rock, opposite the village of Olorut, south of Tavush, where he had sought refuge when Jelal ud din destroyed his monastery at Erkevank. There he lived with a crowd of disciples and a fine library, and there he had built a church and some cells. When Molar Noyan arrived, a crowd of men, women, and children sought refuge in his cavern, where they were blockaded by the Mongols, and presently food and water ran short, while the terrible heat made the place most unhealthy. The Mongols cried out to them to come down from their vantage and surrender, and that they would be well treated. They begged the Vartabied to go and conciliate the terrible invaders. He accordingly went down with his two disciples Mark and Sosthenes, and found the Mongol chief on a height opposite the cave, with an umbrella held over his head, as it was fiercely hot. They were ordered by the guards to bend the knee three times, "in the fashion which camels do," and when they were admitted, they were bidden to prostrate themselves towards the East, that is, towards the great Khakan. Molar addressed the white-bearded doctor, and asked him why he had not gone to offer his submission, as he had ordered that he and his people were to be well treated. He replied that they were unaware of his good intentions, for they did not understand his language, and that no one had in fact gone to acquaint them with his wishes. When they knew them they had complied. "We are neither soldiers nor rich people," he said, "but strangers and pilgrims collected from various places to study religion together. Do with us as you will." Molar bade them be seated and at ease. He inquired about Vahram's whereabouts, and about his various fortresses. He then ordered the rest of the refugees to come down, and promised them safety under chiefs he would appoint over them. Guiragos, who tells the story, was among those who now went down. They felt, he says, like sheep going among wolves. Each one, expecting to be killed, repeated his

* Guiragos, ed Brosset, 120. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 221.
† Journ. Asiat., ser. v., xvi. 283. ‡ *Id.*, xi. 222. Guiragos, ed Brosset, 120.

profession of faith in the Holy Trinity, and before leaving the cave they all partook of the Sacrament. The Mongols, however, treated them fairly. They first gave them water to assuage their thirst, and then put them in custody of some guards. In the morning they stripped them of all that they could, and proceeded also to plunder the grotto and the church of its ornaments—copes, cups, silver candlesticks, and two gospels encrusted with silver. Having selected such of the men as they wished to transport elsewhere, they sent the rest to live in the neighbouring village and monastery, and set a person over them to protect them. Among those who had to go away was Guiragos, the Vartabied, and a young priest named Paul, the nephew of the latter. They were dragged over a rugged country without roads, on foot, and were escorted by Persians whose hands had been dipped in Christian blood, and who treated them insolently. They were hurried on, and any who lagged were beaten with rods. "There was no time to draw thorns out of the feet, or to drink by the wayside." When they halted, they were shut up in small houses, whence they were not allowed to go out, even to satisfy nature, and were closely guarded. Guiragos and some of his companions were employed as secretaries, to write letters for the invaders. He enlarges on the miseries of the way. At the approach of autumn, and as they neared the frontier of Armenia, individuals began, at all risks, to escape. Those who thus ventured all got away except two priests, who were re-caught and executed before Guiragos and his companions. The chronicler tells us his master offered them horseflesh to eat; for the Mongols ate all kinds of animals, pure and impure—even rats and serpents. The Vartabied replied they wanted no such food, but if he wished to do them a kindness he might let them return, as he had promised, for he was old and ill, and could be of no service to them either as a soldier or a herdsman. He said he would consult his major-domo Chuchughan, who was then absent on a plundering expedition. This man of the world insisted upon a ransom being found, and urged that the alms which went to buy repose for the dead might be reasonably used to ransom the living. The Vartabied declared they had been stripped of all their goods, and had nothing left, but if they were conducted to one of the neighbouring fortresses, the Christians there would ransom them. They were accordingly taken to Kak, or Gag. There the Vartabied was ransomed, but they refused to let Guiragos go, as they said they needed him to write their letters. Guiragos says, there was at Kak a famous cross, which performed miracles, especially in favour of captives, and that those who invoked it faithfully saw the martyr, St. Sargis, himself open the prison doors. The Vartabied promised to go and invoke the saint in his behalf. He was ransomed for eighty dahegkans, fifty more, says Vartan, than what Judas sold the Saviour for. Molar Noyan, who evidently, like the other Mongol chiefs, valued a clever writer, consoled Guiragos for the loss of his old master. He promised to promote him

over his own chiefs; if he already had a wife he would send for her—if not, he bade him choose one from among them; and he gave him a tent and two boys to wait on him, and promised to give him a horse on the following day. But as they passed the Monastery of Kedig, or Getic, in Eastern Armenia, where he had been brought up, and which had been sacked by the Mongols, he managed to escape.*

Turning elsewhere, we find that the district of Khachen was also ravaged at this time. Its strongholds fell by force or stratagem. A great many of the people who had sought safety in difficult retreats were duly followed there and put to the sword, thrown down precipices, and their bones whitened the ground for a long time after. The Mongols also marched against Hassan, styled Jelal, son of Vakhtang, Prince of Khachen, and of the sister of the Constables Zakaria and Ivaneh. He was pious and charitable, had the virtues of an anchorite, and was a faithful attendant at the church's services, and a scholar. After the death of his wife, Vakhtang's mother brought up his three sons, Jelal, Zakaria, and Ivaneh. She eventually went as a pilgrim to Jerusalem, and died there. When the Mongols drew near, Jelal assembled his people in the fortress of Khoiakhan, or Khokan (called Khokhanaberd in Persian), in the province of Artsakh. When summoned, he went to their camp, with rich presents. The Mongol chief to whom he submitted, was Chola,, or Jola, brother of Charmaghan. He was well treated, and not only restored to his principality, but it was increased in size. He was ordered to join the Mongols every year in their campaigns, and to be faithful and obedient. By his prudence and conciliation, and by adapting himself to the insatiable habits of the invaders, and meeting their greed with continual presents, he secured an immunity from their attacks, which was most exceptional.† His daughter Rusudan was married by Chola to Bugha, son of his brother Charmaghan.‡

In another direction, another subordinate of Charmaghan, called Jagatai, marched upon Lôrhé, capital of the district of Tashir, in the province of Kukark, the treasure city of Shahan Shah. The latter, on the approach of the Mongols, withdrew with his family, and took shelter in the caverns in the neighbouring valley, and committed the defence of Lôrhé to his father-in-law. His people were effeminate persons, and gave themselves up to dissipation, and, in the words of Guiragos, trusted to the strength of their walls rather than in God. The Mongols undermined the ramparts, which fell down, and they then entered the place, and as usual with them, commenced an indiscriminate slaughter. They discovered Shahan Shah's treasures, which he had amassed by the oppression of his people, and which he had concealed in a chamber with a very

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 120-124. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 222-231.
† *Id.*, 245-248. Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 131-133.
‡ Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 514, Note 4 and Additions, 346.

small entrance, which, like a child's money-box, enabled things to be put in, but not easily taken out again. His father-in-law was put to death. The remaining fortresses of the district were then captured either by force or craft, and were similarly devastated. These included Dmanis and Shamshuildé, in the province of Kukark, and Tiflis, the metropolis.* Avak, son of the Constable Ivaneh, seeing the country overwhelmed by this flood of enemies, sought shelter in the very strong fort of Gaian, or Kaian, in the district of Tzorophor, in the province of Kukark, to which the inhabitants of the surrounding district also fled. One of the Mongol chiefs, named Tughata Noyan, with a force of Mongols, beleaguered him there, built a wall of circumvallation round the foot of the fortress, and sent several messages to Avak, offering him terms if he would acknowledge his supremacy. He offered him his daughter Khochak and some of his riches in the hope of thus buying him off. The Mongols accepted these, but insisted more strongly upon his going to them in person. Water began to run short, and the crafty besiegers allowed many of the people who had sought refuge to pass through their lines in safety to water their horses at the river (*i.e.*, the Débéda, the Kamenka of the Russians, on whose left bank Lôrhé was situated); they would not, however, let them return, but told them to summon their families out. They thus planted their foot upon them and despoiled them, taking such of their women as suited them and killing such of them as they disliked. At length Avak, finding that their attack continued, and also their cruelties, determined to surrender, and thus buy a respite for his people. He accordingly sent Gregory, familiarly called Tgha, or the infant, his major-domo (according to A. Remusat, his nephew; and to Brosset, his cousin), to Charmaghan, who was then encamped on the Keghakuni, otherwise called by the Armenians the Lake of Kegh'am and the Lake of Sévan, and now known to the Turks as the Blue Sea, and to the Persians as the Beautiful Sea. The *Georgian Chronicle* says the Mongol leaders were at this time in their winter quarters at Berdaa, their summer ones being in the mountains of Gélakun, and near the Araxes.† Charmaghan was immensely pleased at this embassy. Avak's envoy promised, on his behalf, that he would faithfully serve the Mongols, and pay them the kharaj, or feudal dues, for his domains. He also asked them to swear solemnly that he should be safe if he went to them. This they agreed to do. Their religion, says our chronicler, was to adore the only God, and to make three genuflexions to him daily, at sunrise, towards the east. In swearing an oath, they dipped a piece of gold in water, which they afterwards drank. This kind of oath, we are told, was never broken, and they told no lies. They gave Avak's messenger a golden tablet or paizah, guaranteeing him a safe conduct. On Avak's arrival Charmaghan

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 124-126. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 231-233.
† Op. cit., 516.

rebuked him for not having at once submitted, and quoted the proverb, "I went to the window, but you did not come. I then went to the door, and you hastened to me." He caused him to be seated below his grandees, and gave a grand feast in his honour, in which the flesh of pure and impure animals, quartered and roasted, was served up, while kumis was liberally served out of skins. Avak would not eat or drink, saying that Christians only ate clean animals, which had been properly killed, and drank only wine. These were furnished him. On succeeding days, his seat at table was promoted, until he was seated among the principal Mongol officers, while, out of consideration for him, a number of his people who had been made captive were released, and his former appanage was restored to him, and even enlarged.* The *Georgian Chronicle* says that Mongol commissaries were placed in his towns.

Charmaghan, accompanied by Vahram and Avak, now marched against Ani, the ancient capital of Armenia, which was fortified, had a strong garrison, and was well provisioned. It was so full of churches that it was usual to swear by the thousand-and-one churches of Ani. It was subject to Shahan Shah. The envoys sent by the Mongols, calling upon it to surrender, were murdered by the citizens. This was speedily revenged. The town was attacked with vigour, and numerous war engines were planted around it. It was soon captured. Some of the principal citizens, who had probably been traitors, were spared: the rest of the people were ordered to go out of the town in the method practised by Jingis. They were then divided among the troops in squads and massacred. Only a few women, children, and artisans were spared, and reduced to slavery. The town was now sacked, its churches pillaged, and its monuments defaced. Guiragos describes in lurid colours the horrible sight, the ravishing of chaste nuns, the slaughter of helpless priests, &c. One of his phrases is grim. "Delicate bodies," he says, "accustomed to be washed with soap, were lying about damp and livid."† The devastation must have been dreadful. In a work published at Venice in 1830, entitled "Patmutiun Anuoi," and written by the Father Minas Bjechkian, we are told that some of those who escaped on this occasion, found shelter at Kaffa and Trebizond, where their posterity still remain; a larger number went to Astrakhan and Ak Serai. These, in 1299, being hard pressed by the Tartar Khan, sent to the Genoese, at Kaffa, to ask for an asylum. They then traversed the country of the Tartars with arms in their hands, and settled in the Krim. They multiplied so much, that they eventually had 100,000 houses and 1,001 churches about Kaffa, as they had had about Ani.‡ When the people of Kars saw what had befallen Ani, they hastened to give up the keys of their town. But the Mongols, whose appetite for

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 126-127. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 233-236. Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 516.
† Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 127-128. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 237-238.
‡ Brosset, in Lebeau Histoire du Bas Empire, xvii. 456. Note.

plunder had been whetted, did not in consequence spare them, but pillaged Kars as they had done Ani, appropriated its riches, and carried off its population into captivity. They withdrew from it, leaving a few humble people in possession, who were afterwards exterminated or carried off by the Turks of Asia Minor. The Mongols who captured Kars, also took the town of Surp Mari, or Surmari, situated on the Araxes, south of Echmiadzin. It had only a few years before been captured from the Muhamedans by Shahan Shah and Avak. The contingent which now took it was commanded by Kara Baghatur.*

When they had completed their conquest of the country, they issued orders for the fugitive inhabitants to return to their villages and homes, and to rebuild and re-occupy them under their new masters. Their campaign in these parts was undertaken in the summer, when the crops were not all gathered, and they trod a great deal under foot with their horses and cattle. The subsequent winter proved to be mild, and although there was no possibility of sowing fresh crops, or of tilling the ground, it produced a scanty crop nevertheless, while succour was afforded by the Georgians, whose general conduct, however, towards the Armenian fugitives who sought refuge among them may be gathered from the epithet of "the pitiless nation of the Georgians," applied to them by Guiragos.

Shortly after this, Avak was dispatched to visit the great Khakan Ogotai. He was accompanied by the prayers of his people, who hoped he would obtain a surcease of their terrible sufferings. He duly arrived at the Court and presented the letters of the Mongol chiefs, disclosing the object of his journey, which was to offer his submission. Ogotai received him well, gave him a Mongol wife, and sent him home again. He also ordered his generals to reinstate Avak in his dominions, and with his aid to reduce those who continued to resist. These orders they carried out, and secured the submission of Shahan Shah, son of Zakaria, of the Prince Vahram and his son, Ak Buka, of Hasan, surnamed Jelal, Prince of Khacheñ, and of many others.

In the *Georgian Chronicle* we read how, when Shahan Shah saw the security which Avak had brought his people by submission, he sent to tell Avak that if he counselled it, he would also submit. The Mongols were very pleased with this, and conferred a golden tablet on him, and also made over Ani and all its dependencies to him. The Georgians who submitted were well treated, while those who were obstinate were trodden under. Meanwhile, however, says our author, Hereth, Kakheth, Somkheth, Karthli, and all the country towards Karnukalak, was cruelly devastated, and the inhabitants slaughtered or reduced to slavery. Tiflis was also captured. In winter, the Mongols encamped at Berdaa, on the banks of the Mtsuar, towards Gag. They pillaged all Karthli, Samtzkhé, and

* Guiragos, op. cit., 128-129. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 238-239.

Jawakheth, and as far as Greece (*i.e.*, Rum), Hereth and Kakheth as far as Derbend. Overwhelmed by these disasters, the Georgian mthawars submitted. Among these were those of Hereth, Kakheth, Karthli, Gamresel of Thor, and Sargis of Thmogvi, a wise philosopher, endowed with great gifts. The Georgian Queen, Rusudan, had taken refuge in the mountains. To bring her to her knees, we are told that Jagatai Noyan made a cruel raid upon the province of Samtzkhé. The Meskhes in terror fled to their fortresses, and a great number of the people were captured or killed. Ivaneh, son of the commander of Tzikhis-Juar, also named Kuarkuareh, asked the Queen's permission to be allowed to submit, so as to save Samtzkhé from utter ruin. He had the title of the Chief of the Armourers, and was the mthawar of the province. The Queen having consented, he went to Chaghatai, or Jagatai, who received him well and placed overseers in the province, which was thus spared.* At first, the Mongols allowed the princes who were submissive, as above described, to retain their authority in peace, but presently began to harass them by perquisitions, demands for military service, &c. Nevertheless, they did not put any of them to death. In the course of a few years, Avak also became the victim of their exactions, for they were most avaricious, and demanded not only meat and drink, but also horses and rich garments ; horses especially were their delight, and no one could keep one, or a mule, except secretly, for wherever they met with one they appropriated it. Each horse thus captured was marked with a hot iron with the tamgha, or private mark of the owner. Thus, if it strayed it was returned to its owner ; anyone keeping such a marked horse being punished as a thief. These exactions became more frequent after the death of the Mongol General Jagatai, who was assassinated, as we shall presently show. He was the friend of Avak, and when he died many of the other Mongols declared against the latter. One day, one of these chiefs of inferior rank, named Joj-Buka, having entered the room where Avak was seated, and the latter not having risen to greet him, he struck him on the head with his whip. The attendants would have fallen upon the intruder, but were restrained by Avak. After this outrage, he collected his men, with the intention of assassinating Avak in the night ; but the latter fled, and sought refuge with the Queen of Georgia, who he thought was at issue with the invaders. When Avak fled to Rusudan, the Mongols affected to be distressed, sent to ask him to return, and blamed those who had caused his withdrawal. His principality they made over to Shahan Shah as to a brother. Meanwhile, Avak wrote to Ogotai, to tell him he had only fled to escape ill-usage, and was always at his service While he awaited the Khakan's reply, the Mongols made a search for his treasures, which they found hidden in his fortresses. Afraid of the anger

* Brosset, Hist. de la Géorgie, 517.

of the Khakan, they sent message after message bidding him return. When he at length reached their camp, he was met by a messenger from Ogotai bearing letters and presents for him, and also orders that he was not to be molested, and that he might go wherever he pleased. He was then sent, with an officer named Tonghuz Aka, who had been specially deputed as commissary of taxes in Georgia, to invite the Georgian Queen Rusudan to submit. He acquitted himself well in his mission, and a treaty was agreed upon, by which the Queen and her infant son David, whom she caused to be crowned, were to be subject to the Mongols, while the latter were not to molest her.* The famous beauty was not inclined to be so submissive as her various nominal dependents. She wrote to the Pope, asking for the aid of a Christian army, with which to repel the Mongols, and professed a complete submission to the Roman Church. Gregory the Ninth, in his reply, congratulated her on the latter decision, but held out small consolation otherwise. He perhaps doubted her sincerity, and we are in fact assured by Bar Hebræus that she renounced Christianity and became a Moslem.†

Maiakia has a curious story, which is not reported, so far as I know, elsewhere. He tells us that the three leaders of the Tartars at this time were Chorman (*i.e.*, Charmaghan), Benal, and Molar Noyan. One evening, at a kuriltai, where it was resolved to make a fresh invasion of the west and a fresh massacre, the three were not of one mind. Charmaghan, who was of a more humane disposition than the other two, urged that by the order and with the help of God, they had ravaged the land sufficiently, and that it was better that the population which remained should take one-half of the produce of its labour for its sustenance, and pay over the other half to them. Night coming on, the kuriltai came to an end, and each retired to rest. When morning broke, two of the chiefs were found dead, and Charmaghan alone remained. He set out with witnesses for the Court of Chankzghan (*i.e.*, Jingis Khan, but really of Ogotai), to whom he related what had passed. The Khan was astonished, and declared that the death of the chiefs was good proof that their course was not grateful to God, while his was, and that the will of God was, that in conquering the earth they should cherish and protect it—people it—and impose their laws upon it; and also the four taxes, *tghghu*, *mal*, *thaghar*, and *ghphtchur*. Those who would not obey or pay these taxes ought to be killed and to have their lands devastated, while the others should be spared. Chorman was sent back, and the Khakan, we are told, gave him one of his own wives, named Ailthana Khatun, in marriage. He accordingly returned, and settled on the plain of Mughan.‡

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 130-131. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 240-245.
† A. Remusat, Mems. de l' Institute, vi. 406-407.
‡ Malakia, Brosset, Hist. de la Géorgie, Add., &c., 444-445.

Guiragos tells us that at this time a Syrian doctor, named Simeon, who was styled Rabban Athor (a mixed title, rabban meaning doctor in Syrian, and athor meaning father in Mongol), gained great influence over Ogotai. He asked the great Khakan to issue an order exempting the innocent people who did not resist the Mongol arms from massacre. Ogotai assented to this, and sent him westwards, amidst great pomp, and bearing a note for the Mongol commander, ordering him in these matters to conform to the wishes of the Syrian doctor. On his return, he greatly eased the condition of the Christians. He built Christian churches in the Mussulman towns, where hitherto no one dared pronounce the name of Christ, notably at Tebriz, and at Nakhchivan. In these two towns their condition had been particularly humiliating, and they dared not show themselves even. He built churches and raised crosses there, while the jamahar (*i.e.*, the substitute for a bell, consisting of a sonorous piece of wood, which was struck by another), was heard by night as well as by day. Christian funerals, accompanied by the cross and gospel, and the surroundings of the liturgy, openly paraded the streets. All who opposed were liable to be put to death. The Mongol troops treated him with great deference, while his tamgha, or seal, attached to a document, was a free passport for his compatriots. No one dared touch those who invoked his name, and the Mongol generals gave him a portion of the booty they captured. He was modest and temperate, and only took a little food in the evening. He baptised numbers of the Mongols.*

Guiragos condenses in a few graphic phrases some of the chief characteristics of the invaders, whom he knew so intimately. He describes them as having horrible and repulsive countenances, and as being (except in the case of a few who had a little) without beards. On the upper lip and chin were a few hairs, which might be counted. They had small, piercing eyes, and a shrill, piercing voice. They were long lived. So long as they had abundant food, they ate and drank gluttonously, and when this was scarce, they as easily supported hunger. They fed on the flesh of all kinds of animals, pure and impure, but preferred that of the horse. They cut the animals into quarters, and then boiled or roasted them without salt. They then cut them into small pieces, and having dipped them in salt water, ate them. Some knelt while eating, like camels, while others sat down. Masters and servants had equal shares at their feasts. In drinking kumis or wine, a large vessel was produced, out of which a man took a portion in a cup, and threw some of it towards the sky and towards the four points of the compass. After the libation, having tasted, the cupbearer handed some of it to the principal chiefs, who, to prevent being poisoned, made the person who carried it taste any meat or drink he offered. They had as many wives as they pleased, and punished adultery

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 137-138. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 253-254.

mercilessly with death. They punished theft in the same way. Guiragos says they had no religion and no religious ceremonies, although they had the name of God on their lips on all occasions. They often declared that their ruler was the equal of God, who had taken heaven himself, while he had given the earth to the Khakan, and to prove it declared that Jingis Khan had not been produced in the ordinary way, but that a ray of light, coming from some invisible place, had entered by the roof into the house of his mother, and had said, "Conceive, and thou shalt have a son who will be ruler of the world." This story Guiragos says had been told him by Gregory, son of Marzban and brother of Arslanbeg of Sargis and Amira, of the family of the Mamigonians, who had heard it from the lips of Khuthu Noyan, one of the principal Tartars, while he was teaching the young people. When a Tartar died, or was put to death, they carried his corpse about with them for several days, since they believed that a demon entered the body, and made a number of statements; they then burnt it Sometimes also they buried it in a deep grave, with its arms and apparel, and the gold and silver belonging to the deceased. If he was a chief, they also buried some of his male and female slaves, that they might wait on him, and also some horses, since they believed there were great fights in the other world. In order to perpetuate the memory of the deceased, they slit open the belly of his horse and took out all the flesh through the opening. They then burnt the bones and entrails, and afterwards sewed up the skin as if its body was whole, and thrust a pole through it, which came out of its mouth. This memorial they hung on a tree or in an elevated situation. Their women, he says, were magicians, and cast their incantations everywhere. It was only after a decision by their magicians that they undertook a march.*

We have now reached the term of Charmaghan's career, but before describing his end it will be well to sum up the result of his administration, and also to relate what took place in Khorasan and elsewhere during his term of office in Persia. The main results of Charmaghan's campaigns, were the thorough subjection and parcelling out among his fellows of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Irak-Ajem, and Arran, the last of which provinces, with its beautiful grassy plains, became the real head-quarters of the Mongols for a long time. Georgia, as we have seen, was severely punished, but retained, although in a dependent position, its own line of princes, whose history continued closely entwined with that of the conquerors. Kerman and Fars were spared devastation by timely submission. We have seen how the Hajib Borak obtained possession of the former. We are told by Juveni that he carried on a long struggle with Ghiath ud din, the Atabeg of Yezd.† He agreed to pay the Mongols an annual tribute, and received from the Khalif the title of

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 134-135. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 248-250. † Ilkhans, i. 66.

Kutlugh Sultan. When Tair Behadur, as we shall see, attacked Seistan, he sent orders to Borak to send him some troops, and to go and acknowledge the Khakan's supremacy. He replied that he would undertake to capture the place himself, and that the Mongols need not trouble themselves about it. As to visiting the Khakan, he was too old, but he would send his son, Rokn ud din, in his place. That young prince set out, and *en route* heard of his father's death, and that the throne of Kerman was now filled by his cousin.* Borak died in the year 632 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1235), and was succeeded by his nephew, who was also his step-son and son-in-law, Kutb ud din Abul Fath, the son of his elder brother Taniko or Baniko, of Taraz, to whom he left the succession by his will.†

The same year, some Khuarezmian chiefs who had sought shelter at Shiraz, went to Jiraft in Kerman, a town described by Tavernier as one of the largest cities of Kerman, having a trade in horses and wheat. They were named Aor Khan, Sunj Khan, and Timur Malik, the famous defender of Khojend. Having attacked Kutb ud din, many of them were killed, and the rest captured or dispersed. Kutb ud din gave his prisoners state robes, and sent them back to Shiraz, whose Atabeg made apologies for the raid, which he said had been made without his knowledge. In 1236, Kutb ud din went to Ogotai's court to receive investiture. He was well received there, but was deprived of his sovereignty in favour of Borak's son Rokn ud din, while he himself was sent to China, to serve under Mahmud Yelvaj. Rokn ud din retained the sovereignty of Kerman till the year 650 HEJ., *i.e.*, 1252 A.D., when he was deposed by order of Mangu Khan, and his cousin Kutb ud din was reinstated.‡

We must now say a few words about Fars. We have seen how it was ruled by the Atabeg Said of the Salgarid family.§ He died in the year 625 HEJ., *i.e.*, 1228, and was succeeded by his son Abubekr, who, we are told, "annexed the greater part of the tracts lying on the side of the Gulf of Persia, such as Hormuz, Katif, Bahrain, Oman, and Lahsa, perhaps the Al Hasa of Ibn Batuta, which he says was previously called Hajar."‖ We are further told that he sent his brother Tahamtan with rich presents to Ogotai, and received investiture from him. The author of the "Tabakat-i-Nasiri" says, "He engaged to pay tribute to them (the infidel Mongols), and brought reproach and dishonour upon himself by becoming a tributary of the infidels of Chin, and became hostile to the Dar ul Khilafat."¶ Abubekr is famous as the prince to whom Saadi dedicated his famous "Gulistan." He retained the sovereignty of Fars for thirty-three years.**

We must turn aside for an instant to see what had taken place in Khorasan during Charmaghan's control of the army. I have mentioned

* D'Ohsson, iii. 131-132. † Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1118. Raverty's note.
‡ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1118-1119. Notes. D'Ohsson, iii. 132. § Ante.
‖ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 179. Note. ¶ Op. cit., 180. ** *Id.*

how Chin Timur was nominated governor of that province. He proceeded to treat it from the point of view of a farmer of taxes, and to grind out of the remaining inhabitants of the unhappy country the little remaining property they had. The Mongols, we are told, did not value money or precious stones; but he did, and extracted what he could, by torture and otherwise, and then slew the victims of his tyranny. The few who escaped him had to pay a ransom for their houses.* While this was the character of the civil administration of Khorasan, it was also the scene of some military exploits. Two of the Sultan Jelal ud din's officers, named Karaja and Tughan-i-Sunkar (called Togan Sangur by D'Ohsson), at the head of 10,000 Kankalis, made their way to the mountains in the neighbourhood of Nishapur and Tus, whence they made attacks on the country round, and killed the governors appointed by Charmaghan. The latter ordered Chin Timur, with his deputy, Kelilat, or Kalbad, to march against them.† Chin Timur attacked them three times without result, when Kelilat defeated them near Sebzevar, after a three days' struggle, which cost him 2,000 men. Karaja thereupon fled towards Sejistan, or Seistan, and Tughan towards Kuhistan. Three thousand Kankalis found shelter at Herat, in the great mosque. Kelilat sent 4,000 men after them, who forced their way in and killed them all.‡

Meanwhile, Tair Baghatur, who commanded the Mongol troops about Herat and its dependency Badghis, had been ordered to march against Karaja, and to lay waste the country where he had sheltered. In regard to this last part of the order, Juveni quotes the Persian proverb, "Wolves know well enough how to tear; it is necessary to teach them how to sew."§ He was already on the march, when he heard that Karaja had been beaten by Kelilat, and had taken refuge in the fortress of Arak, or Uk of Seistan, which we are told lies north-east from the Shahristan of Seistan. There Tair beleagured him for nineteen months, when, a pestilence having broken out, it succumbed. Major Raverty says Uk is situated between Farah and Zaranj, and that it has been in ruins for many years.|| The author of the "Tabakat-i-Nasiri" tells a curious story of the siege. How, on a certain night, the defenders of the place had determined to plant an ambuscade in some kilns outside the northern gate of the town while a sortie was made from the eastern gate. When the Mongols attacked the latter body, the kettle-drums were to be sounded at the citadel, whereupon those in ambush should emerge, and take the Mongols in rear. During the night 700 men, natives of Tulak, accordingly planted themselves, fully equipped, in the appointed place, while at daybreak the other contingent, after performing its religious exercises, made the appointed sortie. When they had engaged the enemy, the kettle-drums made the appointed signal, which was repeated, but no one issued from

* D'Ohsson, iii. 104. † Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1116. Note. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 104-105.
§ *Id.*, Note 2. || Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1122. Notes.

the ambush. The Malik Taj ud din Binal Tigin, who was then ruler of Seistan and Nimroz, sent trusty men to inquire the reason for this, who reported that the whole 700 were dead. Our author says "they had surrendered their lives to God, and there was no sign of life in any one of them." And he explains in the context that they had died from the pestilence which then raged at Uk. He says it began by a pain in the mouth, which on the second day was followed by the teeth dropping out, and on the third day the patient died. A woman having been seized, feeling her teeth loose, and knowing that her end was near, summoned her little daughter, and applied henna to her feet and hands. It was usual, he says, for women in doing this, to wet their fingers with their tongue, and then to rub the henna. Having done this, the woman resigned herself to death, but in the morning her teeth became fast and the aching passed away. It was thus discovered that henna was a specific for the pestilence, and in consequence a menn of the drug was sold for 250 golden dinars. After some time, Malik Taj ud din Binal Tigin was struck in the eye with an arrow, and presently, while directing the defence of the fort from the top of one of the towers, he lost his footing, fell down, and was captured. The fortress then fell. "The inhabitants were martyred after a great number of the infidels had gone to hell."* Taj ud din Binal Tigin was taken from Seistan to the fortress of Safhedkoh, where he was put to death underneath the walls.†

Thus was suppressed this dangerous outbreak of one part of the disbanded soldiery of the Khuarezm Shah, consisting mainly of Turkomans. Another portion found its way to Syria and Egypt. Meanwhile, after the fall of Uk, Tair Behadur wrote to Chin Timur to say he had been intrusted by the Khakan with the government of Khorasan, which he called upon him to surrender. The latter reproached him with his cruelties in destroying the innocent people, with the misdeeds of Karajá, and added that he had sent to report his conduct to head-quarters. Meanwhile, Chin Timur and his officers received a summons from Charmaghan to go to him (Raverty says to return to Khuarezm with the agents of the princes who were with him), and to give up the government of Khorasan and Mazanderan to Tair Behadur. A council was held, and it was determined that Kelilat, or Kalbad, who represented Ogotai's special interests, should repair to the Imperial Court, to solicit his master's decision in favour of Chin Timur. Some princes of the country accompanied him. Among these were Malik Baha ud din Saluk, one of the principal chiefs of Mazanderan, who submitted at this time, and the Asfahed Ala ud din (or Nusrat ud din), of the Kabud Jamah.‡ It was the first time that any of the Maliks of Iran had gone to do homage, and Ogotai, who was much pleased, contrasted Charmaghan's conduct in this respect

* Op. cit., 1123-1125. † *Id.*, 202.
‡ (?) Tabaristan and Rustamdar. *Vide* Tab. Nas., 263. Note.

with Chin Timur's. Ogotai thereupon rewarded the latter, and appointed him supreme governor of Khorasan, with Kalbad (or Kelilat as he is called both by D'Ohsson and Von Hammer) as his associate, making them both independent of Charmaghan. He conferred the tract extending from the Kabud Jameh territory to Asterabad on the Asfahed Ala ud din; and the districts of Isterain, Juven, Baihak, Jajurm, Khurand, and Arghaian upon Baha ud din, and gave each of them a golden paizah.* Chin Timur appointed Sherif ud din, of Yezd (Von Hammer says of Khuarezm), his Ulugh Bitikji, or Chief Secretary, or Master of the Seals; and Baha ud din Muhammed Juveni, the father of the famous author of the "Jihan Kushai," his finance minister. In the latter's office was a representative of each of the three other princes who had furnished contingents for the Persian war as I have mentioned, and who had a joint interest in the revenues of Khorasan.†

Chin Timur died in 1235, and was succeeded by a very old Mongol, named Nussal, Tusal or Usal, who, we are told, had been appointed by Jingis as joint guardian of the Ulus of Juchi.‡ He was soon after displaced by a Buddhist Uighur, named Kurguz (*i.e.*, blind-eye), who had risen successively from being tutor and writing-master to the children of Juchi Khan to be the secretary of Chin Timur (like himself a Uighur) when the latter was Governor of Khuarezm. He had been sent with Muhammed of Juveni to Ogotai's Court, to report to him the condition of Khorasan and Mazanderan, which he described in inflated Persian figures, *inter alia*, saying that where winter formerly reigned, there was now spring, and that the country was as full of flowers and perfumes as paradise. These phrases, mixed with flattering speeches, won him the favour of Ogotai, whose minister, Chinkai, also a Uighur, favoured him. During the rule of Nussal, Kurguz was summoned to the Court, where he had enemies as well as friends, to give an account of the affairs of Khorasan. While Chinkai supported him, and argued that the principal people of Khorasan also wished to have him, Danishmend Hajib, another official at the Court, urged the claims of Ungu Timur, son of Chin Timur. Kurguz at length obtained a temporary authority in Khorasan and Mazanderan, with orders to make a census, and receive the taxes in the two provinces. The order appointing him deposed Nussal, who had been a mere puppet, the real authority having been controlled by Kelilat, who now found himself put into the shade. Kurguz proceeded to repress a good deal of exaction, &c., in his government. Meanwhile, Kelilat and Sherif ud din, the vizier, secretly supported Ungu Timur, and incited him to send complaints of the doings of Kurguz to the Khakan. Their attacks were parried there by Chinkai, and Ogotai at length sent Arghun, with two officers, to report on the state of things.§ They were met at Fenakat by Kurguz, who had set out to report in person,

* Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1120-1121. Notes. D'Ohsson, iii. 106-107.
† D'Ohsson, iii. 107-108. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 113. § D'Ohsson, iii. 110-111.

and had left Bahu ud din in charge of his administration. The Imperial commissaries asked him to return with them, and as he refused, a disturbance took place, in which he had a tooth broken. Although compelled to accompany them, he dispatched a messenger to Ogotai, who carried his coat marked with blood. On the arrival of the commissaries in Khorasan, Kelilat, Ungu Timur, and Nussal drove out the secretaries and other officials of Kurguz from his palace with sticks, and carried them off. The latter's messenger soon after returned. Ogotai, who was irritated at the sight of the bloody garment, summoned the disputants to his presence. Kurguz at once set out and was shortly followed by Kelilat and Ungu Timur. Kelilat was assassinated as he passed through Bukhara. I have described how the Khakan was entertained by the two rivals.* Chinkai, who was Kurguz's patron, was appointed to report on the matter. The latter was himself a shrewd man of business, while Ungu Timur was young and inexperienced and had lost his most sagacious adviser in Kelilat. Ogotai tried to reconcile the two parties, and ordered the rivals to be deprived of their arms, and to live in the same tent and drink out of the same cup. This mode of reconciliation failed. Chinkai at length made his report, and Ogotai decided in favour of Kurguz. As Ungu Timur was a subject of Batu's, his father having been Governor of Khuarezm, as we have seen, he was ordered to be handed over to him for punishment. I have described how he asked to be punished by Ogotai himself.† Some of his supporters were bastinadoed, others were handed over to Kurguz to be punished with the *cangue*,‡ and to return with him, their lives being spared for the sake of their wives and children. Kurguz was given authority over all the country south of the Oxus which had been conquered by Charmaghan. He took back with him, so as to have him under his eye, the vizier, Sherif ud din, whose secret intrigues on behalf of Ungu Timur had been disclosed to him.

Kurguz returned to Khorasan in 1239-40, and fixed his residence at Tus, where he assembled the grandees of Khorasan and Irak, and the Mongol generals, and celebrated his installation with grand fêtes, at which the new Imperial edicts were published.§ He sent his son to deprive the creatures of Charmaghan (who were ruining Irak and Azerbaijan by their exactions) of their posts. He protected the Persians from the ruthless Mongol soldiery, and was everywhere respected. Tus had but fifty houses left in it. He proceeded to restore it, and the various Persian grandees built new houses there, and we are told the price of furniture increased a hundred-fold in one week.‖ Herat, too, began to revive. Since its destruction, in 1222 to 1236, it had remained practically a waste. In the latter year, Ogotai having ordered the restoration of

* Ante, i. 134. † Ante, 134.

‡ This was a Chinese instrument of punishment, consisting of a heavy wooden collar, through which the head and hands were thrust and then locked.

§ D'Ohsson, iii. 115-116. ‖ *Id.*, 117.

Khorasan, a native Amir of the place whom Tului had transported with 1,000 families to Bishbaligh, where they exercised the craft of weavers, and supplied the Court with robes, and who was named Iz ud din, was ordered to return there with 100 families, where for want of provisions they suffered greatly. As they had no oxen, the men dragged the ploughs in pairs, while the canals being choked, the land had to be irrigated by hand. After the first harvest twenty strong men were sent, each with twenty menns of cotton, into Afghanistan to buy ploughs and long-tailed sheep. In 1239, 200 more families were sent from Bishbaligh to settle at Herat. Fugitives and others who had escaped the general massacre in the campaigns of Jingis Khan, collected round them from various parts of Khorasan, and the following year, a census having been taken, it was found that its inhabitants had increased to 6,900, after which it continually grew.*

Iz ud din had died at Farab, while conducting the second batch of emigrants from Bishbaligh, and was succeeded as superintendent of Herat by his son, Shems ud din Muhammed. He went to Ogotai's Court, and asked that a Shahnah or Intendant, and a darugha or Mongol commissary, should be appointed for Herat. A Karluk Turk, whose name is not recorded, was appointed to the former post, and a Mongol named Mangasai to the latter, while Shems ud din himself retained the chief control of civil matters. They proceeded to open the Jui Injil canal, and to take it into Herat, and they built the Burj-i-Karluk, named after the Karluk Shahnah. In 1241 Shems ud din was displaced as governor, in favour of Malik Majd ud din, the Kalyuni, who, in concert with the Karluk, opened the Alanjan canal.† These events took place while Kurguz was governor of Khorasan, and we are told that after Ogotai's death he had Majd ud din put to death, and his head taken to him at Tus. He was succeeded as governor of Herat by his son, Shems ud din Kalyuni, who a year later died from poison.‡

Kurguz had put his enemy the vizier, Sherif ud din, in the *cangue*, and extracted from him confessions, which he sent on to the Court. His messenger heard *en route* of the death of Ogotai. He had himself set out to make a report to his master, and in passing through Mavera un nehr had quarrelled with an official there, and aroused the anger of the princes of the house of Jagatai, who were further incited by a messenger sent by the wife of the imprisoned Sherif ud din. They accordingly dispatched Kurbuka and Arghun, who was, as we have seen, no friend of his, with orders to carry him off by force. The latter, on hearing this, respited the life of Sherif ud din, who had already been handed over to the governor of Sebzevar for execution. Kurguz himself, after a show of resistance, was arrested in his house at Tus, with his vizier, Usseil ud

* *Id.*, iii. 117-118. † Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1127-1128. Raverty's notes. ‡ *Id.*, 1128.

din Rogdi. The removal of his strong hand was the signal for renewed anarchy in Khorasan and Mazanderan. Kurguz was taken to the ulus of Jagatai, and thence to Mongolia, to the Court of the Regent, Turakina. His patron, Chinkai, was now in disgrace there, and, as we read, having no money he could get no justice. He was remitted back to the Jagatai princes for trial, and was at length put to death by order of Kara Khulagu, by having his mouth filled with earth. He had recently abjured Buddhism, and become a Muhammedan.* Turakina appointed Arghun in his place. We shall revert to him presently. Among the stories recorded of the Khakan Ogotai we read that he was very fond of wrestling, and entertained at his Court a large number of Mongol, Kipchak, and Chinese athletes. Having heard of the renown of the Persian wrestlers, he ordered Charmaghan to send him some. The latter forwarded him thirty, under two famous leaders, Pileh and Muhammed Shah. Ogotai was much struck with the size and physique of Pileh. Ilchikadai, who it would seem had charge of the Mongol wrestlers, ventured to question if the cost of bringing them so far would be repaid. Ogotai replied that he would back him against Ilchikadai's men for 500 balishes against 500 horses. The following day the latter produced a champion to struggle with Pileh. The Mongol succeeded in throwing his adversary down and in falling on him. "Hold me fast," said Pileh playfully, "and take care I don't escape." At the same time he raised him up, and threw him to the ground with such force that his bones were heard to crack. The emperor then rose and told him to hold his opponent fast, and turning to Ilchikadai claimed his bet. Pileh was rewarded with many gifts, together with 500 balishes. Ogotai presented him shortly after with a young damsel, and asked her some time after, laughingly, how she had found the Tajik (*i.e.*, the Persian). She replied that they did not live together, and when Ogotai wanted an explanation, Pileh told him that having acquired a reputation at the Khakan's Court, and never having been beaten, he wished to preserve his powers so as to merit the emperor's favour. The latter replied that he wanted his like perpetuating, and excused him from further combats.†

We must now shortly consider the doings of the Mongols in the districts east of Khorasan, bordering on India, during Charmaghan's campaigns in the west. According to Vassaf, when Jingis Khan withdrew northwards he ordered each of his four sons to furnish 1,000 men, who were to plant themselves in the districts of Shiburghan, Talikan, Ali-Abad, Gaunk, Bamian, and Ghazni.‡ The author of the "Tabakat-i-Nasiri" tells us how, on the accession of Ogotai, when Charmaghan was intrusted with the army which overran Western Persia, other Mongol armies were sent into the districts of Kabul, Ghazni, and Zabulistan, and how the Malik

* D'Ohsson, iii. 120-121. Ilkhans, i., 115. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1149. Note.
† D'Ohsson, ii. 96-97. ‡ *Id.*, 280.

Saif ud din Hasan, the Karluk, who it would seem held the fief of Bamian, together with the Maliks of Ghur and Khorasan, submitted, and consented to receive Mongol Shahnahs or commissaries.* Notwithstanding this they attacked Saif ud din and drove him from Karman† (this was about 636 HEJ.), Ghazni, and Bamian. He thereupon went towards Multan and Sind. His son, Nasir ud din Muhammed, went on to Delhi, and was granted the fief of Baran, but presently joined his father, and seems to have fallen into the hands of the Mongol commissaries, with whom he remained some time.‡ When the Malik Saif ud din Hasan withdrew across the Indus the districts of Ghazni and Karman fell under the complete control of the Mongol Shahzadahs or Shahnahs, and we may take it that Afghanistan was incorporated with the Mongol Empire.

Let us now turn once more to Charmaghan. He had some time before this been attacked by an illness which caused him to become dumb, and which was probably some form of paralysis. He left two sons, Shiramun, who became a famous general and was called the Golden Column by his countrymen because of his successes, and Baurai, who was put to death by Khulagu because of his evil character.§ According to Guiragos, in the beginning of the year 691 of the Armenian era (*i.e.*, Jan. 20th, 1241, to Jan. 19th, 1242), an Imperial edict of the Khakan superseded Charmaghan, and appointed Baigu or Baichu in his place. We are further told that Baichu was chosen by some magical process, as was customary with the Mongols.‖ I believe rather that his appointment, which took place in 1241, on the death of Ogotai, was due to the policy of his widow, Turakina, who, on her accession, placed her creatures in various places of trust. It was probably as the protégé of Turakina and her son Kuyuk that Baichu aroused the jealousy of Batu and Khulagu, as we shall see further on.

Baichu (called Baichu Kurchi by Guiragos) belonged to the tribe Baisut (called Yissut by D'Ohsson), and was a relative of Chepe or Jebe Noyan, who made the famous campaign in the west with Subutai. He commanded a hazarah under Charmaghan and, as we have seen, was promoted to command his tuman.¶ His first efforts after his appointment were directed against the Seljuki rulers of Asia Minor or Rum. This dynasty had been founded about the year 1080, by Suliman Shah, who had been sent into Asia Minor with 80,000 Ghuz or Turkomans, and had conquered the central part of the peninsula from the Byzantine emperors. He fixed his capital at Iconium, and his dominion was known as that of the Seljuks of Rum. Kai Kobad, the seventh successor of Suliman, was on the throne in 1235-6, when a

* Tabakat-i-Nasiri, i. 119. Hasan had been a feudatory of Jelal ud din Khuarezm Shah. On p. 2, following Abulfeda, I called him Hasan Karak, but his real name was doubtless Hasan the Karluk.

† Major Raverty explains this as meaning a darah or long valley, watered by a tributary of the Shahezan. It has, of course, nothing to do with the Persian province of Kerman. (Op cit., 499. Note 7.)

‡ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1119-1129. Notes.

§ Malakia, op. cit., 449.

‖ Guiragos, ed. Bfosset, 138. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 426.

¶ Erdmann's Temudjin, 229.

Mongol envoy, named Shems ud din, went to his Court, bearing a yarligh or Imperial order summoning him to submit, which he accordingly did. Notwithstanding this, a body of 10,000 Mongols invaded his dominions.* When Baichu received the command of the Mongol armies in the west he prepared to strike a heavy blow against the Seljuk monarchy. At this time (*i.e.*, 1243) Ghiath ud din Kai Khosru, son of Kai Kobad, had been its ruler for some years. As we have seen, he had married Thamar, the daughter of the Georgian Queen, Rusudan. Baichu first marched into that part of Armenia which was subject to the Seljuki, and attacked Karin, the ancient Theodosiopolis, called Karno Kaghak by the Armenians, and better known as Erzen-er-Rum or Erzerum, which W. de Nangis identifies with Uz, the land of Job. Its commander was Sinan ud din Yakut. Having invested it, they summoned the citizens to surrender. They refused, drove out their envoys, and jeered at them from the walls. The Mongols thereupon battered the ramparts with twelve catapults. They speedily destroyed its churches and monasteries, made a general massacre of its inhabitants, and then pillaged and fired it. It had a numerous population of Christians and Mussulmans, and many peasants from the country round had also sheltered there. *Inter alia*, the Mongols captured a great number of bibles, martyrologies, and liturgical books, delicately written in letters of gold, which they sold at a small price to their Armenian and Georgian allies, who sent them as presents to the churches and monasteries in their own country. These Christian auxiliaries also redeemed many men, women, and children, bishops, priests, and deacons, and we read that Prince Avak, Shahan Shah, and Akbuka, son of Vahram, Gregory of Khachen, son of Tuph, who was sister to the great Atabegs Ivaneh and Zakaria, as well as their troops, gave their freedom to their captives, and allowed them to go where they pleased. The Mongols not only sacked the town, but also a number of the surrounding districts. The Sultan of Rum did nothing to help them, but hid away in fear, and it was even said he was dead. The Mongols withdrew with their booty to spend the winter in their rendezvous on the plain of Mughan.†

While they were encamped there Kai Khosru sent their commander a boastful message. "Do you think," he said, "because you have ruined one of our towns that you have vanquished the Sultan and laid low his power? My cities are innumerable, and my soldiers cannot be counted. Remain where you are and await my arrival. I will come in person to see you, sword in hand." The Mongols were not disturbed at this message, and Baichu merely said, "You have spoken bravely. God will accord the victory as he pleases." After having got his horses and other cattle in good condition, he set out by easy marches towards where the Sultan was

* D'Ohsson, iii. 79. Note.
† Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 138-139. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 426-428. D'Ohsson, iii. 79-80.

encamped, not far from Erzenjan.* There he was encamped with his wives and concubines, and great store of gold, silver, and other treasures. He also had with him a menagerie of wild animals to be used in hunting, and including rats, cats, and even reptiles. He wished to show his troops that he had plenty of confidence.† The King of Little Armenia and the Princes of Hims and Mayafarkin,‡ who had promised him assistance, failed to send it; but he had 2,000 Frank auxiliaries under the orders of John Liminata, from Cyprus, and Boniface de Castro, a Genoese. Sanuto calls the latter Boniface de Molinis, a Venetian. Abulfeda tells us he was also joined by a contingent from Aleppo, under Naseh ud din Persa.§ Baichu divided his army into various sections, which he intrusted to his most valiant subordinates, and distributed his auxiliaries among them so as to avoid treason.‖ In regard to the date of this famous battle (namely, the Armenian year 692), Vartan tells us that the letters forming this number, make up the word Oghb (meaning woe or lamentation), which, he adds, was well borne out by the terrible sufferings of Armenia, not only those of its inhabitants, but also of its plains and mountains, which were deluged with tears and blood.¶ Abulfaraj tells us the fight took place in June and July, 1243.** Abulfeda says in 641 HEJ., which began June 20th, 1243. Rubruquis tells us that he was informed by an eye-witness that Baichu had only 10,000 men with him. Haithon says 30,000. Malakia tells us the Sultan, on the other hand, had 160,000.†† Before the fight, according to Chamchean, Baichu sent home many of the Georgian and Armenian auxiliaries, retaining only those princes on whom he could depend, such as Avak, Shahan Shah, Elikum the Orpelian, and Akbuka, son of Vahram.‡‡

According to the *Georgian Chronicle*, the advance guard of the Sultan's army was commanded by Dardan Sharwashidzé Apkhaz, promoted on account of his great valour. He was a Christian. With him was Pharadaula, son of Shalwa, lord of Thor and Akhal Tzikhé, who, according to Malakia, had been a refugee with the Sultan for many years. A large contingent of Georgians fought willingly enough in the Mongol ranks, in the hope of exacting vengeance from their bitter foes, the Mussulmans. The Sultan's army was very numerous, but this did not cow their opponents, who were accustomed to fight against great odds. "What

* The place was called Tchman Katuk, or Asechman gadug. Guiragos calls it a town, but there was no town of this name, but north-east of Erzenjan is a mountain called Chimenkedik (*le defile herbu*) by the Turks. Bar Hebræus (Chron. Syr., 519, Chron. Arab., 314) calls the place Kusa tagh (*i.e.*, "Mons sordidus"), while Novairi approximates more nearly to the Armenian historian in calling it Aksheher in the plain of Erzenjan. (D'Ohsson, iii. 81. Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 140. Note 1. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi., 429.)

† Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 139-140.

‡ In 1241 Shihab ud din, Prince of Mayafarkin, had received a summons, commencing "The Lieutenant of the Lord of Heaven upon Earth, the Khakan," and which offered him the title of *Selahdar*, or cupbearer, and bade him raze the walls of his fortresses. He pleaded that he was a very small person, and asked the Mongols to address themselves to the rulers of Rum, Syria and Egypt, whose example he would follow. (Makrizi, in D'Ohsson, iii. 85-86.)

§ Abulfeda, iv. 473. Haithon Chron., 34. D'Ohsson, iii. 80-81. Ante, i. 166.

‖ Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 518-519. ¶ Brosset, Hist. de la Géorgie, Add., 308.

** Chron. Syr., 520. Chron. Arab., 314. †† Op. cit., 446. ‡‡ Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 519. Note.

shall be my reward," said Baichu to Sargis, a brave and renowned warrior, the grandson of Kuarkuareh-Jakel, "for the news that I bring you? The Sultan has learnt that we were coming, and has set out himself. His camp is not far off, he has an innumerable host, and proposes to attack us to-morrow." Sargis replied, "I know your warlike ardour and your successes, oh Noyan, but this vast host does not seem to presage any good." "You know not," said Baichu, smiling, "our Mongol people. God has given us the victory, and we count as nothing the number of our enemies. The more they are, the more glorious it is to win; the more plunder we shall secure. Meanwhile make ready, for in to-morrow's fight we shall see what will become of them." It is thus, adds the chronicler, that they dared all nations. Malakia tells us the son of Shalwa (*i.e.*, Pharadaula) defeated the Tartars opposed to him, and killed many of them, but on the other side Akbuka, son of Vahram, and grandson of Blu Zakaria, fought valiantly with the battalion of noble Georgians and Armenians, his companions. They defeated the right wing of the Sultan's army, and killed several of his Amirs. Night soon after intervened, and the two armies encamped close together on the plains between Erzerum and Erzenjan. The following morning the Tartars, Armenians, and Georgians made a rush upon the enemy's camp. They found it abandoned, and secured a great booty. The Sultan's tent was splendidly decorated inside and out, and they found, *inter alia*, a panther, a lion, and a leopard chained at its entrance. The Sultan, we are told, had fled during the night, afraid of his Amirs, who wished to submit. Leaving a guard to watch over the camp, the Mongols went in pursuit.* The *Georgian Chronicle* says that Dardan Sharwashidzé Aphkhaz having been killed in the battle, the Sultan's people fled, when there was a terrible carnage, while a great many prisoners were made. The Sultan was much exasperated, and put to death Pharadaula out of hatred for the Georgians. The conduct of the latter won the hearts of their allies, who liberally divided the booty with them.† When the Sultan fled he sent his harem to Iconium, abandoned his baggage, and himself went to Ancyra.‡ The Turks were pursued for some distance mercilessly, and the victors then returned to plunder the dead. They ravaged the country round, and collected a great quantity of gold and silver, of rich vestures, of camels, horses, mules, and cattle.

The authorities differ as to the order of the next proceeding of the invaders, but it is natural to suppose they attacked Erzenjan, which resisted bravely. The citizens were, however, inveigled into a surrender, when they were mercilessly slaughtered, except the young people, who were reduced to slavery. W. de Nangis says that two Franks were made

* Brosset, Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 518-519. Adds., &c. 446-447.
† Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 519. ‡ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 511. Chron. Arab., 314.

prisoners in the town who were famed for their valour. The Mongols determined to pit one against the other, and having armed and horsed them, stood round to watch the fight. The two champions, however, turned upon them, and before they were killed had destroyed fifteen and wounded thirty Tartars.* Tephrikė, the modern Divirigi, paid heavy black mail, and was spared.† Sivas or Sebaste was also submissive, and purchased at least a respite by surrendering a portion of its wealth. The Mongols put shahnahs there, imposed the taxes of thal and talar, burnt the war engines they found, and destroyed the walls. They then apparently advanced upon Cæsarea, the citizens of which resisted for some days; but the town being at length captured, the grandees and rich people were put to death after having been tortured, while the women and children were carried off as slaves. Meanwhile the Sultan's mother took refuge with her daughter and dependents in Cilicia.‡ Seeing that resistance was useless, one of Kai Khosru's generals and the Kadhi of Amasia went at their own instance to the Mongol camp, which was then at Sivas, and undertook to pay an annual tribute of 400,000 pieces of money, and a certain number of rich cloths, horses, and slaves. According to the missionary friar Simon, as reported by Vincent of Beauvais, the Seljuki undertook to pay 12,000,000 hyperperes, 500 pieces of silk, 500 camels, and 5,000 sheep annually, which were to be transported free of cost to the Khakan's Court. Besides this tribute, a sum equal in value was to be disbursed in presents, while the various Tartar envoys who visited Rum were to be supplied with what they needed, free of cost. The Sultan, who was meanwhile at Iconium, gladly accepted these terms.§ The Sultan's notary computed that the cost of entertaining the Tartar envoys (perhaps shahnahs or commissaries is meant) during two years at Iconium, independent of the meat and wine they used, was 60,000 hyperperes. The treaty was made at Sivas, in the presence of Constantine, Lord of Lampron.‖ In this campaign the Mongols became the virtual masters of Rum as far as Angora, Gangra, a town of Paphlagonia, and Smyrna, while, as we know from Rubruquis, the ruler of Trebizond became their vassal.¶

The Mongols after these successes once more returned to winter in the plain of Mughan, and their Christian auxiliaries and allies again ransomed numbers of their co-religionists. At this time the Greeks and Latins were struggling for the Empire of the East, John Ducas, Vataces being the Greek Emperor, and Baldwin the Latin one. Both of them entered into negotiations with the beaten Seljuki sovereign for an alliance. The latter naturally preferred the stronger rival, Vataces, whose greater proximity to the Mongols made him a more certain ally. A meeting was

* Dom. Bouquet, xx. 342.
† Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 140. D'Ohsson and Von Hammer call the place Tokat.
‡ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 520. Chron. Arab., 314-315. § D'Ohsson, iii. 82-83. Note.
‖ Vincent of Beauvais, Spec. Hist., xxxi. 18. ¶ St. Martin Memoires, ii. 121, and Notes.

arranged at Tripoli on the Mæander, where the Sultan built a wooden bridge as a means of communication between the two camps. An offensive and defensive league was entered into between them, after which the Sultan returned to Iconium, and the Emperor to Philadelphia.*

The campaign of the Mongols against Rum naturally took them close to the famous town of Malatia, then governed by Rashid ud din Al Juveni, who, collecting such treasures as he could, withdrew with a number of the principal people towards Aleppo. Abulfaraj tells us his own father was wishful to accompany them, and had brought together some sumpter cattle to carry his treasures. He adds that a mule belonging to him, having bolted when being strapped to its burden, was caught and pillaged by the town boys, which is assuredly a naive story to occur in such a grim narrative. His father eventually stayed behind, and arranged with the Metropolitan for the defence of the place, Mussulmans and Christians meeting together to consult in the great church, and agreeing to man the walls, &c. The party which fled from the town were attacked ten parasangs off, at a place called Beth Goza in the Syrian, and Bajuza in the Arabic chronicle of Abulfaraj. Many of them were slaughtered, and the young people made prisoners, only a few regaining the town.† The following year (*i.e.*, 1244) a detachment of Mongols under Yassaur Noyan made an attack upon Syria, and by way of Mayafarkin, Mardin, and Edessa or Urfa, crossing the Euphrates, they advanced as far as Hailan (?), near Aleppo. They did not actually reach the latter city, as they were obliged to withdraw on account of the dryness and heat, which injured their horses' feet. Yassaur demanded black mail from the governor, which having been paid, he approached Malatia, where he laid waste the vineyards and orchards, and put to death everybody met with outside the town. Its governor, Rashid ud din, collected together gold and silver ornaments, &c., to the value of 40,000 gold pieces, together with sacred vessels from the churches, reliquaries, thuribles, candlesticks, crosses, covers of sacred books, &c., which he gave the invaders, and they returned home again. Abulfaraj tells us how, about this time, his father took his family, including himself, to Antioch, where they continued to live for some time.‡ The campaign just mentioned is named by Guiragos, who tells us the Mongols made a raid upon Mesopotamia, Amid, Urha (*i.e.*, Urfa or Edessa), Nisibin, Syria, &c. Although unopposed, they lost many men from the heats. On their return they ordered Erzerum to be restored, intrusting the work to Sargis, bishop of that town, and to Shahan Shah, son of Zakaria.§ In the autumn of 1244, as Matthew Paris tells us, Bohemund the Fifth, Prince of Antioch, received a summons from the Mongol commander

* Nicephorus Gregorias, and Akropolita. Stritter, iii. 1031-1033, and Notes. Lebeau, xvii. 411-412, *passim*.
† Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 521. Chron. Arab., 315.
‡ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 522-523. Chron. Arab., 318-319. § Op. cit., ed. Brosset, 145.

ordering him (1) to level the walls of his fortresses, (2) to send him all the revenue of his kingdom, and (3) to send him 3,000 young damsels. Bohemund refused, and Yassaur had too many men prostrate by the heats to enable him to compel him, and retired to Asia Minor. The following year Bohemund and the other Christian princes, his dependents, were constrained to submit and to pay tribute. Thenceforward they continued subject to the Mongols.

In the year 1245 the Mongols invaded the districts north of Lake Van. Having captured Khelat they made it over, with the surrounding districts, to Thamtha, the sister of Avak and widow of Malik Ashraf, to whom it had formerly belonged. After she had been captured by Jelal ud din, the Khuarezm Shah, she had fallen into the hands of the Mongols, and had visited the Court of the Khakan, where she had lived some years. When Hamad-ud-daula, the envoy of Rusudan, visited Ogotai, he was allowed to take her back with him. The Khakan then ordered that the possessions she held while her husband, the Malik Ashraf, was living, should be restored to her.* Haithon, King of Little Armenia, seeing how matters were going on, and probably not sorry to break the yoke of the Seljuki, now sent envoys with magnificent presents to the invaders. These envoys, we are told, were presented to Baichu, to Charmaghan's widow, Ailthina Khatun, and to the other officials. They demanded the surrender of the Seljuki Sultan's mother, wife, and daughter, who had sought shelter in Cilicia. As I have mentioned, Haithon professed to be greatly distressed at this demand, and said he would rather they had asked him to give up his son Leon, but he was constrained to obey. The Mongols were much pleased at his conduct, and sent him a tamgha, or official seal, constituting him a vassal of their empire.† He shortly after had to make head against Constantine, the Lord of Lampron (now called Nimrun Kalesi, situated two days' journey west of Tarsus, in one of the gorges of Mount Taurus). He had rebelled, and allied himself with the Sultan of Rum, who was naturally aggrieved at his harem having been surrendered. Together they invaded and ravaged Cilicia, but they were badly beaten, and their army almost destroyed.‡ Abulfaraj tells us they attacked Tarsus, where they were assailed by terrible rains, which converted the country round into mud, and made it very harassing for their horses. They were in this plight when news arrived of the death of their master, the Sultan Ghiath ud din Kai Khosru. This happened in 1246. Thereupon the grandees put his eldest son, Iz ud din Kai Kavus, on the throne, associating with him the latter's two younger brothers. Messengers now came from the Mongols demanding that Iz ud din should go to the Khakan's Court to do homage. He excused himself on the ground that he was afraid of the Greeks and Armenians, who were his enemies,

* *Id.*, 145. † Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 141. ‡ *Id.*, 142.

promised to go later, and offered to send his younger brother, Rokn ud din.* It seems a number of partisans of the latter wished to raise him to the throne. When the Grand Vizier, Shems ud din, of Ispahan, learnt this he had them seized and put to death. He then presumed to take the mother of Iz ud din into his harem, by whom he had a son, and finally dispatched Rokn ud din with rich presents for the Khakan.† Rokn ud din is called the Sultan of Khelat by the Georgian chronicler.

Meanwhile the Mongols gradually enlarged their borders. Bedr ud din Lulu, Prince of Mosul, on behalf of the Prince of Damascus, made a treaty with them, by which the people of Syria were taxed, the richest at ten dirhems per head, the middle class at five, and the poor at one. This tax was duly levied in 1245. The same year a detachment of them entered Sheherzur, eight days north of Baghdad, and sacked the town. News of this reached Baghdad by pigeon post. The following year they advanced as far as Yakuba, but were defeated by the troops of Baghdad, under the so-called Little Devatdar, who took some prisoners.‡

Let us now turn again to Georgia. According to the *Georgian Chronicle*, the Mongols, after their campaign against the Seljuki of Rum, went to their summer quarters of Gelakun and Mount Ararat, whence they sent messengers to Rusudan offering her their alliance, and bidding her send her son David to their camp, as they wished to confer the sovereignty of Tiflis and of all Georgia upon him. This authority tells us the Queen was charmed to comply, inasmuch as the Mongols never broke their promises, and always treated those well who submitted. She accordingly came down (*i.e.*, from her mountain retreat), with Shahan Shah and Avak, who were much esteemed by the Tartars, Shotha Kuprī Vahram, chief of Thor, Grigol Suramel, eristhaf of Karthli, Kuarkuar, commander of Samtzkhe and of Tzikhis-Juar, and chief of the armourers, and Sargis, commander of Thmogvi, with the people of Shawkheth, of Klarjeth and of Tao, who all went to meet the young Prince David. The latter was accompanied by Tzotné Dadian, a virtuous man and illustrious warrior; by the Bédian, the Eristhaf of Radsha, the Guriel, and the most distinguished people. They all went to Tiflis, and thence to Berdaa, where the Mongol Noyans were encamped. They received him well, and conferred on him all Georgia and Samshwildé (which had been previously conquered by Yassaur Noyan), and Angurga (also written Agurnaga), assisted by Avak. So great was the honour paid to the young prince that he was called Narin David (*i.e.*, David with the august countenance). Wakhucht says Narin means "arrived" (venu).§ The Mongols now sent news of their victories to the Khakan at Karakorum, and forwarded to him a richly ornamented head-dress, a suit of armour, &c. They reported also how the Georgians, king and people, had submitted; that

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 524. † Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 526. Chron. Arab, 320.
‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 88-89. § Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 520-521, 528. Note 3.

they professed a good religion, were truthful, and did not practice sorcery or magic, while the Persians were false, traitors, and breakers of their word, and much given to magic and sodomy. The Grand Khan sent word back that they must employ the Georgians, who were trustworthy warriors, to exterminate the Persians, and ordered their chiefs to be sent to him. Jaghatai Noyan therefore sent on Avak, who had been created Atabeg and commander-in-chief by Rusudan.* He travelled in company with the Seljuk Prince of Rum, Rokn ud din. We are told they traversed unknown kingdoms, where no Georgian had hitherto put his foot. They eventually reached the camp of Batu, who is described as singularly handsome. Avak had with him his chamberlain, David, son of Ivaneh of Akhal Tzikhé, who said to him: "As we are going into strange lands, and there is no knowing what may happen, it would be perhaps prudent that I should act the part of your master, and you that of my slave, and if they intend to kill you I shall be taken and executed. They will not heed a servant." After some entreaties, Avak consented, and on arriving before Batu, David passed himself off as his master. Batu treated them very well, and, seeing they had nothing to fear, on a further interview Avak himself passed in front. His host was astonished, and on having the matter explained to him, greatly praised David, saying: "If this be the quality of the Georgian race, I order it to have pre-eminence over all the races subject to our khanate;" and he issued a special order in this sense, and gave him an introduction to the Khakan.† Shortly after, the Mongol Noyans determined that the young King of Georgia should also visit Karakorum. He was accordingly sent there, and was accompanied by Bega, son of Grigol Suramel, eristhaf of Karthli; and the senior chamberlain, Beshken, son of Makhunjag Gurcelel, to whom were confided two pearls of great price. The party followed in the footsteps of Avak and Rokn ud din, and first went to the camp of Batu and then to the capital, where David was well received, and where he stayed with Avak.‡ Meanwhile, his mother, Rusudan, was living in the mountain district of Suaneth and Abkhazia. We are told she was pressed by Batu§ and by Baichu to go to their Courts. Having sent her submission to the former, he gave orders that she was to go and live at Tiflis. She was, however, much chagrined at the course of events and the absence of her son, and is said to have taken poison in her embarrassment how at the same time to conciliate Batu and Baichu, who were very jealous of one another. She was buried in the tomb of her family in the monastery of Gelath, and is still to be seen represented in rich costume on the walls of the church there.|| The date of her death is not quite certain. The Georgian annals give the impossible year 1231. Wakhucht gives

* Hist. de la Géorgie, 522. † *Id.*, 522-523. ‡ *Id.*, 528.

§ He is called the chief of the army which occupied the country of the Russians, of Ossethi and Derbend, by Guiragos.

|| Hist. de la Géorgie, 528-529. Note.

1237, but there is a letter extant sent by Pope Gregory the Ninth to her, showing she was living at that date. Chamchean says she poisoned herself in 1247, and it is not improbable that it really occurred in 1245-1246.

Georgia was now without a sovereign, Rusudan's son being away in Mongolia, while her nephew, according to the Georgian annals, was still a prisoner with the Sultan of Rum. The country was accordingly partitioned by the Noyans, who nominated chiefs of ten thousand, or Thumnis-mthawars. The first of these, we are told, was Egarslan Bakurtzikhel, a great orator and warrior, but without any worldly goods. To him they confided the forces of Hereth, Kakheth, of Kambejian, and the country from Tiflis as far as the mountains of Shamakha. Shahan Shah was given the appanage of Avak, in addition to his own. Vahram Gagel was given all Somkheth. Gregol got Suramel and Karthli, Gamrecel, of Thor, the rival in bravery of Egarslan, commanded in Jawakheth, in Samtzkhe, and as far as Karnukalak. And, lastly, Tzotné Dadian and the Eristhaf of Radsha, in all the kingdom beyond the mountain of Likh.* Their various troubles, and the harsh rule of the Mongols, drove the Georgians to despair, and we are told the Mthawars of Imier and of Amier held a meeting at Kokhta. There were present Shahan Shah, Egarslan, Tzotné Dadian, Vahram Gagel, Kupro Shotha, and the chiefs of Hereth, Kakheth and Karthli, with Gamrecel of Thor, Sargis of Thmogwi, the Meskhians, and those of Tao, and they decided to band themselves against the Tartars. Karthli was fixed upon as the place of meeting, and all withdrew to make preparations. When news of this plot reached the Noyans, Baichu and Angurg (? Arghun), they hastened to the borders of Kokhta, where they found the Georgian leaders, who had not yet collected their people. They were captured and taken to Shirakawan, in the district of Ani. On being brought before Charmaghan† they declared that they had no intention of rebelling, but had merely met to settle their own affairs, and to arrange the levying of the kharaj, or tax. The Noyans did not credit this, ordered them to be stripped, to be bound together, made them sit down naked and in chains, notwithstanding the heat, and threatened them with death if they did not confess. These punishments were repeated on several days.

Meanwhile, Tzotné Dadian, who lived a considerable distance away, and had gone to bring his people to the general rendezvous appointed by the conspirators, reached Rcinis-Juari between Samtzkhe and Ghado, where he heard how the princes had been carried off to Ani. He dismissed his people, and traversing Samtzkhe and Jawakheth, went himself to that town determined to share their fate. The Noyans had reached Ani, and their prisoners, the Georgian mthawars, were seated in the hippodrome there, naked and with their arms bound. Seeing them in

* Hist. de la Georgie, 529.
† This is an anachronism, for, as we have seen, he was dead.

this miserable condition and condemned to death, Tzotné Dadian dismounted, took off his clothes, had himself bound, and seated himself among them. The Tartars, who were astonished at this, and knew him well, asked for an explanation. He replied that they had merely assembled to regulate the kharaj, but had been treated as malefactors, and he thought it right to come as a witness. If they had done anything worthy of death he wished to die with the rest, while if they were innocent he wished to share in their justification. The Tartars, we are told, were astounded at so much virtue. "As the Georgians," they said, "are so good that they do not betray each other, and this prince has come from Abkhazia to sacrifice himself for his friends, and to devote himself to death, they are innocent of the crime, and we remit their punishment." The various chiefs were accordingly allowed once more to return to their homes.*

We now read that the didébuls of the kingdom met and blushed to have Egarslan as their head, who was of no better blood than their own. Thereupon Shahan Shah, Vahram Gagel, Kuarkuaré-Jakel, Sargis Thmogwel, Grigol Suramel, eristhaf of Karthli, Gamrecel of Thor, the Orpelians, and several mthawars, met together and concerted about a ruler, and especially about a strange rumour which had reached them that David, son of Lasha, was still living and a prisoner in Rum. They reported what they had heard to the Mongol commanders, and begged that they would restore to them the imprisoned prince. They consented, and Angurag was accordingly deputed to fetch him home. With him went Vahram Gagel and Sargis Thmogwel. When they reached the Court of the Sultan of Rum he told them that he had put the young prince in the pit seven years before, and that he must have died long ago. They then assured him how they had learnt he was still living. A man was accordingly sent to see. David was drawn up out of his retreat. He was half dead and demented—stiff and cold as one dead; his skin was yellow, his hair reached to his heels, while his nails were grown of an immense length. Vahram and his companions were moved to tears by the piteous sight. He was duly bathed, and dressed in suitable clothes and ornaments. Ghiath ud din professed to be greatly distressed at what had occurred, asked him to pardon him, and sent him back.† The story, which as told in the *Georgian Chronicle* contains several anachronisms, is also referred to in the history of the Orpelians, where we read that Rusudan made two attempts on her nephew's life, in one of which he was put into a chest and thrown into the sea, and in the second the people who had orders to kill him threw him into a deep pit. She afterwards shipped him to a distant country, and he eventually reached Mangu Khan.‡ Guiragos tells us that Rusudan having refused

* Hist. de la Géorgie, 533-535. † *Id.*, 536-537.
‡ St. Martin Memoires, ii. 155. Brosset, Hist. de la Siounie, 235.

to go to the Mongol camp, or to send her son, and Baichu being jealous of her intercourse with Batu, determined to set up her nephew, the son of Lasha, who was living with the Seljuk ruler, Ghiath ud din, and who had imprisoned him so that he might not plot against her.* Malakia tells us that Vahram, Lord of Gag, together with a Tartar chief and an escort of 100 men, were sent in all haste to Cæsarea for him. They duly found the young prince in a deep well, where he had been preserved by the divine will. He was tall and fair to look at, with a brown beard, and full of wisdom and divine grace. Having dressed him appropriately, and seated him on horseback, they took him with them to Tiflis, whence, by order of Baichu Noyan and Ailthina Khatun, he was sent on to the Court of the Grand Khan.†

The *Georgian Chronicle* says that although the Georgian grandees, Shahan Shah, his son Zakaria, Kuarkuareh-Jakel, Grigol Suramel, eristhaf of Karthli, the Orpelians, Gamrecel, Shotha-Kupri, and all the mthawars, except Egarslan, went to meet David Lasha, and received him with joy, they did not recognise him as King, but sent him to Batu, in company with Shahan Shah and Zakaria, Akbuka, son of Vahram, and Sargis Thmogwel. The author of this work evidently treats Batu as the supreme ruler of the western possessions of the Mongols to the south as well as north of the mountains. When David and his companions reached Batu's camp, he detained Zakaria, son of Shahan Shah, and Akbuka, son of Vahram, and sent David on to the Imperial Court, escorted by Sargis Thmogwel and other Georgians. There were thus two Davids, aspirants to the Georgian throne, both at Karakorum. When David Lasha arrived he was met by Avak, the Suramel Gamrecel, and the first chamberlain, Beshken, and they made a long stay at Karakorum.‡

Meanwhile the Mongols had begun a campaign against the Ismaelites or Assassins, which proved a very protracted one. They advanced against their chief fortress, Alamut, taking a body of Georgians with them. During the siege the citizens sent one of their number, who, evading the guards, made his way to the tent of Chaghatai, or Jagatai, one of the principal Mongol leaders, and assassinated him. In the morning the guards, having discovered the dead body of their master, began to weep for him. His troops also collected about his tent. It was not known who had done the deed, and it was declared that the Georgians, who had been much ill-used by the Mongols, had done it. Charmaghan (?) opposed this view, and declared that the Georgians were not a race of homicides. The exasperated soldiers, however, made their way to the Georgian camp, some of whose occupants prepared to defend themselves, while others, feeling too weak, awaited the turn of affairs. Thereupon Grigol Suramel, eristhaf of Karthli, spoke out,

* Op. cit., ed. Brosset, 157. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 437-438.
† Brosset, Add., 449. ‡ Op. cit., 537-538.

and said they were too weak to resist, and that resistance would assuredly lead to their being exterminated, while if they refrained the Mongols would merely revenge themselves on a few thawads like himself, and spare the rest. He advised them all, meanwhile, to go down on their knees, and in sets of three to implore the aid of the Virgin. Our naive chronicler says that when they had done so, and the Tartars were advancing to overwhelm them, a man came out of the reeds holding a poised lance soiled with blood. Raising his arm on high, he cried out, "Man kuchem Chaghatai! man kuchem Chaghatai," which in Persian means, "It is I who killed Chaghatai." Thereupon the Tartars rushed upon him. He fled again among the reeds. These were fired, and he was driven out and captured. Brought before Charmaghan (?), Yassaur, and Baichu, and being interrogated by them, he said he was a distinguished Mulahid (*i.e.*, an Assassin), that his chiefs had given him plenty of gold, and bidden him go and kill one of the four Noyans. On being asked why, having hidden among the reeds, he had come forward and confessed his crime in the face of all, he replied that while he was in the thickest part of the reeds a beautiful woman had met him, saying, "What have you done? You have killed a man, and many innocent people will suffer death for it." "What should I do, Queen?" I replied. "Go forth and say you did it, and thus save a crowd of people." "I thereupon rose and followed her, and she led me towards you. When I had made my confession she disappeared. I know not whence she came." The Tartars thereupon clave him in two. The *Chronicle* compares the beneficent act of the Virgin on this occasion with her intervention to save Constantinople when attacked by the Khakan of the Avars in 626.*

Having described the various troubles brought upon Georgia by the Mongols, it is well to recall them in a more humane capacity. Guiragos tells us how, in 1247, the Vartabied Hoseph, who went about repairing the damage done by the Turks and the Georgians, visited a Tartar chief named Angurag, who had his summer quarters near the tomb of the Apostle Thaddeus, who gave him permission to clean the church and re-dedicate it. He also restored the monastery, and assembled a crowd of worshippers. The Tartar, we are further told, caused roads to be prepared in various directions to it, and issued orders that the monks were not to be molested by his people, many of whom had their children baptised.† This is not the only instance we have of the very considerate treatment of the Christians by the Mongols. The Syrian doctor previously named having mentioned Ter Nerses, the Catholicos of the Aghuans, to Ailthina Khatun, widow of Charmaghan, he was summoned to her camp. He was then living in the monastery of Khamshi, in the district of Miaphor, and was subject to Avak. He duly

* Op. cit., 530-531.
† Op. cit., ed. Brosset, 154-155. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 446-447.

went to Mughan, carrying with him suitable presents. The Syrian doctor was then absent at Tebriz. He was nevertheless well received by Ailthina, who gave him a seat above her principal officers. They were assembled to celebrate the wedding of her son, Bora or Basra Noyan, with the daughter of a chief of high rank, Khutan Noyan, and of her daughter with another chief named Usur Noyan. She gave the Catholicos an introduction to her brothers Sadik Agha and Gorgoz, who were Christians and had lately arrived from their country, and who treated him with great consideration. She also gave him presents, and a tamgha protecting him from imposts, and assigned him a Mongol as an escort, who conducted him back to the country of the Aghuans (*i.e.*, to Arran), and went with him about his diocese, where for a long time he and his predecessors had hardly dared to show their faces on account of the Mussulmans.*

The inauguration of Kuyuk Khan, in 1246, was attended by a very remarkable body of persons of rank and consequence, from many latitudes; an assemblage which, better than aught else, proves the far-reaching power and influence of the Mongols at this period. Abulfaraj tells us that in addition to his relatives, the descendants of Jingis Khan, it was attended by the Amir Masud Beg, from Mavera un Nehr and Turkestan; by Arghun, from Khorasan, who was accompanied by the grandees of Irak, Lur, Azerbaijan, and Shirvan; by Sultan Rokn ud din, of Rum; by "The Constable," *i.e.*, Sempad, brother of Haithon, King of "Cilicia;" by the two Davids, the Greater and Lesser, from Georgia; by the brother of the Malik of Syria, Al Nasir; by the chief judge, Fakhr ud din, from Baghdad (representing the Khalif); and some chiefs of Kuhistan, representing Alai ud din, Lord of Alamut.† From other sources we learn that the famous kuriltai was also attended by Yaroslaf, Prince of Russia; by the son of Bedr ud din Lulu, Lord of Mosul; by Kutb ud din, cousin of the ruler of Kerman; and by a Prince of Fars. A notice of the visit of Sempad is contained in a letter he wrote to Henry, King of Cyprus (*i.e.*, Henry of Lusignan), his sister Emelin, and his brother John de Hibelin. He tells us that, journeying to further the cause of Christianity, he arrived at Sautequant (otherwise read Saussequant, *i.e.*, no doubt, Samarkand). He saw many large and opulent cities which had been laid waste by the Tartars, some three miles in circuit, and more than 100,000 mounds of bones of those whom the Tartars had killed. He says he crossed one of the rivers of Paradise, called Geon (*i.e.*, the Jihun). After journeying for eight months, he had barely traversed one-half of the dominions of the Tartars, whom he describes as excellent archers, terrible to look at, and very numerous. Five years, he says, had elapsed since their Great Khan had died, and a general

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 144. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 438-441.
† Op. cit., Chron. Arab., 320.

assembly took place of all their notables to elect a successor. They came to this meeting from various directions—some from India, others from Cathay, others from Russia, others from Cascat (*i.e.*, Kashgar) and Tangath (*i.e.*, Tangut). This is the land, he says, whence came the three kings to worship Christ at Bethlehem, and the people of that land were Christians. He had been in their churches, and seen Christ painted with the three kings making their offerings, one of gold, one of incense, and the third of myrrh. He says further, the people of Tangath had been converted by the three kings, and their Khan had thus become a Christian. At the doors of the Tartar tents were churches, where bells were rung after the fashion of the Latins, and paintings after the manner of the Greeks, and it was customary to attend service in the early morning, and afterwards to pay respect to the Khan in his palace. He found many Christians scattered throughout the east, and saw many churches which had been devastated by the Tartars before they became Christians. He tells us the Tartars had made an invasion of India, and carried off 500,000 Indians, so that the East was full of Indian slaves. He also heard that the Pope had sent to the Khan to inquire if he was a Christian, and why he had sent his people to destroy the Christians and others. To this he had replied that God had ordered him to send his people to destroy the bad, and as to whether he was a Christian or no, if the Pope wished to know he had better go and inquire for himself. This last paragraph doubtless refers to the mission of Carpini and Benedict of Poland.* Malakia, speaking of these events, tells us that Haithon, having determined to submit to the Tartars, and to pay them tribute and the *khalan*, so that they should not enter his country, entered into an arrangement with Baichu Noyan, after which he sent his brother, the Baron Sempad, Generalissimo of Armenia, to Sain Khan (*i.e.*, the Good Khan, meaning Batu), who then ruled over the dominions of Jingis. He set out and had an interview with Sain Khan, who greatly loved the Christians. He received Sempad very graciously, and gave him the title of Sgamish (?) and a Mongol Khatun for a wife, named Bkhtakhavor. He was furnished also with a great yarligh and a golden paizah.† Sempad was very well received, and returned with letters patent for his brother, and an order for the restitution of various districts which had once belonged to King Leon, and of which he had been deprived by the Sultan of Rum, after the death of that prince.‡ Sempad was accompanied on his way home by Rokn ud din, the Seljuk Prince of Rum. On the latter's arrival at Kuyuk's Court, one of his officers, named Baha ud din, the interpreter, had accused the Vizier of Rum of having set up Iz ud din without the Khakan's consent, and abused him for his other recent acts. Kuyuk thereupon ordered the deposition of Iz ud din, and his replacement by Rokn ud din, and also that Beha ud

* William de Nangis, Gesta Sancti Ludov. Dom. Bouq., xx. 360-362. † Malakia, 448.
‡ Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 157-158. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 452-453.

din should have the post of Vizier. The latter, on his return, proceeded with 2,000 Mongols to proclaim Rokn ud din at Erzenjan, Sebaste, Cæsarea, Malatia, and in the fortresses of Saida and Amid.* The Vizier, Shems ud din, is, perhaps, the same person as the brother of Ghiath ud din, who, we are told by Guiragos, had married a daughter of Leshkar, Sultan of Greece, who reigned at Ephesus (*i.e.*, Lascaris, the Emperor of Nicæa), and who had usurped power at Iconium (?), thanks to the assistance of his father-in-law, while his young brother had done so at Halaia, a town of Western Karamania.†

When Shems ud din heard of the decision of the Khakan, he sent Rashid ud din, the Prefect of Malatia with a quantity of treasure to the Khakan, to obtain a revocation of the order; but having heard of the rapid approach of Baha ud din, he deposited the treasure at Kamah, and fled to Aleppo. Shems ud din now tried to escape with his protégé, Iz ud din, from Iconium, so as to set him up in the maritime district; but he was seized and imprisoned, and presently Baha ud din sent a body of Mongols, who tortured him until he disclosed where his treasures were, and then put him to death. Abulfaraj tells us he was a learned man, and wrote some elegiac verses on his own fate, which were elegant and steeped in pathos. It was now arranged, by the influence of an ascetic named Jelal ud din Keratai, who had great influence at Iconium, and who had been instrumental in arresting Shems ud din, that the empire should be divided between the two brothers: the western parts, with Iconium, Akserai, Ancyra, Anatolia, &c., being assigned to Iz ud din; and the eastern districts, including Cæsarea, Sivas, Malatia, Erzenjan, Erzerum, &c., being given to Rokn ud din; while large private domains were made over to Alai ud din. The partisans of Rokn ud din wished to insist, however, on the Khakan's decision being carried out to the letter. An interview between the brothers to settle matters was arranged at Axara or Cæsarea, where Rokn ud din and his chief supporter, Baha ud din, were treacherously surprised by some partisans of Iz ud din, who carried them off to Iconium. He did not treat them badly, however, and eventually the empire was jointly ruled, and the coin was struck in the names of all three brothers, with the inscription: "The very great Kings, Iz, and Rokn, and Alai."‡ Brosset says the names do, in fact, occur together in the year 647 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1249).

To return again to Kuyuk's inauguration as Khakan. It was there decided that the two Davids should occupy the throne of Georgia after one another, the older of the two, David, son of Lasha, reigning first.

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* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 526-527. Chron. Arab., 321.

† Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 158. Brosset says that he could not find any confirmation of this match in the "Familiæ Augustæ" of Ducange, nor in the articles on Lascaris and Vataces, nor in that devoted to the Sultans of Iconium, nor, lastly, in the two chronicles of Abulfaraj. At this time John the Third Vataces, and not Theodore Lascaris, was Emperor of Nicæa. He reigned 1222-1255.

‡ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 527-528. Chron. Arab., 321-322.

Kuyuk ordered a splendid throne, belonging to the Georgian kings, and a marvellous crown, which had belonged to Khosru the Great, the father of Tiridates II., King of Armenia, and had been taken to Georgia for safety with other things, to be sent to him. The remaining objects in the treasury were to be divided between the two princes.* On the return of David, the principal chiefs in the Mongol service, Avak, who had the rank of generalissimo, Shahan Shah, son of Zakaria, Vahram, and his son, Akbuka, took him to Medzkhitha, where they summoned the Georgian Catholicos, and had him consecrated. In gratitude to Vahram, he styled himself Vahramul (*i.e.*, enthroned by Vahram).† David, son of Lasha, lived at Tiflis, and the other David in Suaneth.

At the kuriltai above named, the envoys of the Assassins were ignominiously expelled, while those of the Georgians, Franks, and of the Khalif were sharply upbraided.‡ Kuyuk superseded Baichu as generalissimo of the forces in the west, and appointed in his place Ilchikidai, called Elchi Gaga by Guiragos. He was the son of Khadjiun, Jingis Khan's brother, and had distinguished himself at Herat in Jingis Khan's invasion. Abulfaraj, who calls him Iljiktai, says he was given charge of Rum, Mosul, Syria, and Georgia.§ He was authorised to receive the taxes there, and each of the princes of the blood was ordered to furnish two men out of every ten to form his army, and he was, on arriving in Persia, to make a similar levy there. Kuyuk announced his intention of himself marching to the west, and the army of Ilchikidai was to act as his advance guard.‖ We have seen how, on the death of Ogotai, Arghun was nominated Governor of Khorasan, &c.¶ Having left several commissaries in Khorasan to receive the tribute, he hastened on to Irak and Azerbaijan to relieve those provinces from the exactions of the Mongol commanders, who treated them as if they were their private property. At Tebriz he was met by envoys from the rulers of Rum and Syria, who tendered their masters' homage, and he sent deputies to collect the taxes there. Meanwhile, the general control of the finances was left in the hands of Sherif ud din, the Ulugh Bitikji, who obtained his post through the influence of Fatima, a favourite of the regent, Turakina.** He behaved in a very cruel and arbitrary manner, put spies in the houses of the people, kept them without food, or put them to the torture, in order to extract more from them. The ministers of the Muhammedan faith, the widows and orphans who had been treated

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 157. *Journ. Asiat.*, 5th ser., xi. 451-452.
† Malakia, 449. Lebeau, xvii. 460. ‡ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 525. *Chron. Arab.*, 321.
§ Chron. Arab., 320. ‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 205.

¶ Arghun and his family filled a famous rôle in the history of the Ilkhans. He was a Uirad by birth, and had been sold by his father during a famine to a Jelair officer, named Iluki, from whom he passed into Ogotai's service. As he could write the Uighur character he entered the Chancellery, and was appointed jointly with Koban on an important mission in China. It was apparently his address on this occasion which caused him to be selected as arbitrator between Ungu Timur and Kurguz, as we have described. (D'Ohsson, iii. 121-122. Ilkhans, i. 89.)

** He was the son of a porter at Khuarezm, and entered the service of Chin Timur, whom he accompanied to Khorasan as secretary, his knowledge of Mongol making his services invaluable. (D'Ohsson, iii. 122-123.)

with tenderness by Jingis Khan, were now trampled upon. At Tebriz, people pledged and sold their children, and a teacher even had to sell the shroud of one of his tenants who was dead. At Rai the proceeds of the various exactions were piled up in the mosques, into which the sumpter beasts were driven, while the sacred carpets were used to cover up the goods. Happily Sherif ud din died in 1244, and Arghun tried to alleviate the misery he had caused by remitting some of the taxes and releasing some of the victims. He now set out for Tartary with a great crowd of functionaries and many presents to attend the inauguration of the Khakan Kuyuk, to whom he handed over, much to the Khakan's satisfaction, a great quantity of illegal assignations of revenue, &c., which had been issued during the regency. He was retained in his government, and was nominated as civil governor and head of the finances of Khorasan, Irak-Ajem, Azerbaijan, Shirvan, Kerman, Georgia, and that part of Hindustan then subject to the Mongols (*i.e.*, the Punjaub, as far as the Biah). The post of Ulugh Bitikji was conferred on Fakhr ud din Bihishti. Arghun was met on his return at Merv by the various grandees of the country, who welcomed him at a great feast.*

Guiragos says that on his accession, Kuyuk sent commissaries to collect a tithe of the property secured by the Mongol armies in Persia, as well as to levy taxes on the various conquered countries. He says that Arghun, who had attended the kuriltai, where Kuyuk was elected, was at their head, and under him was a very tyrannical official named Bugha. Surrounded by a crowd of Persians and other Mussulmans, he made heavy exactions from the grandees then in camp without anyone daring to oppose him. He seized the Armenian Prince Hasan, surnamed Jelal, and put him to the torture; seized and demolished his strong fortresses of Khoiakhan, or Khokhanaberd (now ruined, and situated near Kantza Sar), Degh, or Tet, Dzirana-Kar (the two latter near Khokhanaberd), &c., and so completely destroyed them that their traces were not to be seen when he wrote. Hasan barely saved his life by the payment of a large sum of money. Bugha tried to seize Avak also and to put him to the torture, but having been warned, the latter showed such a bold front with his people that he was cowed. Bugha shortly after died of an ulcer in the throat.† Arghun had enemies at head-quarters whom it was necessary to appease, and had reached Taraz, on his way thither, when he heard of Kuyuk's death. He received orders from Ilchikidai to return to make provision for the campaign, which he proposed making. In 1249-50, the Mongols made another raid upon the territory of Baghdad, and advanced as far as Dakuka, where they killed the Prefect Bilban. The next year Nasir, Prince of Damascus, received letters of safety from the Khakan, which he carried in his girdle, and for which he showed his gratitude by sending handsome presents.‡

* D'Ohsson, iii. 126. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1152. Note.
† Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 155-156. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 447-449. ‡ Novairi, D'Ohsson, iii. 91.

Meanwhile, Georgia continued to suffer from the Mongol depredations. Malakia tells us that the pious and good King David and his Court passed their time in enjoying themselves, and in drinking. One day there was a grand feast, and as the Georgians were great boasters, and fond of using big phrases, a Georgian prince began to sum up the number of the various princes subject to the King, and boasted that there were a thousand grandees, and that one of them had 700 soldiers ready to defend their master. These words were re-echoed in the crowded feasts, and they began to count the forces which the Armenians and Georgians could bring together against the invaders. The Tartars were, meanwhile, very exacting, and demanded much from the Georgian princes and generals: from some, gold or cloth; from others, gerfalcons, a good dog, or a horse, &c., all of which were demands in excess of the regular imposts, the *mal*, the *thaghar*, and the *khalan*. These exactions were the cause of the murmurs that arose at the feast, which were duly reported by some traitor, and led to a fresh invasion of the country and fresh pillage. The King and principal grandees, including Avak (who being ill and not able to ride, was dragged off in a coffin), were taken to the tent of their chief.*

Guiragos says that their intention of putting them to death was prevented by Jagatai, one of their principal commanders, who was a friend of Prince Avak, and who adjured them at their peril not to kill those who were peaceable subjects of the Khakan without the latter's authority. Khochak, Avak's mother, who had gone to their camp, offered to guarantee his fidelity. The Mongols proceeded to tie them together with cords, and kept them thus for three days, jeering at them meanwhile, to show their contempt. Having then made them give up their horses and pay a ransom, they let them go; but they nevertheless invaded Georgia and plundered a number of districts, indifferent whether they were rebellious or not. They made a great many prisoners, and, we are told, threw a crowd of children into the rivers. This took place in 1249, and the next year Avak died, and was buried with his father, Ivaneh, at Pghntzahank.† He left only an illegitimate son, and a daughter Khochak, who was very young. His principality was given by the Mongols to his cousin Zakaria, the son of Shahan Shah. They soon after deprived him of it, and made it over to Avak's widow, Vartoish Kontsa. Sempad had been nominated guardian to Avak's children. He soon quarrelled with her, and by order of Khulagu had her drowned. Khochak, Avak's daughter, was eventually married to Shems ud din Muhammed, Khulagu's Vizier, and brother of the historian, Juveni.‡

Mangu Khan's inauguration took place on the 1st of July, 1251. Guiragos has a curious story to tell about this election, which is interesting as that of a contemporary, and which I had overlooked in

* Malakia, op. cit., 450. † Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 158-159. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 456.
‡ Brosset, Hist. de la Siounie, 234. St. Martin, ii. 151 and 288.

writing the previous volumes. He describes Batu as occupying the vast plains of Kipchak with an immense army, and as living under tents, which, during the migrations of his people, were transported on waggons, drawn by great teams of cattle and horses. The princes of his family recognised his supremacy, and he who became khan had need of his countenance. On the death of Kuyuk, he goes on to say, they offered the post to Batu himself or to the one he should nominate for it. He set out for the purpose of fulfilling this duty, leaving his son Sertak in command at home. When he nominated Mangu some members of his family were displeased that he did not either mount the throne himself or place Khoja Khan (*i.e.*, the Khoja Ogul of the Persian writers), the son of Kuyuk, on it. They did not dare to openly oppose him, but revolted against Mangu, whereupon he ordered several of them to be put to death, including Elchi Gaga (*i.e.*, Ilchikidai), who had been nominated generalissimo in Persia in the place of Baichu. He was denounced to Batu by the chiefs of the army, who were afraid of his haughty temper, was accused of refusing to support Mangu, taken before Batu in chains, and by him was put to death.* Ilchikidai was arrested at Badghiz, in Khorasan. His two sons, who were at the Imperial Court, were put to death, by having stones thrust into their mouths.† After this, we are told by Guiragos, kings, princes, and great merchants, together with those who had been molested or plundered of their goods, sought out Batu, who decided impartially among them, and committed his decision to writing sealed with his tamgha, and no one dared disobey his orders. Guiragos says positively that Batu's son, Sertak, was brought up by Christian governors, and that when he grew up he embraced Christianity, and was baptised by the Syrians, who had brought him up. He was very good to the Christians, and with the consent of his father he freed the Christian priests from the payment of dues, and extended the same privilege to the mosques and those who served them. His camp was constantly visited by Christian prelates, and attached to it was a tent where the sacred mysteries were constantly performed. Among those who visited his camp was the Armenian Prince, Hasan, familiarly styled Jelal, who was courteously treated by Sertak. There also went the princes Gregory, habitually styled Tgh'á, *i.e.*, infant, although he was an elderly man ; the Prince Desum, the Vartabied Mark, and the Bishop Gregory. Sertak conducted Jelal to his father, Batu, who restored him the fortresses of Charapert, Agana, and Gargar, in the district of Khachen, and the province of Artsakh, of which he had been deprived by the Turks and Georgians. He also received a diploma in favour of the Catholicos of Aghovania, or Albaniá, Nerses, granting him exemption from taxes, and a free right to traverse the various dioceses of his patriarchate. Jelal returned, well satisfied, but presently, harassed by Arghun and his people,

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 172. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 458. † D'Ohsson, ii. 259.

he repaired to the Court of Mangu Khan.* We described the doings of Arghun until the death of Kuyuk. During the interregnum which followed, fresh and illegal assignations were issued to the various princes of the blood, who again settled like gad-flies upon the unfortunate country. With his subordinates, Arghun received a summons to attend the kuriltai, where Mangu was elected Khakan in 1251. He reported how the country was being ruined by the issue of indiscriminate taxing orders, and Mangu ordered the various intendants of Persia to present each a separate report on the evils which affected their districts, and the remedies they proposed. They were all agreed that the best plan was to introduce a capitation tax proportioned to the means of those who had to pay, similar to the one Mahmud Yelvaj had established in Transoxiana. This was decided upon, and a poll-tax varying from one dinar to ten per head was appointed, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to paying the soldiery and keeping up the postal communications, and on no pretence was more to be exacted. Arghun's skill and prudence secured his re-appointment, and he received a paizah or official tablet marked with a lion's head. Baha ud din Juveni, the famous historian, was nominated finance minister, while a second finance minister, named Sarraj ud din, was nominated as his coadjutor by Nikbey, who ruled over the dominions of Jagatai. The Khakan nominated two commissaries in addition, while each of his brothers, Khubilai, Khulagu, Arikbuka, and Moga had his agent at his Court. Persia was divided into four governments, the governor of each being styled Malik, and having a paizah marked with a lion's head. Their subordinates had tablets of gold or silver according to their rank. The Khakan, in sending them to their appointments, presented them with robes of Chinese brocade.†

We saw how Sempad succeeded his brother Elikum as head of the Orpelians, and ruler of a large district in Armenia. He was a very accomplished person, and we are told could speak five languages, namely, Armenian, Georgian, Uighur, Persian, and Mongol.‡ The Orpelians were at feud with the family of Avak, who secretly intrigued against them. The Mongol general Baichu, we are told by Stephen the Orpelian, was at this time encamped at the entrance of Tzagé Tzor, in the province of Haband. He says he took by force David, the Little King of Siunia (*i.e.*, David, son of Rusudan), and detained him prisoner in his camp, but he some time after succeeded in escaping at night with three companions. David had with him a beautiful precious stone, of great size and brilliancy, and of a red colour, probably a ruby. He also had a piece of the true cross, which was valued more than all his kingdom. He passed through Kudeni, which belonged to one of the nobles of Sempad, named Tankreghul (*i.e.*, servant of God), who tried to arrest

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 173. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 459-460.
† D'Ohsson, iii. 126-128. ‡ Ante, 22-23. St. Martin Memoires, ii. 127

him, whereupon he drew out a little leathern bag, which was suspended about his neck, containing the precious objects already mentioned. This he gave to his captor, and told him to give it to his master Sempad, for it was worth more than his kingdom. He was to tell him to keep it, and that if he once more regained his kingdom, he would reward him with any town or district he might ask for. If he should not succeed in this venture he might keep it for himself. Sempad, when he received this present, thanked God for it; but fearing he might not be able to hide it, he thought it better to make a present of it to Mangu Khan, and at the same time secure his pity for his countrymen. He accordingly went to Baichu, and asked him to take the jewel for himself if he wanted it, and if not to let him go and offer it to the Khakan. He bade him do the latter, and provided him with an escort. This was in 1251. On the way he visited the monastery of Noravank'h, where he offered prayers for a safe journey and a happy termination of his mission. He then went on, and after a long journey reached Karakorum. Mangu, Stephen says, was pious, and had at the gate of his great palace a church, where services went on continuously without molestation. The Mongols, he says, loved the Christians, whom they called Ark'haiun, and all the country professed Christianity!!!

When he arrived, he visited the various grandees, and communicated to them the object of his journey. They presented him to the Khakan, to whom he gave the precious stone. He was much pleased with it, and inquired whence he had come. Sempad then enlarged on the desolation of Armenia, the loyalty of his brother, who was in the service of Arslan Noyan, and the possessions he had lost. Mangu listened attentively to him, and then handed him over to his mother, Siurkukteni (called Surakhthembek by our author), who was the daughter of the Kerait Prince Jakembo, and gave him the title of enchu (*i.e.*, lord).* He asked him to stay awhile at the Court, and ordered his officials to supply his needs. He lived there three years, during which he was very diligent in his religious services. He had with him a small consecrated wafer, before which he said his prayers. He was thus saying them on one occasion when, as Stephen says, a luminous cross appeared, which shed its light over the place. Mangu, we are told, was informed of this, and himself went to see it. Sempad was unconscious of it. When Mangu summoned him to explain he could only produce the small host, whereupon Mangu descended from his throne, bent his knees, uncovered his head, and declared that the cross upon it was like the luminous cross he had seen. After this he paid great deference to Sempad. He gave him a golden paizah, or official tablet, and also a yarligh, or diploma, and conferred on him all the district which

* St. Martin says this title still subsists among the Mongols and Manchus in a slightly altered form, namely, as edshan among the former, and edshen among the latter.

had been conquered by Arslan Noyan, together with Orodn, the fort of Borodn, and its revenues. He also obtained privileges for the clergy of Armenia. He now returned home again. With the help of Baichu he once more occupied his heritage of Orodn (as far as the frontiers of Borodn and Bghen), in which was situated Tathev, the episcopal see of Siunia, then in ruins. He also took Eghékis, and all the district of Vaio-Tzor, Phogha-Hank, Urdz, and Védi, with its dependent valley, as far as Eréron, and many places in the country of Kotaikh and Geghak'huni, and emancipated the clergy of his province and of all Armenia. He founded monasteries and restored ruined churches. For a long time the residence of the bishops of Siunia had been in ruins. The bishop, John, and his nephew, Hairapied, had begun to build a monastery with the permission of Baichu's wife, but could not continue it on account of their poverty, there only remaining one house out of all the property of the Church. Sempad now devoted all his efforts to this work.*

Stephen, the Orpelian, tells us that Arghun, the administrator of Persia, was summoned to Mangu's Court to answer a charge of treason, and that when Sempad arrived he found him in chains. He says that the charges against him were preferred by Sevinjbeg and Sharaphadin (*i.e.*, Sherif ud din Khuarezmi, his naib or lieutenant, but the latter apparently died in 1244, *vide* ante). Sevinjbeg was also an enemy of Sempad's, and had some intention of poisoning him. On his arrival Mangu inquired from him about Arghun's proceedings, if he had ruined the country, put to death the priests, and been an assassin, as was reported. Sempad justified Arghun completely, and charged his enemies with being the real offenders. Thereupon Mangu summoned a council, and Sevinjbeg and Sherif ud din were put to death. Arghun was released from prison and promoted. He recommended Sempad to him, and they returned together.† Our author dates these events in 1256, during Sempad's second visit to the Court, but, as St. Martin argues,‡ they clearly refer to the first one, in 1251-4.

It was in 1254 when Arghun, who had been reinstated, as we have seen, arrived once more in the west, accompanied, according to Guiragos, by an official attached to Batu's Court, named K'ura Agh'a, or Thora Agha, charged with making a census. They inscribed all males above the age of ten on their registers, and insisted upon all paying taxes. The people again began to be ground down, torments were applied freely, and those who could not pay had to part with their children. The tax collectors were escorted by Muhammedan Persians, and they were assisted in their miserable work by those grandees whose property had been spent. These exactions did not suffice. They made all artisans pay a licence tax, they taxed the lakes and ponds where fish were caught, iron

* Hist. de la Siounie, ed. Brosset, 229-232. St. Martin Memoires, ii. 128-139.
† Hist. de la Siounie, ed. Brosset, 232-233. St. Martin Memoires, ii. 141-145.
‡ Op. cit., ii. 282. Note 4.

mines, smiths and masons—Brosset adds perfumers. They destroyed the canals which belonged to the native chiefs, and seized the salt mines of Koghb, situated at the foot of Mount Takhaltu, in the district of Surmalinski, south of the Araxes. They also extorted gold, silver, and precious stones from the merchants. Thus they reduced the country to great distress. One man alone remained rich. This was a merchant named Umeg, called Asil by the Mongols, who had been spared at the sack of Karin. At Tiflis, where he lived, he was styled "Father of King David." Having presented Arghun with some valuable gifts, he was treated with great consideration, as were also the clergy, about whom the Mongols had no orders from the Khan, also the sons of Saravan, Shnorhavor, and of Mkrtich.* The *Georgian Chronicle* tells us Arghun caused an inventory of everything to be taken, men and animals, ploughed lands and vineyards, gardens and orchards, while one peasant in every nine was inscribed on the rolls for military service; the number of Georgians thus enrolled amounted to 90,000, which gives a male population of about a million, and as the clergy, both Christian and Muhammedan, were exempted, this would give a population of about 5,000,000 for the provinces of Karthli and Kakheth, in which David alone ruled—a number which seems impossible, for in the census of 1836 the whole population of these provinces was only 225,395. Our author says that each village furnished a lamb and a piece of gold for every chiliarch, and two sheep and a gold piece for each myriarch, as well as three whites per day for the keep of a horse. M. Brosset says the white is a mere money of account, and in modern times is of the value of the hundredth part of an abaz, an abaz being worth eighty kopeks.† According to the *Georgian Chronicle*, Arghun was a protégé of Batu Khan, of Kipchak, and it makes him employ him in all parts of his empire—in Russia, Khazaria, Ossethi, Kipchak, as far as the Land of Clouds (*i.e.*, the Arctic country), in the east and in the north, and as far as Khatai. It calls Arghun a friend of equity, very truthful in his language, a deep thinker, and profound in counsel, and says he was employed by Batu to make the census, to fix the military conscription, and to pay to each, great and small, according to his position, the dues for the horses, &c., furnished for the posts on the great roads. It also says that Batu sent him to Karakorum, to Khubilai Khakan, who employed him in a similar way in his dominions. Thence he went to the capital of Jagatai, in Turan, where Ushan (?) reigned, and having regulated matters there, crossed the Jihun, and did the same in Khorasan, Irak, and Romgor (? Rum), whence he passed, under the patronage of Khulagu, into Georgia and Greece (*i.e.*, the Seljuki territory).‡

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 175. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 462-463.

† The date of this census is not easy to settle. Vartan, Malakia, and Guiragos all date it in 1254. The *Georgian Chronicle* puts it after Khulagu's arrival in Persia; while St. Martin, basing his conclusion on the authority of Abulfaraj and Rashid ud din, dates it in 1250. (See Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 175-176. Note 6.)

‡ Op. cit., 550-551.

Mangu was visited by Haithon, the King of Armenia, whose journey has previously occupied us.* We shall have more to say about it presently, and will now turn to that of another Armenian prince. We have seen how the Georgian prince Avak and his family were at feud with Sempad, the head of the Orpelians. They constantly incited Arghun against him, offered him presents if they might be allowed to destroy him, promising at the same time not to appropriate to themselves any of his territory. He would not consent, but nevertheless they captured several of his towns and ravaged the remainder. He thereupon determined once more to visit the Court of the Khakan Mangu, and having obtained the permission of Arslan Noyan, he duly set out. This was in 1256.† He was well received by Mangu. On his return the favours he received from the Mongols disconcerted his enemies, and he continued to prosper under the patronage of Khulagu. The latter sent him to the country of Pasen, to cut wood for the palace he was building at Alatagh.‡ Haithon and Sempad the Orpelian were close allies of the Mongols. The former had his capital at Sis, in Cilicia, and the latter at Ani, situated at the junction of two streams which fall into the Araxes. It is said in the eleventh century to have had 100,000 inhabitants and 1,000 churches.§ Haithon's eldest daughter was married to Bohemund IV., Prince of Antioch, others married the Sieur de Saiete, the Sieur de la Roche, and Guy d'Ibelin, son of Baldwin, seneschal of Cyprus, respectively, which allied him closely with the Crusaders. His younger son, Toros, fell in Syria, in the Mongol campaign against the Mamluks in 1266, to be described presently. Purthel, nephew of Sempad, similarly perished on the Terek, in the struggle with Bereke.‖

One of the complaints made against Baichu by Khulagu was that he had done little to push forward the fortunes of the Mongols, and it must be said that not much was certainly done during the later years of his authority, when he was, however, subordinate to Ilchikidai. In 1252-3 a Mongol division entered Mesopotamia, pillaged the districts of Diarbekr and Mayafarkin, advanced as far as Rees-Ain, and Suruj, and killed more than 10,000 people. They waylaid and plundered a caravan which was on its way from Harran to Baghdad, and thus secured *inter alia* 600 loads of sugar and of Egyptian cotton, besides 600,000 dinars. They then returned to Khelat.¶ The same year Yassaur, who had eight years before devastated Malatia, went once more there. He laid waste the country with fire and sword. Some of the Mongols passed by the town of Guba, assailed the monastery of Makrona, and demanded money and food from the monks. These miserable people in their simplicity refused to give any, thinking the invaders would withdraw.

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* Ante, ii. 88-89. † Brosset, Hist. de la Siounie, 232. St. Martin Memoires, ii. 141.
‡ Brosset, Hist. de la Siounie, 233. St. Martin, op. cit., ii. 145. § Ilkhans, i. 165
‖ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xviii. table 2. ¶ Novairi, in D'Ohsson, iii. 92-93.

They did withdraw for a while, but soon returned again, and again asked for something. As they were again refused, they attacked the monastery and set fire to the tower. All the monks, old and young, with 300 refugees from the neighbourhood, perished, but a large quantity of cotton, of wax, and oil, which was stored there was saved. Abulfaraj tells us he was at this time bishop of Guba.* We are told that, by the Khakan's express orders, Hindujak, a Mongol general commanding a tuman or 10,000 men, who had unjustly put the governor of Kum to death, was executed outside the gates of Tus, while his family, slaves, and other property were confiscated to the treasury, and partitioned among the four branches of the Imperial family. His father, Malik Shah, who belonged to the Sunid tribe, had entered Persia at the head of a tuman, consisting of Uighurs, Karluks, Turkomans, Kashgarians, and Kuchayens (*i.e.*, natives of Kucha, east of Kashgar).†

We have seen how the Seljuk kingdom of Rum was partitioned between Iz ud din and his brothers.‡ In 1254 the former was summoned to Mangu's presence. Afraid that his brother, Rokn ud din, would take advantage of his absence, he determined to send another brother, Alai ud din Kai Kobad, who set out, bearing many presents, by way of the Black Sea and the steppe of Kipchak, accompanied by Seif ud din Tarentai, one of his principal generals, and Shuja ud din, the governor of the maritime districts. Iz ud din excused himself on account of his fear that the Armenians and Greeks would attack his country if he were absent. Meanwhile the partisans of Rokn ud din forged a letter from Iz ud din to Tarentai and his colleague, ordering them to hand over Alai ud din and the presents he had with him to the chancellor, Shems ud din, and the amir Seif ud din Jalish, who bore the letter, and who would accompany the young prince to the Imperial Court. The two messengers overtook the travellers at the Court of Batu, whom they informed that Tarentai having been struck by lightning, could not present himself before the Grand Khan, while Shuja ud din was a doctor, skilled in necromancy, and meant to poison Mangu, and that consequently the Sultan had recalled them. Batu ordered the baggage of the two suspected officials to be searched. Some medicinal roots, *inter alia*, scamony, were found, and Shuja ud din was ordered to taste them, which he did, except the scamony, which aroused Batu's suspicion. This was allayed, however, by his doctors. He decided that all four should go on to the Court, the newly arrived messengers escorting Alai ud din, and those originally appointed bearing the presents. They set out separately. Alai ud din died *en route*. His mother was the daughter of the beautiful Queen Rusudan. When the rival officers arrived at Mangu's Court they pleaded the cause of their respective patrons. It was decided that Iz ud din

* Op. cit., Chron. Syr., 536-537.
† Rashid ud din, in D'Ohsson, iii. 128-129. ‡ Ante. p. 58.

should retain that part of Rum west of the river of Sivas (Kizil Ermak), and Rokn ud din should hold the country thence to Erzerum; the tribute they were to pay was also duly fixed. While the officials just named were absent, Rokn ud din's supporters raised some troops, and tried to surprise Conia, or Iconium. They were beaten, and he was captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Davalu. The following year, 1255, Baichu Noyan, annoyed at Iz ud din's tribute not being regularly paid, sent him a message demanding the surrendering to him of some fresh winter quarters, as Khulagu had appropriated those he had formerly used in the plain of Mughan. The Sultan refused to do so, and treated Baichu cavalierly. The latter, with the Armenian king Haithon, marched upon Conia, and defeated the Sultan's army between that town and Ak Serai. Iz ud din took refuge with his family in the citadel of Anthalia. Baichu thereupon took Rokn ud din from prison, and seated him on the throne. Iz ud din now fled to the Emperor Theodore Lascaris, who was living at Sardis, and who, afraid of attracting the revenge of the Mongols, advised him to return home. He accordingly did so, and sent in his submission to Khulagu, who maintained the division of the Seljuki kingdom fixed by his brother Mangu. Iz ud din thereupon returned once more to Conia, while Rokn ud din went with Baichu into winter quarters in Bythinia.*

We will now continue the notice of the Mongol doings east of Khorasan. We have seen how they became masters of Afghanistan. In 639 (*i.e.*, 1242) Tair Baghatur, who was commander-in-chief of the forces about Herat and Badghiz, and other Noyans from Ghur, Ghazni, Garmsir, and Tukharistan, marched towards the Indus. At this time the Malik Kabir Khan of Ayaz was the feudal chief of Multan. On hearing of the bold front he had assumed, they advanced towards Lahore, where the Malik Ikhtiyar ud din Karakush was the feudal chief. We are told that he was unprepared with either stores, provisions, or war materials, while the citizens were disunited. Most of them were traders, and had been in Khorasan and Turkestan, where they had obtained safe conducts, and were careless about the fate of the Malik Kara Kush. Meanwhile, the latter's feudal chief, Sultan Muiz ud din, Bahram Shah of Delhi, was at issue with his Turk and Ghuz troops, and there was, therefore, some delay in sending assistance from Delhi. The Mongols proceeded to invest Lahore, and bombarded and destroyed its walls with a number of mangonels. The Malik Kara Kush, feeling that from the disaffection and disunion inside it would not be possible to defend the city, made a sortie at night with his men, and cut his way through. Some of the harem and of his retinue got separated from him in the darkness, and in the tumult dismounted and hid away among the ruins and graves. The

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 542-543. Chron. Arab., 329-331. D'Ohsson, iii. 95-99.

following day the Mongols captured the place. Conflicts arose in all directions. "Two bands of Mussulmans in that disaster girded up their lives like their waists, and firmly grasped the sword, and up to the latest moment that a single pulsation remained in their dear bodies, and they could move, they continued to wield the sword and to send Mongols to hell, until the time when both bodies, after fighting gallantly for a long period against the infidels, attained the felicity of martyrdom," while among the latter a vast number perished, and we are told there was not a person among them who did not bear the wound of arrow, sword, or nawak (some projectile is here meant).* Two of the principal of these heroes were named Ak Sunkar, the Seneschal of Lahore, and Din dar Muhammed, the Amir-i-Akhur of Lahore.† The former is said to have had a single combat with the Mongol commander, Tair, in which both were killed, "one company to heaven; one to the flaming fire."‡ In regard to Tair, the statement that he then died is probably a mistake. The capture of Lahore was followed by the usual massacre of the old and useless, and the making captive of the young. Kutb ud din, Hasan the Ghuri, who had been sent with an army from Delhi to the relief of the place, arrived too late, and after the Mongols, who had suffered great losses, had retired.§ When he learnt of their retreat, Kara Kush retraced his steps towards the River Biah, where in his flight he had hidden some treasure, gold, &c. This he recovered, and then went on to Lahore, where he put to death the Hindu Khokhars and the Gabrs, who were committing destruction there.‖

Minhaj-i-Saraj, the author of the "Tabakat-i-Nasiri," reports in regard to this campaign, that when he himself was about seven years old he used to go to the Imam Ali, the Ghaznivi, in order to learn the Koran, and from him he heard the tradition how the Imam, Jemal ud din, while he preached at Bukhara, during Ogotai's reign, used often to say, "Oh, God, speedily transport a Mongol army to Lahore that they may reach it," the explanation of which became evident when the Mongols captured Lahore in the month Jamadi ul Awwal, in the year 639 HEJ. A number of the merchants and traders of Khorasan and Mavera un Nehr afterwards declared that Ogotai died on the second day after the capture of Lahore.¶ Meanwhile, the Sultan of Delhi, Bahram Shah, was killed by some of his generals This was in May, 1242. His nephew, Alai ud din Masud Shah, mounted the throne in his place.**

The next incident in the Mongol dealings with India is wrapt in some obscurity. Minhaj-i-Saraj speaks of an invasion of Sind in 643-644 by a leader named Mangutah, whom he describes as an old man with dog-like eyes (*i.e.*, with eyes aslant in the Mongol fashion), who was one of Jingis Khan's favourites. At the beginning of Kuyuk Khan's reign he

* Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1133-1134. † *Id.* ‡ *Id.*, 1135-1136. § *Id.*, 1135. Note 3.
‖ *Id.*, 1136. ¶ *Id.*, 1140-1142. ** *Id.*, 660.

held command at Ghazni, Tokharistan, and Khatlan.* He is not mentioned *eo nomine* so far as I know by Rashid ud din. It may be that he is to be identified with Ilchikidai, Mangutah being merely an appellative meaning flat-nosed. As we have seen, Ilchikidai was at this very time nominated supreme commander in the west, and he was a famous general of Jingis Khan. On the other hand Mankadhu, or Mankadah, is named as a Noyan who was sent by Ogotai into Seistan during Jingis Khan's campaign,† while a Mongol named Mangatai, a favourite attendant of Tuli, was by him nominated Shahnah of Herat. We, however, read of his having been killed shortly after.‡ Minhaj-i-Saraj says that in 643 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1246) Mangutah marched an army against Uch and Multan. The former town was at this time governed by Hindu Khan Mihtar-i-Mubarak, the Khazin or Treasurer, as a feudatory of the ruler of Delhi, Sultan Alai ud din Masud Shah. Hindu Khan was not then in the town, which was under the control of his deputy, the Khoja Salih, the Kotwal or Seneschal.§ When the Mongols reached the Indus, Malik Saif ud din, Hasan the Karluk, whom we have mentioned before, abandoned Multan, and having embarked on the Indus, which then flowed east of the town,‖ set sail for Diwal and Sindustan, or Sewastan. The Mongols attacked Uch and destroyed its environs. The place was bravely defended by the inhabitants. The breach was at length forced by a famous Baghatur, who led a storming party in the third watch, when the men on guard were reposing, and appeared on the top of the breach. The people inside, however, had prepared a great pit, into which they had poured much clay and water, so that it was in fact a quagmire more than a spear's length in depth. Into this the storming party stumbled, whereupon the defenders raised a shout, brought out torches, and armed themselves, and the attacking party withdrew.¶ Their leader, however, had been suffocated in the slough. The Mongols outside thought he had been captured, and offered to retire if he was surrendered. They eventually retreated without taking the place, a very unusual circumstance with them. This was on hearing that an army was advancing from Delhi to the rescue. Minhaj-i-Saraj tells us he was himself at this time in the service of the Sultan of Delhi.** The Mongols, on hearing of the concentration of the army of Delhi, withdrew in three divisions, and many of their captives, both Hindus and Mussulmans, escaped.†† When he found the Mongols had retired, the Sultan of Delhi turned aside into the hills to punish the Ranah of the Jud country, near the river Jhilam, who had acted as guide to the invaders. He ravaged the country between the Jhilam and the Sind, or Upper Indus, "so that all women, families, and dependents of the infidels, who were in those parts, took to flight." A body of Mongols came to the rescue, and advanced as far as the ferries of

* Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1152-1153. † *Id.*, 1047. ‡ *Id.*, 1037-1049. Notes.
§ *Id.*, 1153. ‖ *Id.* ¶ *Id.*, 1154-1155. ** Op. cit., 1155-1156. †† *Id.*, 813.

the Jhilam, but on seeing the Sultan's well-appointed army they withdrew again.* The Mongols virtually remained masters of the country west of the River Biah, whence they seem to have made periodical raids into India. We read that in 648 HEJ. Delhi was decorated on account of the capture of a large number of Mongol prisoners by Ikhtiar ud din from Multan.†

At the Council held at Lyons in 1245 it was determined to send two missions to the Tartars to try and convert them to the Christian faith, one of Franciscans and the other of Dominicans. They were sent to induce them to be less cruel to the Christians. One of these, under Carpini, has already occupied us ; ‡ the other was headed by the four Dominican friars—Anselm (or Ascelm) of Lombardy, Simon de St. Quentin, Alberic, and Alexander. They received a special commission from Pope Innocent IV., with orders to repair to the nearest Mongol camp in Persia. Vincent, the author of the famous "Speculum Historiale, or Historical Looking-glass," knew Simon de St. Quentin, and received from his lips an account of his journey.§ They were joined by Andrew de Longiumello, who had already visited the East as an evangelist, and Guiscard of Cremona, who joined them at Tiflis, and left them again at the same town on their return five months later, remaining in the Dominican convent there for seven years.‖ The travellers arrived at the Mongol camp, situated at an unknown place called Sitiens, fifty-nine days' journey from Acre, on the day of the translation of St. Dominic, 1247. Baichu was seated in his tent dressed in rich brocade, ornamented with gold, as were his principal councillors. He sent some of his people to summon the travellers. They asked them whose envoys they were. Anselm replied they were the envoys of the Pope, who was esteemed among Christians as the first among men, and to whom they paid the reverence due to a father and a lord. The Mongols professed great indignation at this, saying that their Khakan, who was the son of God, was much higher, as were his princes, Baiothnoi (*i.e.*, Baichu) and Batu, whose names were familiar everywhere. Anselm professed that the Pope had never heard the Khakan's name nor that of his lieutenants, but had merely heard that a barbarous nation called Tartars had come from the furthest east, conquered a great many countries, and destroyed an infinite multitude of people. If the Pope had known their names they would certainly have appeared on his letters. He added that they had come to exhort the Tartar chief in their name to cease his carnage, and to expiate by penance their evil deeds, and they wished to know if Baichu had any answer for their master.¶ These officers having returned to Baichu, changed their dress, and returning again, asked what presents the friars had brought. They replied that the Pope was not in the habit of making presents, but of

* Op. cit., 815. † Tabakat-i-Nasiri, ‡ Ante, ii. 68-75.
§ Vincent, op. cit., lib. xxxi., ch. 11. ‖ Mosheim, Hist. Tart. Eccl., 45.
¶ Vincent, op. cit., ii. 2, and 40.

receiving them, both from the faithful and infidels. They thereupon again withdrew and again returned, and were told that no one ever appeared before Baichu with empty hands, upon which Anselm said if they could not have any audience without presents they must be content without one, and simply hand over the Pope's letters to them to be passed on. The officers made numerous inquiries about the Franks, of whom, as they had heard from their merchants, a large army was being transported into Syria, and with whom they professed to wish to be on friendly terms.*

After a short delay they again visited the brothers, having meanwhile again changed their costume. They reported that if the friars wished for an audience they must consent to make three genuflexions before Baichu, as if they were before the Khakan himself, the son of God and master of the earth. The friars debated together what Baichu meant by this ceremony, and Guischard of Cremona, who, we are told, knew the Tartar customs well, having learnt them from the Georgians, assured them he meant by it to signify that the Pope and all the Roman Church was to be subject to the Khakan. Thereupon the friars agreed that they would rather be decapitated than go through the ceremony, and cause exultation among the enemies of their church—Georgians, Armenians and Greeks, Persians and Turks.† Anselm said that they were not moved in this by arrogance, and were prepared to do whatever was seemly in envoys of the Pope; that they would pay Baichu the same respect they paid their own princes; nay, if he would become a Christian, then, for the sake of the faith, they would not only prostrate themselves before him, but before them all, and kiss the soles of their feet and their poorest garments. This stirred the indignation of the Mongols greatly. "Are we dogs like you?—the Pope is a dog, so are all you," they said, and then withdrew and went to report to their master.‡ Baichu would have killed them all when he heard what their reply was. Some, however, recommended him to kill two of them, and to send the others back to the Pope; others, again, that he should flay the senior envoy, and forward his skin to his master. Others suggested that they should be put in front of the battering engines, so that they should be killed by the latter, and not soil Mongol hands with the blood of ambassadors. Baichu's counsel at length prevailed that they should be put to death. He was eventually dissuaded from this, however, by his principal wife and by the chamberlain, who managed the introduction of envoys, and who threatened to report the whole proceedings before the Khakan if the envoys were killed.§ He now became more reasonable, and sent his people again to inquire from the friars how they were wont to honour their own princes. Anselm thereupon drew back his hood and inclined

* Vincent, op. cit., ii. 41. † *Id.*, 42. ‡ *Id.*, 43. § *Id.*, 44.

his head somewhat. They then asked how Christians reverenced their God. "Some by prostration, some in other ways," was the answer. They finished up by scoffingly inquiring how they, who stooped to wood and stone, refused to thus honour the representative of the Khakan, the son of God. Anselm replied that they did not worship the cross, but only reverenced the symbol of that on which their Saviour had poured out his blood. They presently withdrew, and told the friars that it would be better they should go in person to the Khakan's Court, and there deliver their letters, and see what was now veiled from their eyes, namely, how great his power and glory were. Anselm, who suspected Baichu's motives, replied that the Pope had never heard of the Khakan, and had merely ordered him to visit the first Tartar chief he met with, and that he did not care to go further. If Baichu wished he would present him and his people with the Pope's letters, if not he preferred to return with them. The Mongols once more jeered at him, saying, "How can you claim that the Pope is so much higher than other men? Who has ever heard of his having conquered so many kingdoms as the Khakan, the son of God? Who has heard that the Pope's name, like that of the Khakan, is diffused from the limits of the East to the Black Sea? Surely he is greater than your Pope?". When Anselm proceeded to explain that the Pope's greatness depended on his being the representative of St. Peter, the unsophisticated Mongols laughed and jeered so loudly that he could not continue his conversation.* At the request of Baichu's messengers, Anselm sent the Pope's letters to him. They were remitted to them to be translated into Persian, whence they were retranslated into Mongol, and were then again presented. Baichu now informed the friars that two of their number must be prepared to accompany a secretary of the Grand Khan, who was about to return to Mongolia, so that they might present their letters in person, and see for themselves what a great person their master was. Anselm replied that they had received no commission to go on thither, and should not go on unless forced, and that they did not want to separate.† The friars, whose tent was pitched a mile away from the Mongol camp, now solicited leave to return, and asked if Baichu had any letters for them, but they could get no answer. They were spurned and treated with contumely by the Mongols, who looked upon them as viler than dogs. Three times Baichu, we are told, gave orders for their execution. Day after day they went and stood in the broiling heat of June and July from sunrise to sunset without shelter, awaiting a reply. Thus matters continued for nine weeks.‡ At length Baichu granted his permission for them to leave, but revoked it again on the ground that he had heard an envoy from the Khakan named Angutha, who had been given authority over all Georgia (this was probably Arghun), was coming.

* Vincent, op. cit., ii. 46. † *Id.*, 47. ‡ *Id.*, 48.

For three weeks they patiently awaited his arrival, living on bread and water and occasionally a little goat's milk.* As the winter was coming on, when it was dangerous to navigate the Mediterranean, Anselm once more pleaded through a friendly official for Baichu's permission to depart. This was at length granted, and they were about to leave when their departure was again postponed by the sudden arrival of Angutha, with the uncle of the Sultan of Aleppo, and the brother of the Sultan of Mosul, who had been to the Khakan's Court bearing the homage of their relatives and many rich presents. They now performed the triple genuflexion before Baichu, and offered him gifts. Then followed a feast of seven days, in which drink and dissipation prevailed, and the business of the departure was once more postponed. This over, they were at length allowed to depart with a letter addressed by the Khakan to Baichu, which they called the letter of God, and a separate one from Baichu to the Pope. They arrived safely at home after an absence of more than three years.

Vincent has preserved us copies in Latin of the two letters. The letter of the Khakan to Baichu, which was called the letter of God, and was apparently a copy of Jingis Khan's general instructions to his officers, has an incoherent sound, due probably, as D'Ohsson suggests, to the ignorance of the interpreters: "By the order of the living God, Jingis Khan, the son of God, the gentle and venerable. The Great God is Lord over everything, and on earth Jingis Khan is alone master. We would have this known in all our provinces, obedient or otherwise. It behoves thee, therefore, O Baiothnoi, to let it be known by them that this is the will of the Living God. And let this be known everywhere where an envoy can go, that whoever disobeys you shall be driven out, and his land shall be laid waste. And I declare to you that whoever does not hear this my command must be deaf, and whoever sees it and does not obey must be blind, and he who knowing it does not carry it out must be halt. This, my order, will reach everyone, wise and ignorant. Whosoever, therefore, hears and neglects to obey it shall be destroyed, lost, and killed. Make this known, therefore, O Baiothnoi, and whoever obeys, wishing to save his house, and undertakes to serve us, shall be saved and treated honourably; and whoever shall oppose it, do according to your will and destroy him.†" The other letter ran as follows: "By order of the Divine Khan, Baichu Noyan sends these words. Pope, do you know that your envoys have been to us and have brought us your letters? Your envoys have spoken big words. We know not whether this was by your orders or at their instance. In your letters it is written, 'You have slaughtered and destroyed many men.' But this is the command of God, who rules the earth, to us,

* Vincent, op. cit., ii. 49. † *Id.*, 51-52. D'Ohsson, ii. 232-233.

'Whoever hears my words shall retain his land, water, and patrimony; but those who disobey are destroyed and lost.' We accordingly send you this message. If you, Pope, wish to retain your patrimony, you must come to us in person, and present yourself before the master of the whole world. If you disobey, we know not what will happen. God knows. Before you come it will be well to send messengers to say whether you mean to come or no, and whether you mean to be friendly or otherwise. This order, which we send you by the hands of Ibeg and Sargis, we write the 20th of July, in the district of the Castle of Sitiens."*

In reference to the conversations of the friars with the Mongols, above reported, and especially in regard to the delicate question of the ignorance of the Pope of their chiefs' names, we have a story preserved showing that the friars were ready and witty diplomatists. This story is reported in the "Peregrinatio de Fr. Bieult," who tells us how one of them was at an audience with the Khakan, when the latter asked what presents he had with him. The reply was he had none, as he was not aware of his great power. "How is that? Have not the birds which visit your country told you anything of our power?" "Sire, it may well be that they have," said the traveller, "but I understood not what they said;" an answer which appeased the Khakan.†

The result of the mission to the Pope is not told us by Vincent, whose account ends abruptly, but Matthew Paris tells us how, in 1248, two Tartar envoys, doubtless the same as those mentioned by Vincent, had an audience of the Pope. Their letters were thrice translated from less known into better known languages. The Pope gave them precious garments called "robas," made of scarlet cloth and furred, and also presents of gold and silver. The interviews were formal, interpreters only being present, and neither clerics, notaries, nor others, and Matthew Paris suggests that their object was to obtain help against Vatatzes, the schismatic ruler of Nicæa, but, as Remusat says, he was much too obscure a person for the Mongols to want aid in opposing him, and their message was much more probably a peremptory order to submit.‡

The friendly intercourse of the Christians with the Mongols was naturally very distasteful to the Mussulman princes, who put obstacles in its way. The Governor of Erzenjan gave express orders that provisions were not to be supplied to those who came from among the Franks, nor to the envoys of Haithon of Armenia, or of Vastak. Similarly we read how the missionaries who went to the Court of Malik el Mansur Ibrahim, Prince of Edessa, were refused permission to go on to the Mongols, among other reasons because he was satisfied they meant to incite the Mongols against the Mussulmans.§

It was in 1247, when Saint Louis had summoned his notables

* Vincent, op. cit., ii. 50. † A. Remusat, Mems. Acad. Ins., vi. 421. Note.
‡ Mems. Fr. Ins., vi., 426-427. § A. Remusat, Mems. Fr. In., vi. 430.

preparatory to starting on his crusade, that a letter arrived from the Mongols summoning him to submit, and stating that they were the people of whom it had been stated that God had given the earth to the children of men.* There have not been wanting speculations as to what might have been the fate of the world if St. Louis, instead of attacking the strong power of Egypt, had turned his arms against the Seljuki Turks, at this time much weakened and broken by their conflict with the Mongols. He would, no doubt, have crushed them and been then brought face to face with the terrible Tartars. The Mussulmans who intervened between the latter and the Christians at this time probably saved the world from disaster.

According to Haithon and W. de Nangis, it was Ilchikidai (called Erchalchai and Ercaltai in contemporary writings) who, when St. Louis reached Cyprus, sent some envoys to that last of the Crusaders. Mangu afterwards repudiated them, and De Guignes has treated them as impostors. Joinville distinctly says they went to assure Louis that the Mongols were ready to assist him in the conquest of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Louis received them well and sent some of his people back with them. Odo, or Hugh, bishop of Tusculum, another contemporary, tells us the envoys landed at Cyprus on the 19th of December, 1248; that they duly reached Nicosia, and presented the king with letters written in the Persian tongue and in Arabic characters. After the translation of these letters, Hugh himself reported their contents to the king. Vincent of Beauvais and William of Nangis call the chief envoy David, and tell us he was recognised by the brother Andrew de Longiumel, already named, who had met him among the Tartars. Another chronicler tells us that the king had the letter, when translated, sent on to France, to his mother Blanche.† Another copy was sent to Pope Innocent by his legate, Cardinal Hugh, of Chateau Royal. Vincent of Beauvais has preserved a Latin translation of this letter:—

"By the power of the High God, the letters of the King of the Earth, the Khan, the words of Erchaltai, the great king of many provinces, the vigorous defender of the world, the sword of Christian victory, the defender of the Apostolical faith, the son of the Evangelical law, to the King of the Franks. May God increase his kingdom and preserve it to him for many years. May his wishes be gratified now and in the future by the truth of the divine power, the director of mankind and of all the prophets and apostles. Amen. A hundred thousand salutations and blessings. I hope he will accept these greetings, and that they may be welcome to him. God grant that I may see this magnificent king who is coming near. The exalted Creator can well bring about our friendly meeting together.

* A. Remusat, Mems. Fr. In., vi. 435.
† W. de Nangis, Bouquet, xx. 358, &c. A. Remusat, Mems. Fr. Acad., vi. 439-440.

"Let it be understood that in this our greeting we mean nothing more than the benefit of Christianity and the strengthening of the king's hands, God being willing; and I pray that God will grant victory to the armies of the Christian king, and will give him victory over his enemies who contemn the cross. On behalf of the exalted king, may God exalt him, namely, of Kiukai (*i.e.*, Kuyuk). May God increase his splendour. We have come (*i.e.* into Persia) with authority and power to announce that all Christians are to be free from servitude and taxes, dues, and tolls (*a servitute et tributo et angaria et pedagiis*), &c., and are to be treated with honour and reverence. No one is to molest their goods, and those of their churches which have been destroyed are to be rebuilt, and to be allowed freely to sound their plates (*pulsenter tabulæ—i.e.*, the substitutes for bells, already named). No one must dare to prevent them freely and with a quiet mind praying for our kingdom. So far we have provided for the advantage and protection of the Christians. In addition, we beg to send our faithful envoys, the venerable Sab ed din, Mufat David, and Mark, that they may announce these good tidings. My son, hear their words and believe them. In his letters the King of the Earth (*i.e.*, Kuyuk)—may his splendour increase—orders that there may no difference be made between the different classes of believers—the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians, the Nestorians and the Jacobites, and all who reverence the cross. All are one with us, and thus we pray the Magnificent King to make no difference between them, and to extend his beneficence over all Christians. May his piety and beneficence endure. Given in the end of Maharram, with the approval of the exalted Lord."*

According to Bishop Hugh, above quoted, Louis asked the envoys how their master knew of his arrival. They said the Prince of Mosul had sent to Ilchikidai some letters he had received from the Sultan of Egypt, and at the same time falsely pretending he had captured sixty of the Frank ships. Ilchikidai reported his intention of marching the following summer against the Khalif, and asked St. Louis to make a diversion against Egypt so as to keep its ruler employed. The envoys mentioned that Kuyuk Khan's mother was a Christian. She was called Kuiotai, and was a daughter of Prester John, and that he had, at the instance of a pious bishop, named Malassias, been baptised, with eighteen kings' sons and many grandees of the Court. They added that Ilchikidai had been a convert for many years, although many of the Tartars were not so, and, that although not of the royal blood, he had much power; that Baichu was a Pagan, and surrounded by Mussulman councillors, hence his harsh treatment of the Pope's messengers, but that his power was now much curtailed, and he was subordinate to Ilchikidai. There are some misstatements in this report, and many suspicious

* Vincent de Beauvais, xxxi. cap. 91. D'Ohsson, ii. 238-239. Note.

circumstances about the letter, such as its unusually civil tone, its ignoring questions likely to interest the Mongols, and entering into the rival policies of the various Christian sects in the East, and its reference to the request that Louis would make no difference between the Latin Christians and their Eastern brothers. This led De Guignes and others to suspect that the whole embassy was an imposture made up by some of these Eastern Christians to further their own aims. Remusat concludes that the embassy was a genuine one, but that the envoys, for diplomatic or other purposes, either concocted a letter of their own or interpreted it after their own fashion.* Louis determined to reply to the message, and organised an embassy in return, of which Brother Andrew de Longiumel, "who," says Joinville, "knew the *Sarrazinois*," was at the head, and with him joined a French friar named John of Carcassonne.† The presents Louis sent to the Khakan comprised a chapel made out of good scarlet (*i.e.*, of embroidered scarlet cloth), ornaments for the service, a piece of the true cross for the Khakan and another for Ilchikidai. With these, Joinville says, there were also sent pictures of the chief events in the life of Christ—the annunciation, nativity, baptism, passion, ascension, &c.‡ With these things were sent letters, according to one account, exhorting the Khakan to imitate the example of his mother, and to become a Christian, and to another bidding him, as well as Ilchikidai, persevere in the faith. The legate Odo also sent letters to the Khakan, to his stepmother, to Ilchikidai and the bishops who were with him, saying that the Roman Church received them gladly, and had learned with joy of their conversion, that they should cling to the orthodox faith, recognise Rome as the mother of all churches, and the Pope as its head.§ These letters, as Remusat says, must have been a surprise to the Court at Karakorum. The envoys set out from Nicosia on the 27th of January, 1248 (D'Ohsson says on the 10th of February, 1249). They apparently made their way to Antioch, and thence to the camp of Ilchikidai, whence Andrew despatched a letter, together with one from the Mongol general, which were translated into Latin, and sent to France to Queen Blanche. These letters seem to be no longer extant.|| The envoys then went on to the Imperial Court, travelling at the rate of ten leagues a day. There they arrived at the end of 1248 or the beginning of 1249. Kuyuk was dead, and it was the Regent Ogul Gamish who received them. She received the presents of Louis affably, and gave the friars some in return, including, in Chinese fashion, a piece of silk brocade. The Regent also intrusted a letter to them. According to Joinville the presents sent by Louis were treated, much to his chagrin,

* Op. cit., 437-445.

† Odo names a third named William; Joinville only mentions two Dominicans; Thomas of Cantunpre, two Dominicans and two Franciscans; and Vincent of Beauvais, three Dominicans, two secular clerks, and two of the King's officers; W. de Nangis names Andrew, with two brothers of the same order, two other clerics, and two of the King's waiting-men. (Op. cit., 366.) J. Columna reports the same as Vincent, and says he knew as a very old man one of these clerks named Robert, who was a sub-cantor in the church of Chartres.

‡ D. V., xx. 262. § W. de Nangis, Bouquet, op. cit., 364. || *Id.*, 447.

as tribute, while the letter in reply demanded an annual tribute in gold and silver, menacing the French king with destruction if he refused to pay it.*

The notice given by Joinville of the reception of this embassy is so quaint, and so exactly represents the Mongol mode of dealing in such cases, that it is worth while printing it in full. "Le roi des Tartarins," he says, "fit tendre la chapelle, et dit aux rois qui se trouvaient à sa cour. Seigneurs, le roy de France est venu en nostre sujestion, et vezci le treu que il nous envoie. Avec les messagers le Roy vindrent . . . . si apportèrent lettres de leur grant roy au roy de France qui disaient ainsi. 'Bone chose est de pèz, quar en terre de pèz manguent cil qui vont à quatre pied l'erbe pèsiblement; cil qui vont à deus labourent la terre, dont les biens viennent pèsiblement; et ceste chose te mandons nous pour toy aviser; car tu ne peus avoir pèz si tu ne l'as à nous, et tel roy et tel (et moult en nommoient), et tous les avons mis à l'espée. Si te mandons que tu nous envoies tant de ton or et de ton argent chascun an, que tu nous retieignes à amis; et se tu ne le fais, nous destruirons toy et ta gent aussi comme nous avons fait ceulx que nous avons devant nommez.' Et sachez qu'il (*i.e.*, the king) se repenti fort quant il y envoia."†

The envoys returned two years after setting out and found the king at Acre, and notwithstanding the ill success of his previous venture, he determined to send another embassy. This was headed by William of Ruysbrock, or Rubruquis, of whom we have written much in the earlier volumes. Joinville declares that Rubruquis repudiated the character of an envoy, and that in preaching in the church of Saint Sophia, while on his journey, he declared he had been sent neither by Louis nor any other sovereign, but went in accordance with the statutes of his order to preach the gospel to the infidels; and it would seem that he took up this position at the instance of St. Louis himself, who, no doubt, wished to guard himself against his acts being misinterpreted as acts of submission. Rubruquis reached Karakorum on the 27th of December, 1252, having traversed the Steppes of Kipchak, as I have mentioned.‡ Rubruquis tells us the year before he was at Karakorum there was a cleric there from Acre, who called himself Rammud, but whose real name was Theodolus. He travelled from Cyprus to Persia with Andrew, taking with him an organ from Amoric (?) (ab Ammorico?). When Andrew went home again he remained behind and repaired to Mangu, who asked him what his business was, and he replied he had come from a bishop named Odo, in the kingdom of King Louis (the text has Moles, but this is clearly a clerical error), who, if the ways had been open, and if the Saracens had not been posted between them, would have sent envoys to make peace

* W. de Nangis, Bouquet, op. cit., 448. † D'Ohsson, ii. 244. Note. ‡ Ante, i. 4.

with him. Mangu asked if he was willing to conduct some envoys to that king and bishop. He said he was, and also to the Pope. He then caused a very strong bow to be made which two men could barely pull, and two whistling arrows called bozunes or bousiones with silver heads full of holes, which when thrown whistled like a flute, and he bade a Mongol, whom he had chosen as his envoy, go to the King of the Franks, and tell him that if he made peace with him he would if he acquired the country now held by the Saracens as far as his borders, make over to him the remainder as far as the west. He also told him ominously to point out to the King the bow and arrows, and to tell him such a bow shot a long way and such arrows pierced very deeply.* He also bade his Mongol conductor explore well the roads, districts, and castles, and the men he should pass, and also their arms. The interpreter, who was a European, suggested that Theodolus should drop his inconvenient companions into the sea *en route*, so that no one would know what became of them, for they were merely spies. Mangu gave the Mongol a gold tablet, a palm in width and half a cubit in length (*i.e.*, a paizah). He says that anyone who bore it could order and obtain anything he pleased. Theodolus duly arrived at the Court of Vastaces, or Vataces, the Emperor of Nicæa, wishing to go to the Pope to deceive him as he had deceived Mangu Khan. Vataces asked him where his letters were, which was the envoy and which the conductor. As he would not produce his letters he imprisoned him. The Mongol fell ill and died there, and Vataces thereupon sent the golden tablet back to Mangu Khan. Rubruquis says he met these messengers at Erzerum, who told him what had happened to Theodolus.†

On taking leave, Rubruquis was intrusted with a letter for St. Louis, of which he gives the purport, "so far," he says, "as he could understand it through the interpreter." This letter was phrased in the usual peremptory fashion of the Mongols. *Inter alia*, it denounced David, already mentioned, as an impostor, and characterised the late regent, the mother of Kuyuk, to whom Louis' envoys had gone, as viler than dogs. Rubruquis reports that Mangu Khan had declared to him that she was given to necromancy, and had destroyed all her relatives by her sorceries.‡ The letters stated that it was not convenient and safe for him to send envoys, but that he expected Louis to send him some to state whether he wished for peace or war, and threatening him accordingly.§ I have already described Rubruquis' journey back to Serai, the capital of Batu Khan.‖ The Mongols furnished him with an escort of twenty men, to protect him from the Lesghs and other robbers in traversing the Iron Gates. In regard to the arms of these Mongols Rubruquis has a very interesting sentence. Two had haubergions (*i.e.*, coats of mail). These, they told

* Rubruquis, D'Avezac, 310-312. † *Id*, 313. ‡ *Id.*, 370. § *Id.*, 371.
‖ Ante, ii. 87-88.

him, they had obtained among the Alani, who were accounted good makers of such suits, and splendid smiths.* Rubruquis concluded that the only arms indigenous with the Mongols were quivers, bows and arrows, and pelliciæ (? felted armour, or armour made of skins). Among the presents he saw offered to them were iron plates, or scales, and iron helmets, from Persia, and he saw two Alans present themselves to Mangu in tunics of fish skin (de peccaisiis), made from stiff hides, which were very inconvenient.†

He describes Derbend as hanging between the sea and the mountains. No road passed below or above the town. The only road traversed the city itself, and was closed by an iron gate, whence its name. It was well fortified, and dominated by a fortress which the Tartars had captured. Two days further on he reached the town of Samaron (? Shirvan), where there were many Jews, as there were in many of the mountain recesses on this coast, and also in the towns of Persia. Presently he reached a great town called Samag (*i.e.*, Shamakhi), and then on the following day entered the plain of Moan (*i.e.*, Mughan), through which flowed the Kur, from which he says were named the Kurgi, called Georgians in the West. In this plain he again met with Tartars. Travelling along the Araxes, he passed the camp of Baichu, in whose house he was entertained and given wine. His host, however, drank kumiz, which he says naively he would have freely drunk if it had been offered to him. He followed the Araxes to its sources near Erzerum. On leaving Baichu, Rubruquis' guide and his interpreter went to Tebris to see Arghun. Baichu caused the friar to be taken to Naxua (? Nakhchivan),‡ the former capital of a great kingdom, once a great and beautiful city, which the Mongols had converted into a waste. There were once eighty Armenian churches there, but at this time they had been reduced to two small ones. The Armenians professed to recount to him some prophecies of one of their saints, named Acacron, who foretold the advent of the archers (*i.e.*, the Mongols).§ He tells us how he passed near Mount Ararat, which, although it seemed so accessible, none had been able to climb; and that a monk, who was very anxious to do so, had a piece of the ark brought him by an angel, which the Armenians professed to keep in one of their churches. An old man had told him that the reason why the mountain ought not to be climbed was that its name was Massis in their tongue, and it was of the feminine gender, and no one should ascend it since it was the mother of the world!!!‖

Four days after leaving this town Rubruquis reached the territory of Sahensa (*i.e.*, Shahan Shah), formerly the most powerful of the Georgians, but then tributary to the Tartars, who had destroyed all the fortresses his father Zakaria had conquered from the Mussulmans. Shahan Shah,

* The Kubechi, in the Caucasus, were a famous tribe of armour makers.
† Rubruquis, 381. ‡ *Id.*, 384. § *Id.*, 385-386. ‖ *Id.*, 387.

with his wife and his son Zakaria, received Rubruquis with honour. The last, an amiable boy, asked him if he went to St. Louis whether he would receive him, for although he had plenty of all he needed he preferred to travel to a foreign land than to wear the yoke of the Tartars.* They claimed to be faithful to the Roman Church, and if the Pope would send them some help they would subject all the surrounding districts to the Church. In fifteen days thence he reached Erzenjan, all whose inhabitants were Christians, Armenians, Georgians, and Greeks, but the Muhammedans were masters of it, and its governor, as we have seen, had been forbidden to supply food to any Frank and to any envoy from Armenia or Vataces, so that Rubruquis had now, till he reached Cyprus, to buy his food. He passed through Ani, also subject to Shahan Shah, a very strong fortress containing 1,000 Armenian churches and two mosques. The Tartars had a bailiff there. There he met five Dominicans, who had no interpreter except a feeble servant who knew Turkish and a little French. They had letters from the Pope for Sertak, Mangu Khan, and Buri, but on hearing Rubruquis' story, instead of going on, went to consult their companions at Tiflis. "What they afterwards did," says Rubruquis, "I know not." Leaving the valley of the Araxes, he crossed into that of the Euphrates, and mentions a terrible earthquake which had destroyed 1,000 people at Erzenjan. He crossed a valley, where he tells us the Sultan of the Turks was defeated by the Tartars, the former having 200,000 horsemen and the latter but 10,000, and in regard to the earthquake says quaintly and grimly: "Dicebat michi cor meum quod tota terra illa apperuerat os suum ad recipiendum adhuc sanguinem Sarracenorum."† He passed through Sebaste, and visited the tombs of the eighty martyrs. Thence he went on by Cæsarea and Iconium. There he met, *inter alios*, with a Genoese merchant from Acre, Nicholas de Sancto Siro, who, with a companion, a Venetian, named Benefatio de Molendino, had the monopoly of exporting all the aluinun (? alum) from "Turkia," and had raised its value in the proportion of 15 to 50. Rubruquis was presented to the Seljuki Sultan, and received permission to go on through Cilicia, or Little Armenia. He made his way to Kurta (?), the port of that kingdom, and having deposited his goods on board ship, went to pay a visit to Haithon's father, who he heard had had letters from his son. He found him at Asium with all his family except a son named Barunusin, who had been appointed governor of a fortress. The Court was delighted at the news that King Haithon was on his way home, having received a remission of part of the heavy tribute they had to pay, and other privileges.‡ The old man had Rubruquis conducted to a port named Auax (? Ayas), whence he passed into Cyprus to Nicosia, where he had an interview with one of King Louis' officials, who conducted him

* *Id.*, 388. † *Id.*, 391. ‡ Op. cit., 393.

to Antioch and Tripolis, and Acre. He complains that he was not allowed to visit the King in person, and that it was not possible to report the results of his journey *viva voce*.* He ends up by a survey of the various Muhammedan powers which he had encountered, and explaining how easy it would be for the Christians to overwhelm them. That a large proportion of the population of Turkia (*i.e.*, of the Seljuk Empire) were Greeks or Armenians. The Sultan had three sons, one by a Georgian wife, a second by a Greek, and a third by a Turk. The first of these he wished to succeed him, but the Turks and Turkomans wished for the success of the third. They had twice risen in his support, but he had been beaten, and was then imprisoned. The son of the Greek mother also had partisans, who declared the son of the Georgian mother, who had been sent to the Tartars, was a feeble person. This rivalry created great confusion. There was no money in the treasury, few soldiers, and many enemies. The son of Vataces also was feeble, and had a war with the son of Assan (? Jelal-Hasan), who was also ground down by the Tartar yoke. So that if it was thought well that the army of the Church should march to the rescue of the Holy Land, it could easily subdue or traverse that district. From Cologne to Constantinople was only a forty days' journey by chariot. Thence to Little Armenia not so much. It was more safe, and quite as cheap, to go thus by land as by sea, and, adds our traveller, "I speak faithfully; if your peasants (I speak not of kings and knights) would travel as do the kings of the Tartars, and be content with the same food, they could conquer the whole world."† Rubruquis must have been a delightful companion; so full of genuine hatred for the Saracens and the Tartars, and so full of confidence in himself.

Note 1.—The coinage of the district comprised in the old Empire of Khuarezm during the interregnum between Jingis Khan's campaign and that of Khulagu is an interesting but obscure subject. There are certain coins published by Thomas in his "Coinage of the Pathan Sultans, 91 and 97," which bear the name of the great conqueror himself, and strangely enough have the Khalif's name and titles on the other side. As Major Raverty suggests, these were probably issued by some of the Muhammedan princes on the borders of India, who acknowledged the supremacy of Jingis Khan. One of them has the mint city Kurman. It need hardly be said that the Mongols themselves had no stamped money until a later date, and merely used bullion in the form of ingots, called balishes. These coins are very like in fabric to those issued by Jelal ud din, the Khuarezm Shah, when in the east, and by Nasir ud din Muhammed ibn Hasan Karluk.‡

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* Op. cit., 393-394. † *Id.*, 394-395. ‡ Op. cit., 98.

I know of no coins with the name of Ogotai. "The earliest coin of the Mongols with Arabic inscriptions," says my friend, Mr. Stanley Poole, "and probably their earliest with any inscription, is that struck at Tiflis in 642."* The year 642 falls within the regency of Turakina, Ogotai's widow, and Mr. Poole says this coin may have been struck by Arghun after his appointment to the Governorship of Persia, or it may have been struck by some pretender to the throne, who considered the interregnum, and the dissatisfaction caused by Turakina's rule, a favourable opportunity for striking a blow for sovereignty. A second coin in the same collection of the same date has apparently the mint place Kenjeh (? Kantzag). "The second of these coins," says Mr. Poole, "has the familiar Anatolian and Georgian device of a mounted bowman, with dog, and presents no indication of a striker's name except an obscure inscription which has been doubtfully read Alush Beg by M. Bartholomaei, while M. Gregorief, omitting the points, reads it (coin) of the great Mongol Ulus," which seems to me to be an exceedingly probable reading. Three specimens in the Jena collection were apparently minted at Nakhchivan. Of Kuyuk there are in the British Museum only coins struck in his name by his vassal David V., of Georgia.†

Of Mangu, written Möngké on the coins, we have specimens struck both in silver and copper. His name occurs alone on five coins in the British Museum struck in 652 and 653, in all cases where the mint mark is legible, at Tiflis.‡ There are also coins extant of Bedr ud din Lulu, the ruler of Mosul, with the name and titles of Mangu upon them.§

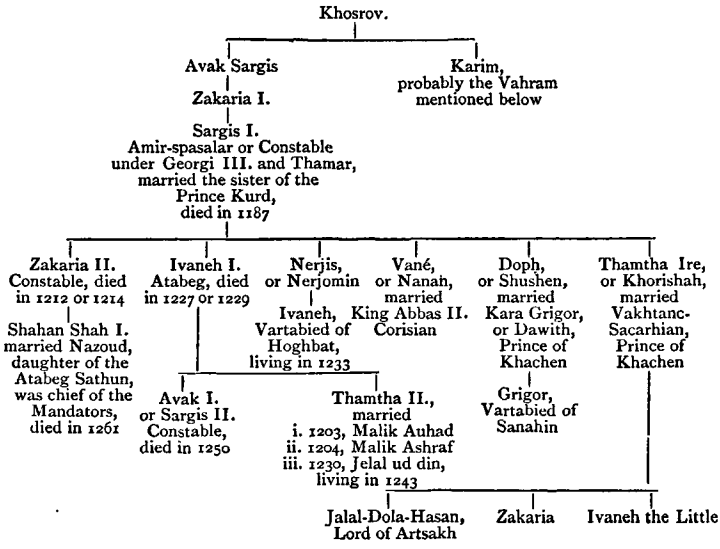
Note 2.—Western Armenia at the time of the Mongol invasion was so much broken up into feudal principalities that it is not easy to follow their history, and it will be convenient to give a short conspectus of the most important family, that of the so-called Mkargrdzels. Guiragos and Vartan agree in giving them a Kurdish origin. They consisted of two branches. One of these, to which the famous Constables of Georgia belonged, we are told by Guiragos, conquered from the Persians and Turks several districts of Armenia, of which they remained masters; that is to say, the district surrounding Gelarkuni, Tashir, Ararat, Bejni, Tovin, Anberd, Ani, Kars, Vaiotz-Tzor, the country of Siunia, and the fortresses, towns, &c., in its neighbourhood. They also made tributary the Sultan of Karin, or Erzerum.

The second or collateral branch, which is deduced from the same ancestor by M. Brosset, captured from the Persians the fortresses of Kartman, Karhertz, Ergevank, Tavush, Kadzareth, Terunakan, Gag, and eventually Shamkor.‖

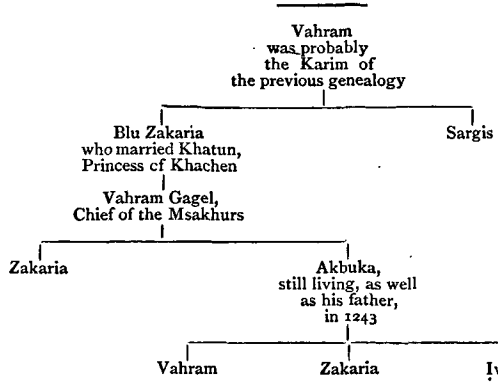
M. Brosset has criticised the pedigree of this family as given by Guiragos, Vartan, and in inscriptions, and the following is the result:—

* It is in the British Museum. Catalogue Oriental Coins, vol. 6, liii.
† *Id.*, liii. and liv. ‡ *Id.*
§ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 62. ‖ Hist. de la Géorgie, Add., &c., 415.

THE MKARGRDZELS.

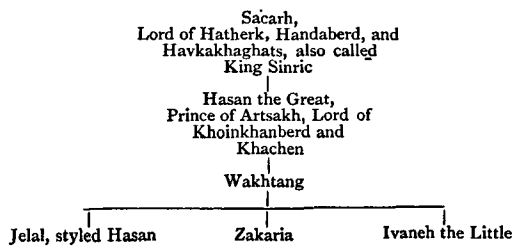

Khosrov.
Avak Sargis
Zakaria I.
Karim, probably the Vahram mentioned below
Sargis I. Amir-spasalar or Constable under Georgi III. and Thamar, married the sister of the Prince Kurd, died in 1187
Zakaria II. Constable, died in 1212 or 1214
Shahan Shah I. married Nazoud, daughter of the Atabeg Sathun, was chief of the Mandators, died in 1261
Ivaneh I. Atabeg, died in 1227 or 1229
Avak I. or Sargis II. Constable, died in 1250
Nerjis, or Nerjomin
Ivaneh, Vartabied of Hoghbat, living in 1233
Vané, or Nanah, married King Abbas II. Corisian
Thamtha II., married i. 1203, Malik Auhad ii. 1204, Malik Ashraf iii. 1230, Jelal ud din, living in 1243
Doph, or Shushen, married Kara Grigor, or Dawith, Prince of Khachen
Grigor, Vartabied of Sanahin
Thamtha Ire, or Khorishah, married Vakhtanc-Sacarhian, Prince of Khachen
Jalal-Dola-Hasan, Lord of Artsakh
Zakaria
Ivaneh the Little

Hist de la Géorgie, 362 and 417.


Vahram was probably the Karim of the previous genealogy
Blu Zakaria who married Khatun, Princess of Khachen
Sargis
Vahram Gagel, Chief of the Msakhurs
Zakaria
Akbuka, still living, as well as his father, in 1243
Vahram
Zakaria
Ivaneh

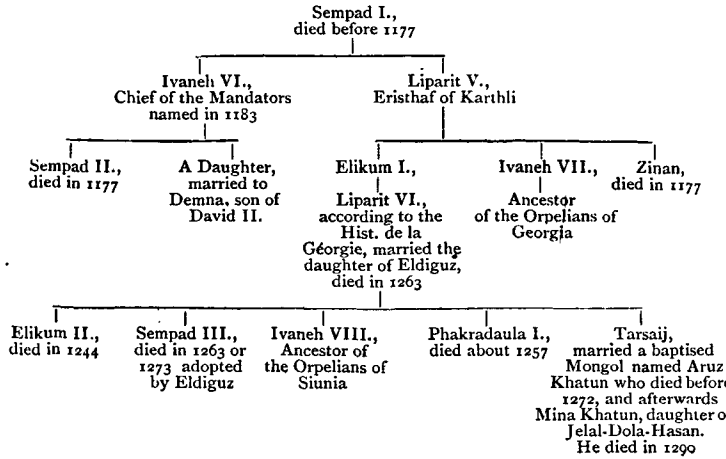
Hist. de la Géorgie, 362.

PRINCES OF KHACHEN.


Sacarh, Lord of Hatherk, Handaberd, and Havkakhaghats, also called King Sinric
Hasan the Great, Prince of Artsakh, Lord of Khoinkhanberd and Khachen
Wakhtang
Jelal, styled Hasan
Zakaria
Ivaneh the Little

Hist. de la Géorgie, 339-349.

THE ORPELIANS.


Sempad I., died before 1177
Ivaneh VI., Chief of the Mandators named in 1183
Liparit V., Eristhaf of Karthli
Sempad II., died in 1177
A Daughter, married to Demna, son of David II.
Elikum I.,
Liparit VI., according to the Hist. de la Géorgie, married the daughter of Eldiguz, died in 1263
Ivaneh VII., Ancestor of the Orpelians of Georgia
Zinan, died in 1177
Elikum II., died in 1244
Sempad III., died in 1263 or 1273 adopted by Eldiguz
Ivaneh VIII., Ancestor of the Orpelians of Siunia
Phakradaula I., died about 1257
Tarsaij, married a baptised Mongol named Aruz Khatun who died before 1272, and afterwards Mina Khatun, daughter of Jelal-Dola-Hasan. He died in 1290

Hist. de la Géorgie, 350, &c.

Note 3.—In describing the struggle of the Seljuki ruler Iz ud din with the Mongols, I overlooked the fact that at this time Michael Palæologus, who governed Nicæa and Bythinia on behalf of the Emperor Baldwin II., having aroused the suspicions of his master, fled to Iconium to the Turkish Sultan, who gave him command of a contingent of Christians. With them he fought against the Tartars, and Michael wounded their commander with his own lance, and drove back the enemy. Meanwhile, one of the Sultan's officers deserted with his men, which turned the tide in favour of the enemy. The allies were beaten, and Michael, with a Turkish general, fled for several days, and was closely pursued as far as Castamonia, in Paphlagonia, where the Turkish general lived.*

Note 4.—Guiragos has preserved for us a short vocabulary of the Mongol language as spoken when he wrote (*i.e.*, about 1241), which is very interesting as a proof of the conservative character of the language, and the little alteration it has undergone in the six centuries which have since intervened. I have here printed it, together with the corresponding words in Buriat, Kalmuk, and Mongol, as given by Brosset and Schiefner in Brosset's edition of Guiragos.†

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* Akropolita, in Stritter, iii.-1038-1039. Lebeau, xviii. 18-22.
† Vide op. cit., 135-137.

	Guiragos.	*Buriat.*	*Kalmuk.*	*Mongol.*
God	Thanghri	Tengere, Tengeri (the sky)	Tenggri (the sky)	tengri, tegri
Man (Vir)	Harérian (var Ere)	ere	ere	ere
Woman	Apdji (var Eme Apdji)	eme	eme	eme (1)
Father	Etcheka	etsege, esege	etchige	etchige
Mother	Ak'a	eke, ekhe	eke	eke
Brother (older)	Agha	akha, aka	akha	akha
Sister (sister)	Ak'adji	egetche, egeche	egetchi	egetchi
Head	Thiuron (var Thiru)	tologoi, turnun (beginning)	tologhoi	(tologhai) *terigun*
Eye	Nitun (var Nitu)	*(pl)* nyideng, nyudeng	nüdün	nidun
Ear	Tchikin (Dchih)	*(pl)* tchike chikeng	tchikin	tchikin
Beard	Sakhal	sakhal, hakal	sakhal	sakhal
Face	Hioq (var Hiugh Niur)	nyur nyur	niur	nighur
Mouth	Aman	aman, ama	aman	aman
Tooth	Skhur (var Skhursitun)		shidun	shidun, sidun
Bread	Othmak		otmok (2)	
Ox (Bœuf)	Akar (var Ok'ar)		tsar	shar shir, uker (beast with horns) (3)
Cow	Unen	unye, unyen	ukur	uniyen
Sheep (le Mouton)	Qoina	khutsa, kusa	khutsu	khucha (4)
Sheep (la Brebis)	Qurqan	khonye, khonyen	khoin	khonin (5)
	Iman	yamang	yaman	imaghan (roebuck)
Horse	Mori	moring, morye	morin	morin
Mule	Losa (var Lusa)		lus	
Camel	Thaman		temen	temegen
Dog	Nokha	nokhoi nokoi	nokhoi	nokhai
Wolf	Tchina	tchono, chono	tchino	tchino
Bear	Ait'ku	otokoi *(ursa)*	ayu	ötege
Fox	Hok'an (var honk'an)	unege, unegen	ünegen	önegen
Hare	Thaplqa (var Thoblqa-Thula)	tulai, tulei	taulai	taolai (6)
Bird	Thakla		takiya	takya (a fowl)
Pigeon	Kokatcha (v K'ok'uchin)		kokoltchirgene	kegürdjighene (7)
Eagle	Qush (var Burkui Qush)	burgut, khanardyi		burghut, shebaghun (8)
Water	Usun (var Sun)	oso, uhun	usun	usun
Wine	Tarasu			darasu, darasun
Sea	Tangez (v Naur-Tangez)	dalai	tenggis	dalai
River	Ulan Su (var Moran Ulan-Su)	gol	ghol	ghol, muren
Sword	Eoltu (var Ialtu)		ildu	ildu, toltu (knob of a sword-guard)
Bow	Nmu (var nmo)	nomo, nomon	numun	numun
Arrow	Ormu	somo, homon	sumun	sumun
King	Malik			
Baron	Nuin (var E'ka Nuin)			noyan (9)
Earth	El (var El-Ercan) (10)	gadzer, gaser		
Sky	Gogai (var Gog)	tenggere, oktorgoi	tenggere, oktorghoi (11)	
Sun	Narhan or Naran	*nara*, naran	naran	naran
Moon	Sara	sara, hara	sara	saran
Light	Otur		geren, gerel	
Star	Saqra (*pl.*) (var Hututsarqa)	odo, odon	odon	odon
Night	Soini	sönyi hönyi	söni	suni
Scribe	Bitikchi			bitchiktchi
Satan	Barhauri (var Barhahurh-Elep			

(1) Eptyi among the Koibals and epchi among the Sagayans=woman. (2) Turkish, etmek. (3) Tartar, oquz. (4) Tartar, qoi. (5) Khuraghan among the Mongols and kuragan among the Koibals=a lamb. (6) Tartar, taushan. (7) Tartar, gogurtchin. (8) Karakush means black eagle among the Koibals. (9) Yeke noyan=the great noyan. (10) El=people, subjects among the Koibals. (11) Tartar, kök.

A few Mongol words have also been preserved by Malakia, which have been examined by M. Schiefner. The four names of taxes imposed by the Mongols, as given by him, are Tghghu, Mal, Thaghar, and Ghphtchur. The first of these has not been traced in Mongol. Mal in Mongol means cattle; in Persian riches, and more especially cattle, and it is clear this was a tax on cattle. Thaghar in Mongol is a sack for straining whey, a woven purse, a sack or measure of grain. This, then, was a tax on grain. Ghubtchighur in Mongol is a net. It was a tax on the revenues of the land, or, more generally, on the products of the soil. Khalan has apparently some analogy with the Mongol Khalkhu, to attack, or with Khulusu, hire, interest, or rent, and probably means a war subsidy.

Kesikth, Mongol kia, Turkish késhik; a body-guard.

Bauka or buka, Mongol buke; an athlete, a wrestler.

Kunah has perhaps some connection with the Mongol khonok, "a degree or section of a circle."

Bichikchi in Mongol means a scribe or copyer.

Dzarghuchi, or yarguchi, means in Mongol a judge.

The words Thagia (name of an idol), Sghamish, Yam, and Themachi (meaning a myriarkh) cannot at present be explained in Mongol.

Malakia, ed. Brosset, 438-439.

CHAPTER II.

KHULAGU KHAN.

KHULAGU was the fifth son of Tului, the youngest son of Jingis Khan. His mother was Suirkukteni, the niece of the Kerait chief, Wang Khan, and daughter of his brother Jakembo. He was thus own brother of the two great Khakans, Mangu and Khubilai, and of Arikbuka, who contested the claims of Khubilai to the empire of the Mongol world. He was born about the year 1216. He is first mentioned in the winter of 1224 and 1225, when he was nine years old and his brother Khubilai was eleven. Jingis Khan was returning home after his great campaign when he was met near the river Imil by the two boys just named, his grandsons. Khubilai had killed a hare on the way, and Khulagu had captured a deer, and as it was customary for the Mongols to draw blood from the middle finger of boys when they first engaged in hunting, and to mingle it with some food and fat, the operation we are told on this occasion was performed by Jingis Khan in person.* He was thirty-five years old when, at his brother Mangu's bidding, he undertook his famous campaign in the West, to which we shall now turn. This was one of the expeditions decided upon at the great kuriltai held at the accession of Mangu, in 1251; the other one being directed against China, under the orders of Khubilai.

As a preparatory measure a Naiman, called Kitubuka, styled baverji or the butler, was sent in July, 1252, with an advance column of 12,000 men. The Georgian annals also speak of Elgan the Jelair (probably the Kuka Ilka of other writers, the Kuok'an of the Yuan shi,† the Kulkhan of Chamchean) as a commander of 10,000 men under Khulagu.‡ The first object of the Mongol attack was the famous community of Muhammedan schismatics known as the Ismaelites or Assassins, subject to the so-called Old Man of the Mountain, a translation of Sheikh ul Jibal, the name by which the Arabs knew him. They were called Ismaelites from Ismael, a son of the fifth Imam, to whom they were devoted.§ They were called Assassins from their use of Hashish, an intoxicating preparation of hemp, and were styled Mulahids or heretics by the orthodox Mussulmans.

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* D'Ohsson, i. 323. Ilkhans, i. 79-80. † See Bretschneider, Notes, &c., 60.
‡ Hist. de la Géorgie, 540. D'Ohsson, iii. 135-136. § Ante, i. 15.

Their country has a curious synonymy. Kuhistan, by which it is sometimes described, merely means the mountain land, and connotes the country of the Shavarkoh range, south of Asterabad and Ghilan. In a more limited view the focus of the Ismaelites was the district called Rudbar by some writers, which was watered by the Shahrud. This district was situated north of Kazvin, and contained some fifty fortresses, the chief one being Alamut, the Ismaelite capital. Its name was corrupted into Alah Amut (*i.e.*, the eagle's nest). Ibn al Athir tells us the district about Alamut was called Talikan, others called it Dilem. In the narrative of Chang ti's journey, we are told that in the country of the Assassins all the oxen were black and had a hump on their necks; the low country was destitute of water, wells were accordingly dug on the summits of the mountains, whence water was conducted for a great distance in order to irrigate the plains.*

Marco Polo has a curious account of the Ismaelite chief, which Colonel Yule says is virtually the same as that current all over the East, and of which other versions are preserved by Odoric, in the narrative of Chang ti, and in an Arabic version translated by Von Hammer. Marco Polo tells us their chief had caused a certain valley between two mountains to be enclosed, and had converted it into a garden, the largest and most beautiful that ever was seen, "filled with every variety of fruit. In it were erected pavilions and palaces, the most elegant that can be imagined, all covered with gilding and exquisite painting. And there were runnels, too, flowing freely with wine and milk, and honey and water, and numbers of ladies and of the most exquisite damsels in the world, who could play on all manner of instruments, and sang most sweetly, and danced in a manner that it was charming to behold." He wished the people to believe that this was actually Paradise, as described by Muhammed, and his people really believed it. The entrance to this garden was protected by a strong fortress. The Old Man kept about him a number of warlike youths from twelve to twenty, who believed in him as the Saracens believed in Muhammed. These he would first make drunk with a certain potion, and then have them conveyed, six or ten at a time, so that when they awoke they found themselves inside, where they deemed themselves in Paradise. When he wanted to send one of these devotees on a certain mission, he again administered the potion, and had him carried from the garden to the palace, where he was brought before the Prince, and when asked whence he came he would reply that he came from Paradise, which was just as Muhammed described it, which gave the others who stood by, and had not yet entered, a great desire to do so. When the Old Man wanted a prince slaying, he would say to such a youth, "Go thou and slay so and so, and when thou returnest my angels

* Bretschneider, Notes on Med. Travellers, &c., 78.

shall bear thee into Paradise, and shouldst thou die, natheless even so will I send my angels to carry thee back to Paradise." So he caused them to believe, and there was no order of his they were not willing to obey, and thus he murdered anyone he wanted to be rid of, and thus he inspired the neighbouring princes with great dread."* It is curious that one of the Ismaelite fortresses destroyed by the Mongols was called Firdus, or Paradise.†

The Ismaelites were close neighbours of the citizens of Kazvin, who were good Sunnis, and between them there had been a long feud. We are told that the Imam Kazi, Shems ud din, of Kazvin, made several journeys between Kazvin and China. Although an ecclesiastic, he wore a coat of mail under his clothes as a precaution against assassination. This having attracted the attention of Mangu when he was at his court, gave him an opportunity of denouncing the heretics, whom he also described as a danger to the Mongols themselves.‡

As we have seen, the Georgian chronicles assure us that the Mongols had already for some time been attacking the Ismaelites, or Assassins, and had lost one of their chiefs named Jagatai, who had been assassinated by them. I have in a previous volume traced out the origin of these famous schismatics and of their chiefs the old men of the mountain, § and shall here take up the story at a later point. When Jingis Khan invaded the West, the first Mussulman sovereign to send him his submission was Jelal ud din Hassan, the chief of the Ismaelites. Jelal ud din died in 1221, and was succeeded by his son Alai ud din Muhammed, who was only nine years old. He received no education, for as Imam he was infallible; whatever he did was right, and no one could give him advice. In his youth he had some struggles with the Khuarezm Shah, Jelal ud din. That prince, on his return from India, gave the district of Khorasan in charge to his general Orkhan. The latter's lieutenant made a raid upon the Ismaelite districts of Nun and Kain, or Kuhistan. Alai ud din thereupon sent an envoy to Khui to complain. The Khuarezm Shah summoned Orkhan and the envoy to his presence to explain. Orkhan drew from his boots and girdle several daggers in view of the envoy, who had used some threats, saying, "See our daggers; besides these we have swords which are sharper and more pointed, which you have not seen." As he could get no satisfaction, the envoy returned; but shortly after Orkhan was assailed near Kantzag by three Ismaelites, who killed him. They then went through the town with their bloody daggers, exclaiming, "Long live Alai ud din." They penetrated into the Divan, intending to assassinate the Vizier, Sherif ul Mulk, but he happened to be in the Sultan's palace at the time, and thus escaped. They wounded one of the guards and then sallied out brandishing their daggers, and were eventually killed

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 145-149. † *Id.*, 154.
‡ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1189-1196. § Ante, i. 15-16.

by stones thrown from the roofs of the houses, and died crying, "We are the victims of our lord Alai ud din." Presently another envoy named Bedr ud din Ahmed went from the Ismaelites to Jelal ud din. He said that his people merely wanted guaranteeing from attack. Jelal ud din, in reply, demanded the return of Dameghan, which had been seized by the Ismaelites during the Mongol troubles. It was agreed that it should be ceded to them on a payment of 30,000 dinars annually. The envoy, after this arrangement, accompanied Jelal ud din into Azerbaijan, and one day in his cups in the Vizier's presence boasted that there were fidayis (*i.e.*, devotees) of Alai ud din among the Khuarezmians, among their servants and their generals, even in the Vizier's own office, and among those in the service of the heads of the chaushes or ushers. Sherif ul Mulk begged him to summon them, and gave him his handkerchief as a pledge of their safety. Five of them were accordingly brought. One of them, an Indian, strong and determined, said to the Vizier, "I should have killed you on a certain occasion, but that I waited for further orders." "And why?" said the Vizier, throwing off his tunic and seating himself in his shirt. "What does Alai ud din want with me? What have I done that he would have my blood? I am his slave as I am the slave of the Sultan. I am at your service. Do what you will with me." The Sultan on hearing of this was very angry that his Vizier should thus have humiliated himself, and sent him orders to burn five of the fidayis before his tent. The Vizier made excuses. Thereupon the Sultan had an immense brazier set up in front of his tent, and had five of them put into it, who cried out as they were dying, "We are the victims of our lord, Alai ud din." The Sultan then had the head of the chaushes put to death for having such people in his service.

When Jelal ud din afterwards went to Irak, the Vizier remained at Berdaa, when there came a fresh envoy from the Ismaelites demanding a payment of 2,000 dinars for each of the fidayis who had been burnt to death. The Vizier, who was delighted to be let off so easily, ordered the Chancellor Muhammed of Nissa, to whom we owe the account, to draw up a rescript reducing the tribute which Alai ud din had agreed to pay by 10,000 dinars. After the battle of Ispahan, while Jelal ud din was at Rai, and his troops were pursuing the Mongols towards Khorasan, he received an envoy from Alai ud din, who was accompanied by nine fidayis. To prove their goodwill, they asked him to point out those whom he wished to destroy. Some of his councillors were for accepting this offer, but Sherif ud din, the Vizier's substitute in Irak, urged that Alai ud din only wanted to know who his enemies were so that he might intrigue with them, and he accordingly replied, "You must know who are our friends and who are our enemies. If you wish to do what you propose there is no need of instructions, and if it so pleases God, our sabres will enable us to dispense with your daggers." Soon after this Ghiath ud din, Jelal ud din's

brother, sought refuge with the Ismaelite chief, as we described, and was supplied by him with horses and arms, which greatly displeased his brother; and as, instead of sending the tribute he had promised, he only sent 20,000 dinars in two years, Muhammed of Nissa was sent to expostulate, and to demand that Alai ud din should have the khutbeh said in the Sultan's name. If he failed to pay the arrears, Nissavi was authorised to ravage his borders with fire and sword. The Sultan's letter was couched in rather peremptory language, and Nissavi was ordered not to enter Alamut unless Alai ud din came out to meet him, not to kiss his hand, and to omit all the usual marks of respect or politeness. Nissavi set out. The Ismaelite chief did not come out to meet him, but he was met by the Vizier, Amad ud din El Meuhteshem, who asked that the message might be communicated to him. This he refused, and it was four days before he was eventually admitted to an audience at midnight on the top of the mountain. The Vizier was seated on the Prince's right, while Nissavi was offered the seat on his left. He asked that the Sultan's name might be inserted in the khutbeh, as it was in the days of his father. With this demand Nissavi handed in a written declaration from the Kadhi Mojir ud din, who was still living, and who had been employed by the late Sultan to secure this right. At first they pretended it was a forgery, but they did not persist. "The thing," says Nissavi, "was too patent and too recent. Everyone knew that they formerly paid an annual tribute of 100,000 dinars to the Sultan." The subject of the arrears was then raised, and they pleaded that the commandant of Firuzkuh had seized a sum of 15,000 dinars, which was being transported from Kuhistan to Alamut. When Nissavi urged that this was before the late treaty, they said: "When have we been the enemies of the Khuarezmians, or, rather, when have we not been their friends? The Sultan has proved it both in ill fortune and good fortune. Did not our companions help him in India after passing the Indus, when he was reduced to the lowest state?" The fact was afterwards admitted by Jelal ud din. When Nissavi said this was no reason for reducing the tribute, they produced the Vizier's attested agreement for its reduction, as we have mentioned. Nissavi said this did not bind the Sultan. "The Vizier disposes," they replied, "of all the Sultan's revenue. He spends it as he likes without any restriction, and according to his whim. Are his hands only tied in regard to us." It was eventually agreed they should pay 20,000 dinars, the rest being left over for further consideration.*

As Alai ud din grew up he showed signs of mental aberration, but his physicians dared not acknowledge it nor prescribe for it, for fear of being massacred by the fanatics, who would not credit that the Imam could

* Nissavi, quoted by D'Ohsson, iii. 174-185.

suffer thus. He grew more imbecile, and as he was not contradicted or corrected, his passion was unbounded. Meanwhile his senilities were accepted as divine inspirations, while brigandage flourished, and his subjects were greatly oppressed. When he was eighteen years old he had a son named Rokn ud din Khurshah, whom he instituted as his successor, and who, when he had passed the age of infancy, was treated with the same honours as his father. The latter presently grew jealous, and wished to supersede him by another son, but his followers declared this impossible, the first nomination being irrevocable. He therefore began to torment his son. He in turn intrigued against his father among those who were growing weary of the latter's absurdities. He declared that his father's conduct would bring down the Mongols upon them, and proposed to separate from him and to send his submission to the Grand Khan. The greater part of the grandees agreed to support him to the last drop of blood against his father's adherents, but with the reservation that if his father marched in person they could not raise a hand against him. Soon after this, Alai ud din being one day drunk, was sleeping in a hut made of wood and reeds, adjoining a sheep pen, in a place called Shirkuh, where he used to go to enjoy his favourite relaxation of a shepherd; about him were lying his cameleers and servants. There he was found dead in the middle of the night, his head being separated from his body. An Indian and a Turkoman who slept beside him were both wounded. A few days later, when several innocent people had suffered, it was discovered that the deed had been done by his confidante and constant companion, Hasan Mazanderani. Rokn ud din did not have him tried, but had him assassinated, which confirmed the suspicions that rested upon him; and he had the cruelty to throw his three children, two sons and a daughter, into the brazier in which the assassin's body was burnt. Shems ud din, Ayub of Tus, wrote a poem on his death. On his accession, Rokn ud din enjoined a strict adherence to the Muhammedan law, and took measures to secure the safety of the roads.

Meanwhile, as we have seen, Kitubuka had been sent on with the advance guard of Khulagu's army, to deal him some hard blows. He crossed the Oxus early in March, 1253, and penetrated into Kuhistan, where he captured several strong places. Thence advancing with 5,000 horsemen and 5,000 foot soldiers, the former probably Mongols and the latter Tajiks or Persians, he assailed Girdkuh. It was also called Derikunbed (*i.e.*, the vaulted gate),* and was situated three parasangs west of Dameghan, to which town it was in fact a kind of fortress, where its inhabitants could take refuge.† It is called Tigado by Haithon, and Ki du bu gu in the Yuan shi, where we read it was situated on a very steep rock, which could not be reached either by arrows or by stones

* Ilkhans, i. 93. Quatremere reads it Diz-gunbedan. † Quatremere, 278. Note.

from catapults. It was so steep that in looking up one's cap fell off.* Having put double lines of circumvallation about it, so that his army had a rampart and ditch both before and behind it, Kitubuka left an army to blockade it, under an Amir named Buri, and proceeded to attack Mehrin and Shah. Meanwhile Hirkutai, one of his subordinates, devastated the districts of Tarem and Rudbar. The Mongols afterwards assailed Mansuriah and Alabeshin, or Alah beshin, and continued the slaughter for eighteen days. The garrison of Girdkuh now made a sally and killed 100 Mongols, including Buri. Kitubuka meanwhile harried all the herds in the districts of Tun, Tershiz and Zirkuh, while Mehrin and Kemali both fell.† Having heard that his famous arsenal, Girdkuh, was afflicted by pestilence and likely to surrender, Alai ud din, the King of the Assassins, sent a body of 100 men, under Mubariz ud din Turan and Shuja ed din Hasan Sarabani, each bearing three menns of salt and one of henna (the latter, well known as a dye to dye the nails, was made of the powdered leaves of the *Lawsonia inermis.*‡) On this occasion § it was welcome on account of its medicinal qualities.

Shortly after, namely, on the 2nd of December, 1255, Alai ud din was murdered, as I have mentioned. In the spring following Kitubuka and Kuka Ilka received orders from Khulagu, who was rapidly advancing, to attack the remaining fortresses of Kuhistan. This they did in the course of a month, during which they committed great ravages there; *inter alia*, they captured Tun after an attack of twelve days, and killed all the inhabitants except the artisans, after which they joined Khulagu, who had advanced to Tus, near Meshed.

Meanwhile, let us turn to Khulagu himself. We are told he was accompanied by two of his ten sons, namely, Abaka and Yushmut; a third, Jumkur, he left at his brother the Khakan's Court in charge of his interests there; while another son, Temkian, was left at home in charge of his yurt. With him also went his brother Suntai, or Sitai Oghul, the ninth son of Tului. Nigudar‖ represented the Ulus of Jagatai. The Golden Horde was represented by Khuli, son of Orda, eldest son of Juchi; by Balakhen, or Balakan, also called Bulgha, Bulga, and Bulga Kabli, son of Sheiban, son of Juchi; and by Tutar (called also Tumar, Kotur, or Kotar, and by St. Martin, Bukan), son of Mankadr, son of Tual, son of Juchi. These princes apparently joined him when he arrived in Iran. He was accompanied also by Buka Timur, son of Jijeghan (called Jehakan Begi by Abulfaraj), the daughter of Jingis Khan, whom she bore to the Uirad chief Turalji, and who was step-brother to Kubak Khatun, and Oljai Khatun, two of Khulagu's wives. Buka Timur took

* Bretschneider, Notes on Chin. Trav., 78. Notices of Med. Geog., 203. Note 341.
† Quatremere, 171, 3. ‡ *Id.*, 172. Note. § Ante, i. 194.
‖ Called Thagudar by Malakia (op. cit., 451), and Tacudar by Abulfaraj, who calls him the son of Buchi Ogul. (Op. cit., Chron. Arab., 329.) Buchi Ogul is called Juchi by Von Hammer. (Ilkhans, i. 86.)

with him a contingent of Uirads.* Khulagu also had with him his wives, Yisut and Oljai, and his stepmother, Tokuz, whom he eventually married. It will be noted that the Ulus of Ogotai, which was at feud with Mangu, was not represented at all.

The princes above mentioned commanded contingents supplied by their several hordes, which commands were hereditary, and the general notion seems to have been that the enterprise was a joint one, in which the fruits of victory were in fact to be shared among all the Mongol ulusses. Each one was accordingly called upon to furnish two men out of every ten for the campaign, while, as we have seen, 1,000 skilled Chinese arbalisters and men accustomed to hurl fire arrows (the ho pao of the Chinese), in which naphtha was a main ingredient, were also supplied. In regard to this section of the army Major Raverty has translated an interesting notice, in which we are told it consisted of a thousand families of Chinese Manjanik chis (manganel workers), naft andaz (naphtha throwers), and charkh andaz (shooters of fiery arrows worked by a wheel), and they took with them a vast quantity of ammunition. They had with them also charkhi kamans, *i.e.*, arbalists worked by a wheel, so that one bowstring would pull three bows, each of which discharged an arrow three or four ells long. The arrows or bolts, from the notch of the bowstring to near the head, were covered with feathers of the vulture and the eagle, and the bolts were short and strong. These machines would also throw naphtha. The manganels were made of ash, very tough and strong, and covered with the hides of bullocks and horses (to prevent them being burnt), being thus enclosed like a dagger in its sheath, and each manganel was so constructed as to be capable of being separated into five or six pieces, and easily put together again. The machines were brought from China into Turkestan on carts, and were under the direction of skilled engineers.† A thousand pounds of meal and a skin of kumiz were also ordered to be provided for each man.‡ Orders were issued to reserve the pastures west of the Tungat Mountains (identified by Bretschneider with the range now called Tangnu), and lying between Bishbaligh and Karakorum. Roads were repaired and bridges made, and to prepare Khulagu's way more effectively, the troops of Baichu Noyan were told to draw near to Rum (*i.e.*, Asia Minor), so that the pastures in the Mughan plain might be fresh. Before leaving, Khulagu gave a feast in Mangu's honour, and was feasted in return by his young brother Arikbuka and others at Karakorum. The Khakan Mangu bade him obey the counsels of Jingis Khan, to treat those who submitted kindly, but to exterminate those who resisted, and he commissioned him to conquer the land from the Oxus to the borders of Egypt, to subdue

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Arab., 329. Ilkhans, i. 86.
† Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1191. ‡ Quatremere, 137.

Kuhistan, the Kurds, and the Turks, and to compel the Khalif to be submissive. When he had accomplished his mission he told him to return again. He poured rich presents upon him and his amirs, and bade him take council with his stepmother Tokuz. Mangu sent splendid presents in gold, robes, and horses to Khulagu, his wives, and children, and to the principal noyans and amirs; and he also arranged that his younger brother, Suntai or Sitai Oghul, was to accompany him, probably to look after his immediate interests. Khulagu having repaired to his own *ordu*, at length set out in October, 1253, leaving a portion of his harem behind. The amirs in charge of the different districts had duly provided provisions at the various stations. Stones and other impediments were removed from the roads, while the different princes and generals who were to take part in the expedition employed themselves in exercising their troops. He set out in February, 1254, and marched from station to station till he approached Almaligh.* There he was probably met by Nigudar with the Jagatai contingent. He was feasted by Orghana, or Irghana, the widow of Kara Khulagu, ruler of the Ulus of Jagatai (who was a granddaughter of Jingis Khan, her mother having been Jigeghan, already named, and she was consequently stepsister of Oljai, Khulagu's wife). We are told he left a large portion of his family "in Turkestan, near Almaligh."† He was again fêted further on by Masud Bey, the Governor of Mavera un Nehr and Turkestan, and arrived at Samarkand in September, 1255. Khulagu's mission was merely that of a general who commanded an army, and Mangu's purpose in dispatching him westwards was not to make over to him any *independent* authority over the western countries or their peoples, but only to head a great campaign against the enemies of the Mongols. We must understand this when we read that the various contingents of troops from the Indus to the borders of Syria were placed under his control, while the different feudatory princes and the civil governors of Mavera un Nehr and Khorasan were put at his service. Mavera un Nehr and Khorasan were treated as imperial appanages, and remained so at least until the days of Khubilai Khakan. East of Khorasan the country was controlled by maliks or princes, who paid tribute to the Mongols, and were largely controlled by Mongol commissaries at their Courts. Much the most important of these maliks was the Chief of Herat, and to him we must devote a longer notice.

The best authority available for the history of the family of Kert or Kurt,‡ is the "Chronicle of Herat," composed by Muyin ud din Muhammed, surnamed es Zemji, who was a native of Esfizar, near Herat. His work, entitled "The Celestial Garden," is a description of the town

* Quatremere, 145-147. † *Id.*, 99. Ilkhans, i. 88.
‡ A soubriquet said to mean greatness or magnificence. Raverty, 1198. Note 8.

of Herat, and was finished in 897 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1491-2). The portion which interests us at present was translated by M. Barbier de Meynard in the sixteenth and seventeenth volumes of the "Journal Asiatique." Iz ud din Omar Meraghani was the favourite Minister of the Ghurian Sultan, Ghiath ud din. He is styled Malik of Khorasan by Minhaj-i-Saraj.* He conferred on his brother, Taj ud din Osman, the fortress of Khaisar, and he occupied the post of chief armour-bearer at the Court of Mahmud, Iz ud din's son. Osman, on his death, transmitted his fief to his son, Rokn ud din Abubekr, who married a daughter of Sultan Ghiath ud din,† who was reigning when Jingis Khan invaded the west. He seems to have conciliated that conqueror. His heritage was unmolested when the rest of Ghur was overrun, and he apparently was confirmed in its possession by Jingis Khan. According to Muyin ud din Esfizari, Jingis Khan was about to attack the fortress, and had a plan of it first made, when, afraid of being beaten, he left it in the hands of Rokn ud din Kert.‡ It was the strongest fortress of Ghur, and its citadel still remains north-east of Teivèreh, at the foot of the peak of Chap dalan, on an inaccessible rock.§

We are told that when Malik Rokn ud din used to attend the camp of Jingis Khan, of Ogotai and the Mongol Noyans, he used to take his son Shems ud din with him, so that he became acquainted with the Mongol usages and regulations.‖ Rokn ud din died in 1245, and was succeeded by Shems ud din, who is found the next year accompanying Sali Noyan (perhaps the Mangutah previously mentioned)¶ in his invasion of Sind, and treating with the governors of Multan and Lahore. The former was, at his instance, ransomed for 100,000 gold pieces, and the latter for 30,000 dinars, 30 loads of fine cloth, and 100 slaves. We are told that in consequence of his success on this occasion he was made military governor of Lahore, but presently the Mongol chiefs grew jealous of him, and accused him of having secret negotiations with the infidels of the country. They said he had accepted 50,000 dinars from the governors of Multan and Lahore, and had promised he would join the troops of the Sultan of Delhi if they should approach. Shems ud din, on hearing of these accusations, determined to escape to Tair Baghatur, Sali's superior officer, and accordingly fled with a few soldiers, and took shelter in a pagoda near Guejuran. From the people there he begged some arms, &c., to present to Tair Baghatur, but Fakhr ud din, the chief of Guejuran, having been told that he meant to possess himself of that district, sent Emad ud din with some troops to seize him and lodge him in the fortress of Guejuran. Emad ud din first consulted Tair Baghatur, who, remembering his friendship for Rokn ud din, the father of the

* Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 193. † Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 440-441.
‡ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 455. Note.
§ See Ferrier's Travels, ii. 9. ‖ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1200. Note. ¶ Ante, p. 71.

fugitive, ordered him to be taken before him to be tried. Tair's tent was pitched on the crest of a hill, and when Shems ud din was admitted he asked him, "These towns and villages on the right, to whom do they belong?" "To you, prince," said the culprit. "And these fields and orchards in front of us?" "To you also." And he made the same reply to a number of similar questions. He then turned to Emad ud din and asked him to point out his property. He diplomatically said he owned only one poor house there, and had few connections with the country. "Know then," said Tair, laughing, "that it belongs very largely to Shems ud din, and that he is at liberty to levy requisitions without being treated as a rebel." Emad ud din thereupon withdrew, and left the Mongol camp the same night, while Shems ud din remained with *éclat* with his protector till the return of Sali Noyan from India with a large booty.*

Tair Behadur died in 645 (*i.e.*, 1247), whereupon his son Halkatu Noyan (Arkatu), in concert with Kara Noyan, who, it seems, had a grievance against Shems ud din, reported him to Jagatai Khan. He set out to justify himself, but on his arrival Jagatai was dead.† He seems to have been driven away by Jagatai's son, Yissu Mangu, and fled to the Court of Batu, whence he made his way to the kuriltai where Mangu Khakan was inaugurated.‡ The officers who introduced him exalted his virtues and the services of his ancestors, and Mangu received him with special honour, and conferred on him as a fief the whole province of Herat, with Jam, Bakherz, Kusuyeh, Fushenj, Tulek, Ghur and Khaisar, Firuz Kuh, Gharjistan, Murghab, Meruchak, Fariab, as far as the Oxus; Esfizar, Ferrah, Sigistan, Kabul, Tirah, and Afghanistan, as far as the Indus and the borders of the Hindus.§ Besides granting him the great fief I have mentioned, Mangu issued an order to Arghun Aka, the civil governor of Khorasan, to make over fifty tomans of money to the intendants of Shems ud din. The next day, in a private audience, the Khakan presented the Malik with one of his own robes, gave him a paizah, or official tablet, 10,000 dinars, and arms, including an Indian sabre, a lance of Alkhatt, a mace with a bull's head on the top, an axe, and a dagger. Shems ud din left for Herat, accompanied by an officer of the Khakan. He turned aside to pay a visit to Arghun Aka, to whom he presented the Khakan's order, who duly handed him the fifty tomans.‖ After occupying Herat he put Sherif ud din, the Bitikji, whose tyranny had ruined the country, to death, and severely reprimanded Korlogh, the military governor of the place. He also obtained possession of Bakar, a fortress of Sijistan, which no one had been able to capture by force since the days of Nushirvan; and in 647 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1249) he slew Saif ud din,

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 442-445. † *Id.*, 445. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 276-277.
§ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 445.
‖ *Id.*, 445-446. D'Ohsson, iii. 129-131. M. de Sacy says Alkhatt is a plain in the district of Yemama, or Bahrein, where the handles of lances are made that come from India. (Chrest Arab., ii. 79. Note 12.)

the Malik of Gharjistan, who had apparently refused to acknowledge his authority. He sent 400 men against him, whereupon Saif ud din fled to Arghun, who would not listen to him, but sent him bound in chains to the Malik of Herat, and he was put to death by being trampled under foot by horses near the gate Khosh, and his corpse remained exposed for three days in the great bazaar.* The date of this event is clearly wrong, since Mangu did not mount the throne till 1252.

To revert to Khulagu. While he was encamped in the meadows of Kan Ghul, near Samarkand, he was visited by the Malik Shems ud din Kert, and the subordinate chiefs of the district, who duly did homage. He was also feasted there for forty days in a tent of golden tissue furnished by Masud. At this time he lost his brother and companion, Sitai Oghul, and, according to Abulfaraj, he received news of the death of another brother named Balador, who is not otherwise known to me.† At Kesh, the birthplace of the Great Timur, he was met by Arghun, the Mongol Governor of Khorasan. There also went at his bidding the two joint Sultans of Rum, Iz ud din and Rokn ud din; from Fars there went Said, son of the Atabeg Muzaffar ud din, while other chieftains greeted him from Irak, Khorasan, Azerbaijan, Arran, Shirvan, and Georgia.‡ While at Kesh, where he stayed a month, Khulagu issued a firman, or order, to the various princes of Western Asia to march and aid him against the Mulahids, or Assassins, or take the consequences. The boats and boatmen on the Oxus having been impounded, the army safely traversed the river on the 2nd of January, 1256. The boatmen were rewarded for their zeal on this occasion by being relieved of the dues they had previously paid.§ Guiragos says Khulagu's army was so large that it took a month to pass over the Oxus.‖ Having crossed the river he, by way of amusement, held a review on the banks. Suddenly several lions came out of a forest. Khulagu ordered his horsemen to form a ring and surround the animals, and, as the horses were afraid of the lions, they mounted on camels, and succeeded in killing, according to the Jihan-Kushai, ten—Rashid says two. Quatremere argues that the lion was unknown to the Manchus and Mongols, who borrowed a name for it (arslan) from the Turks.¶ The next important halt was at Shiburghan, corrupted into Shibrghan, a town situated about ninety miles west of Balkh, and now containing about 12,000 houses. It is a very old place. Its earliest recorded name is Asapuragan, while the Arabs called it Saburkan or Shaburkan. Its famous dried melons are mentioned by Marco Polo.** A fall of snow and a frost, lasting seven days, caused so many horses to die that it was determined to delay there during the winter. There, in the spring, Arghun Aka entertained Khulagu in a tent

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 446. † Abulfaraj, Chron. Arab., 330.
‡ Quatremere, op. cit., 153. § Quatremere, 153. ‖ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 482.
¶ Op. cit., 153-155. Notes. ** Op. cit., ed. Yule, i. 156-157.

of golden tissue, pinned down by 1,000 golden pegs. It had a rich pavilion as an ante-chamber, while the hall of audience was furnished with gold and silver vessels decked with precious stones. A grand feast was given on a day fixed as auspicious, during which Khulagu was seated on a throne, while the various princes and grandees who surrounded him did him honour. After the feast Arghun, by Khulagu's order, set off for Mangu's Court. He left his son, Kirai Malik Ahmed, the Bitikji, and Alai ud din Ata Malik, in charge of the affairs of Iran in his absence.*

Khulagu now dispatched the Malik Shems ud din Kert, the Lord of Herat, to summon the Mohtesshim (Preceptor) of Kuhistan, Nasir ud din, who was then at Sartakht. The latter set out, and was duly submissive, whereupon he gave him a paizah or official tablet, and a yarligh or diploma, with the command of the town of Tun, but he shortly after died. Tun was situated near Kain or Ghain, whence the two towns were joined together by Marco Polo, under the name of Tunocain.† It is described as a fine town, with a moated castle in the centre, surrounded by houses and a market-place, outside which were cornfields and melon gardens. Khulagu now advanced to Zawah, the modern Turbat-i-Hadari, and Khavuz or Khaus, where he was taken slightly ill. Thence he went on to Tus, where he was rejoined by Kitubuka and Kuka Ilka. Tus was the head-quarters of the civil governor of the Western Mongol possessions. There he was feasted, and then went on to Mansuriah, which had been restored by Arghun, and where the latter's wives and the Amir Khoja Iz ud din Tahir entertained their powerful guest. At Radekan, between Tus and Khabushan, he feasted on the rich products of Merv, Baverd‡ (or Abiverd, situated between Sarrakhs and Nissa), and Dahistan. At Khabushan he restored the ruins caused by the previous Mongol invasion, the cost of which he defrayed out of the public purse. Canals and workshops were made, and a garden laid out near the principal mosque. Saif ud din, the Vizier, superintended these works. On the order of Khulagu the amirs and principal courtiers also built themselves houses there.§ Raverty says they were not canals which were made, as here stated, but that kahrezes, or subterranean aqueducts, were repaired.‖ On the 2nd of September, 1256, Khulagu reached the environs of Kharakan, or Kharkan, and Bostam. The latter, situated in the valley of the upper Attrek, in the east of the district of Kumus, was the birthplace of several famous men; among them of the mystic Sheikh Bostami, the founder of the order of dervishes named after him, Bostami.¶ From Bostam Khulagu sent two envoys, named Merketai and Menklemish, to menace Rokn ud din, the chief of the Ismaelites, with his vengeance. At this time the famous poet

* Quatremere, 165. † Quatremere, 157-159. Ilkhans, i. 95. Note 3. Marco Polo, i. 84.
‡ Called Yesrud by Von Hammer. Ilkhans, i. 97.
§ Quatremere, 181-183. ‖ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1196. Note. ¶ Ilkhans, i. 98.

and astronomer, Khoja Nasir ud din Tusi, with several doctors, were living against their inclination among the Ismaelites, and having determined to put an end to the oppression of the chief of the latter, they, in concert with some other Mussulmans, persuaded him to be submissive.* He accordingly sent from Maimundiz, where he was living, an officer to Yassaur, the Mongol Noyan, who was then at Hamadan, to assure him of his submission. He advised him to repair to Khulagu. Rokn ud din said he would send his brother, Shahin Shah, to him. The latter, in fact, set out, and Yassaur commissioned his son to accompany him on his return. Notwithstanding this, he entered a few days later, viz., in June, 1256, the district of Alamut, with an army composed of Turks and Persians, and attacked that fortress; but after a sharp conflict his troops were obliged to retreat, and wreaked their vengeance in destroying the crops and ravaging all the country round.† Meanwhile Shahin Shah repaired to and was well received by Khulagu, who in turn sent four envoys to the Ismaelite ruler, among whom was one called Bakhshi by Rashid ud din. The Buddhist Lamas were so styled, and he was perhaps one of them.‡ They were to tell him to dismantle his fortresses, and to go to him in person, and meanwhile Yassaur, with his Mongols, was to withdraw from his territory. He partially complied, and began to overthrow the ramparts of Maimundiz, Lembeser, and Alamut, and offered to accept a Mongol baskak or commissary at his Court; but in regard to going in person to his Court, he pleaded that he would do so in the course of a year. Khulagu had determined to destroy him, however, and on this pretext he ordered his troops to come together from Irak and the adjacent provinces.

While Khulagu was advancing towards Kuhistan, the three princes of the house of Juchi had apparently traversed the pass of Derbend from Kipchak with their contingents. They advanced, says Guiragos, with their chariots, having levelled and made passable all the roads.§ Khuli, one of the three, styled himself "Son of God." Malakia tells us that he was a merciless persecutor of the Christians; that he caused all the crosses on the roadsides and mountains he met with to be burnt, and treated with especial brutality the inmates of the various monasteries they passed. One of his chiefs went to the Monastery of Gereth, whose abbot was called Stephanos, and was a very old man with grey hair, distinguished for his sanctity. On the approach of the Tartar chief he took a glass of wine, and offered him the tghghu (*i.e.*, the usual tax or offering insisted upon by the Mongols on such occasions), and conducted him to the monastery, where he killed a sheep and distributed it with the wine to the leaders of the band. They went on drinking till night, when they returned to their quarters, which were close by. On rising the

* Quatremere, 183-185. † D'Ohsson, iii. 186-189. Ilkhans, i. 99.
‡ Quatremere, 184. Note 51. § Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 182.

next morning their chief was very ill, and charged the monks with having poisoned him, his illness really being the result of his gluttony. They nevertheless seized and chained Stephanos. They tortured him to extract a confession, and this not being forthcoming, they fixed four stakes, to which they fastened him, spread some earth over him, and then lit a fire over all until they roasted his flesh and he gave up the ghost. Malakia goes on to report what is usually told of Armenian martyrs, that a light hovered over his remains, while the cruel chief was driven by the demon which possessed him to tear his own flesh with his teeth, and several of his companions perished from the complaint which had seized them. This epidemic spread to Khuli himself. Malakia then tells a very grim story, viz., that Khuli summoned a doctor, who is elsewhere said to have been a Jew, and who declared that there was no other remedy for this disease than to thrust his feet into the warm entrails of a child who was to be cut open for the purpose. They accordingly seized some thirty Christian children in the streets. They killed them with arrows and cut them open. Khuli's pain was not, however, assuaged, and in a rage he had the doctor himself cut open and his entrails thrown to the dogs. Khuli presently died, and was succeeded by his son Migan, also called Mizan, or Mishan.*

Let us now return to Khulagu, who, as we have seen, had ordered a general muster of his troops. The right wing, commanded by Buka Timur and Kuka Ilka, marched by way of Mazanderan ; the left, under Nigudar and Kitubuka, went by Khowar and Semnan ; while Khulagu commanded the centre, called kul by the Mongols, in person.† Meanwhile, he dispatched the doomed prince another warning. The Khurshah in reply sent his Vizier, Kaikobad, and other envoys, who met the invading army at Firuzkuh. This place was visited by Morier, to whom the ruins of the castle of the Ismaelites were pointed out as a windmill and baths of the time of Alexander the Great.‡ Quatremere has a long note on the place, which was situated under the famous mountain of Demavend, and near Rai. Clavigo describes it as situated on a high rock rising precipitously from a plain, and as, in reality, comprising three fortresses girdled by walls and bastions.§ It was, as we have seen, perhaps "The Paradise" of Marco Polo. The envoys offered to surrender all the towns in the country except their ancestral strongholds of Alamut and Lembeser, and again pleaded for a year's delay, after which they promised that their master, who meanwhile gave orders for the surrender of Girdkuh and the fortresses of Kuhistan, would visit Khulagu in person.

The Mongols continued their advance, and reached Lar and Demavend. The latter is one of the oldest cities of Iran, and is situated at the foot of

* Malakia, 451-453. † Quatremere, 191-193. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 99. § Quatremere, 274-276.

a famous volcanic peak in the Elburz chain, which is 20,000 feet high, and which bears the same name. It was the residence of the tyrant Sohak, the carbuncle on whose shoulder, which appeared when Satan kissed him, could only be eased by the brains of two men, killed daily; and from whose tyranny the people were delivered by the smith Giawe, whose leathern apron, fixed on a lance, was the gathering point of those who opposed him. The 31st of August is kept as a festival in the Mussulman world in memory of the deliverance from Sohak's tyranny.* The mountain of Demavend was the scene of much early romance, and Quatremere has devoted a long note to it.† From Demavend Khulagu advanced to Shahdiz, which he captured in two days. Fresh envoys were thence sent to the recalcitrant chief, who now consented to send his son with a contingent of 300 soldiers, and to demolish his fortresses. The Mongols delayed at Abbasabad, on the main route from Demavend to Sari, awaiting the performance of these promises. Rokn ud din sent a young son he had had by a Kurdish concubine, who was then eight years old, and who in consideration of his youth was allowed to return. Khulagu now asked him to send an older prince, namely, his second brother, Shahin Shah. The latter accordingly went, and reached the Mongols at Rai. He was deluded by a fair-sounding yarligh or diploma, setting out their goodwill, and stating that if Rokn ud din duly demolished his fortresses he would have nothing to fear. The Mongol troops, however, kept advancing. When Buka Timur and Kuka Ilka neared Aspendan—called Ispidar by Von Hammer, and, doubtless rightly, Astadar by Major Raverty—the Khurshah sent to ask what motive they had for going there, since he had submitted to their master and was occupied in demolishing his fortresses. Their enigmatical answer was, "As we are at peace with one another, we have come to search for pasture."‡

On the 21st of October Khulagu left the district of Rudbar by the pass of Baskal or Yaskal, and took the route of Talikan,§ situated between Kazvin and Abher.‖ He advanced with his troops, and planted them round Maimundiz. As the walls were very strong, a council was held as to whether they should press the siege or withdraw. Most of those present urged that it was mid-winter, that their horses were thin, and that it would be necessary to get provender for them from Armenia and Kurdistan, and urged a retreat. Buka Timur, Kitubuka, and Saif ud din, the bitikji, on the other hand, advised the siege to be pressed.¶ Meanwhile the contingent of 300 men sent by Rokn ud din were put to death near Kazvin. A summons was sent into the town bidding it surrender in five days. The reply was that Rokn ud din was then absent. Trees

* Ilkhans, i. 100. † Op. cit., 200-204. ‡ Quatremere, 207.
§ Von Hammer has confused this place with the more famous Talikan in Tokharistan. Ilkhans, i. 101.
‖ Quatremere, 278. ¶ Quatremere, 211.

were now cut down to make catapults with, which were dragged to the top of the neighbouring heights. Meanwhile the besieged returned a heavy fire. The following day the duel was renewed, but the chief of the Ismaelites proposed a cessation of hostilities. Khulagu insisted on immediate surrender, and Atha ul Mulk of Juveni was ordered to draw up the form. Meanwhile a tumult occurred among the citizens (to which their chief was probably privy), who did not wish to surrender. Rokn ud din sent word to the Mongols of what had occurred, and stated that his life was in danger, and the bombardment recommenced. The vigour of the attack and the uncommon mildness of the season made the besieged at length lose heart.* Rokn ud din accordingly sent his brother, Shah Kiya, with the astronomer Khoja Nasir ud din of Tus, two sons of Rais ud daulat, from Hamadan, who were famous as doctors, with many grandees, bearing rich presents, and a few days after, on the 19th of November, he went in person and, in the words of Rashid ud din, "kissed the ground before his August Majesty." Khulagu treated him kindly, and this induced others to submit. Sadr ud din, or according to Abulfaraj, Shems ud din, prefect of the fortresses of Kuhistan, was sent to demolish the various Ismaelite fortresses in Kuhistan, Kumus, and Rudbar. There were a hundred, well provisioned and armed. The governors of the fortresses of Dilem also agreed to demolish their walls, and all were thus razed except Girdkuh and Lembeser. The latter held out for a year, when a disease broke out there and it had to surrender. Girdkuh held out longer; the Yuan shi says it was captured by Kitubuka in 1257.

In the biography of Kuo Khan (*i.e.*, of Kuka Ilka) he is made to capture it. We there read that it was only accessible by suspended ladders, which were guarded by the most valiant troops. It was battered with catapults, when its commander, Bu-jo na-shi-r, elsewhere called Da-dje na-shi-r, surrendered.† Other writers make out that Girdkuh held out for many years. To reconcile these notices we must suppose that after its surrender it again rebelled. The author of the "Tabakat-i-Nasiri" tells us that when he wrote it had been besieged for ten years, but still held out.‡ It apparently finally surrendered in December, 1270.§ The treasures collected by the Ismaelite princes at Maimundiz, which were less valuable than was expected, were distributed among Khulagu's soldiers, who then advanced to Alamut by way of Sheherek, the ancient capital of the Princes of Dilem, where he celebrated his success in a feast of nine days.‖ Alamut was ordered to surrender by the Khur Shah himself, but its governor, Sipah Salar, sent an uncivil reply, and refused.¶ Bulghai was left with a considerable contingent to attack it, and after three days it surrendered. The Mongols entered and broke the war engines on

* D'Ohsson, iii. 196. † Bretschneider, Notes on Med. Travellers, &c., 78 and 79.
‡ Op. cit., 1207-1210. § See Yule's Marco Polo, i. 153.
‖ D'Ohsson, iii. 197. ¶ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1209-1210. Notes.

the walls, removed the gates, and pillaged the place. Khulagu himself entered the fortress, and was astonished at the extent of the mountain, which was compared in shape, by Eastern writers, to a camel kneeling with its neck stretched out, the fortress being built on the summit, and approachable only by one narrow path.* He sent his Vizier, Athamulk Juveni, to inspect the archives and library there. The astronomical instruments, Korans, and some other valuable works were put aside, including one with the title, "Serguseshti Sidina; or Adventures of our Lord and Master," giving an account of the founder of the sect, Hasan Sabbah, from which Juveni drew the main portion of his account of the Ismaelites. All the works dealing with the tenets of the sect were given to the flames. The solid vaults of the fortress were found stored with great quantities of provisions; *inter alia*, were wine, vinegar, and honey, which, it was said, had been there since the time of Hasan Sabbah, and were still wholesome after 160 years. A Mongol officer was assigned the tedious duty of destroying the strong walls of the fortress.† Khulagu now went to Lembeser, or Lemser, where his winter quarters were, and where he left Tairbuka to prosecute the siege while he went to pass the New Year's feast at the Grand Ordu, seven parasangs from Kazvin. A whole week was spent in festivities, and the grandees were rewarded with robes of honour. The Khurshah was given a yarligh and a paizah, and a Mongol damsel for his wife, and Kazvin was assigned as a depôt for his treasures and wealth. Thence he dispatched two or three confidential men in company with the Mongols to order the governors of the Ismaelite fortresses in Syria to surrender. Khulagu apparently held his hand until these various fortresses, which might have taken years to capture, were in his power, when he was disembarrassed from a promise he had made to spare his life by his request to be allowed to visit the Khakan Mangu. He set out with some messengers of Khulagu, with whom he had some sharp words at Bukhara. When they reached Karakorum, Mangu would not see him, and said he ought not to have been sent on to him, as it unnecessarily fatigued the horses. Abulfaraj says he ordered him to return and surrender the fortresses of Girdkuh and Lembeser, which still held out. He set out on his return, but when near the mountains Tungat (*i.e.*, Tangnu) he was put to death with his suite. Orders were sent to Khulagu to exterminate the Mulahids. Thereupon he sent word to Kazvin, and the two sons of the Khurshah, with his daughters, brothers, and sisters, and their attendants, who had been moved to a place between Abher and Kazvin, were put to death. Orders were given to eradicate the rest, even to children in their cradles; and we are told the Mongol Governor of Khorasan assembled the Ismaelites of Kuhistan under pretence of taking a census for a military levy, and put

* *Id.*, 1210. Note. Quatremere, 215.
† Ilkhans, i. 102-103. D'Ohsson, iii. 198-199.

them to death to the number of 12,000. They were similarly slaughtered elsewhere.* Alfi says that a number of the Khurshah's offspring and relatives were made over to Salghan Khatun, the daughter of Jagatai, in order to take blood revenge upon them for the murder of Jagatai, who had been killed by Mulahid assassins.† All the Khurshah's people were apparently not destroyed, for in 674 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1275) a body of the Mulahids, combined with one of Khurshah's sons, seized the fortress of Alamut. Abaka sent an army against them, which defeated them, and the fortress was razed.‡ Muhammed of Esfizar, in his history of Herat says that at the beginning of the 16th century some of the people of the district were still attached to the errors of the sect. They levied among themselves a tax called the money of Hassan Sabbah, which was devoted to the decoration of his sepulchre, and the old women put aside one out of every ten spindles of yarn which they had spun, and which they called the tenth of the Imam (*i.e.*, of Hassan Sabbah).§ The author of the *Georgian Chronicle* says that many of the Mulahids took refuge in Egypt, where their descendants remained when he wrote.‖ A very interesting and graphic account of the descendants of the Ismaelites as they exist now in India has been given by Colonel Yule.¶

Having overwhelmed the Ismaelites, Khulagu set out in March, 1257, for Hamadan (the Ecbatana of the Greeks), the famous capital of the ancient Medes; famous also in Muhammedan times as an opulent and beautiful city. Among its noted monuments were the tomb of the Gazelle of Bahram-gur, and a colossal stone lion which stood over the pillar of one of its gates, and has been described in detail by Masudi. It was reported to have been put there by Alexander, and was looked upon as a kind of palladium, like the famous stone of Scone. It was broken to pieces by Merdavij in the year 319 of the HEJ., when he captured the town at the head of the troops of Ghilan and Dilem, and perpetrated a terrible massacre, so terrible that, according to the author of the "Mujmal Altawarikh," fifty asses were laden with the drawers of the dead. It again revived, and is reported to have been 12,000 paces in circumference, and to have contained 1,600 fountains, and several shrines which were objects of pilgrimage, and it abounded in fruits, flocks, and merchandise.**

The astronomer, Nasir ud din, of Tus, with the two doctors above mentioned as captured at Maimundiz, were now taken into Khulagu's service. This famous astronomer had formerly been in the service of Nasir ud din Abdur Rahim, governor of Kuhistan on behalf of the Khurshah, to whom he had dedicated a work entitled "Akhlak Nasiry,"

* Quatremere, 215-221. Abulfaraj, Chron. Arab, 332. D'Ohsson, iii. 201-202.
† Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1211. Note. This was the Noyan Jagatai, whose death we have previously described, and not, of course, the Khan Jagatai.
‡ *Id.*, 1212. Note. § D'Ohsson, iii. 202. Note. ‖ Op. cit., 544.
¶ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 153-155. ** Quatremere, op. cit., 220-223. Note.

or the Ethics of Nasir. It was divided into three parts, the substance of one, treating of moral perfection, had been written by an Arab named Abu Ali Meskuyah, and was much esteemed by Muhammedans. The other two books, on economics and political society, the author declares were chiefly taken from Greek sources. The author of this work having sent an ode in praise of the Khalif to Baghdad, the latter's vizier, Ibn Alkamiyi, a zealous Shia, wrote a verse on the back of it, in which he advised the governor of Kuhistan to keep his eye on him, as he was corresponding with the Khalif. He had accordingly put him under arrest, and sent him to Maimundiz, where he was when it was captured.* Khulagu now treated him and the sons of Rais ud daulat and Muvaffek ud daulat, famous physicians, with especial favour, and having learnt that they were natives of Hamadan, gave them horses on which to transport their families, servants, and slaves. They and their descendants retained positions of trust for some time in the household of the Ilkhans.†

Let us now go on with our story. At Hamadan Khulagu was met by Baichu, who in answer to his reproaches that he had done so little with his army, replied on his knees that he had conquered all the country from Rai to the borders of Rum and Sham (*i.e.*, Asia Minor and Syria). As to Baghdad, he enlarged upon the power of the Khalif and the difficulty of approaching his dominions. "Nevertheless," he said, "it is for the prince to command, and his slave will punctually obey his orders." Appeased by this reply, Khulagu bade him return and conquer the country as far as the sea, and to take it from the Franks (*i.e.*, the Crusaders) and the infidels. He set out on this errand, defeated Ghiath ud din Kai Khosru at Kuseh tagh, and gave up the Seljuki dominions in Rum to pillage. Meanwhile Khulagu, with the Princes Khuli, Bulghai, and Tutar, and the great Amirs, Buka Timur, Kadsun, Katar Sunjan (called Sunjak by Von Hammer), and Kuka Ilka, encamped in the meadows of Khaneh-abad, in Kurdestan, near Hamadan, and proceeded to organise and equip his troops afresh.‡

The *Georgian Chronicle* make the Georgian chiefs, with Egarslan at their head, and the Mongol Amirs who had preceded Khulagu, meet the latter at Tebriz. Khulagu mounted them on horseback, and gave them commands in the army. One was named uldachi (*i.e.*, sword-bearer); another was girded with a scimitar and ordered to stand guard at the door, with the title of evdachi (Schmidt, who has explained these words, says it means porter); another was named sukurchi (*i.e.*, umbrella-bearer). The Georgian writer says this umbrella, which was apparently new to him, was held over the Khakan, was round, and attached to a large pole; only the Khan's relatives were privileged to have the sukur over them. Others were called qapchak (*i.e.*, those charged with the

* D'Ohsson, iii. 205-206 † Quatremere, 216-217. ‡ *Id.*, 223-225.

clothes and boots. Schmidt says qapchaki means keeper of the clothes); others were doorkeepers or evchis; others were quiver and bow-bearers (*i.e.*, korchi). It was by such patronising favours the Khan rewarded the great mthawars of Georgia.*

We read how at this time, the revenues of the churches, of Mtzkhetha, and the other monasteries, as well as of those dependent villages and land, were unprotected, as each of the grandees contented himself with looking after his own interests. In consequence the Catholicos Nicoloz repaired to Khulagu, who, we are told, was struck with his character, for he had hitherto, of the Christians, only known the Arkauns (*i.e.*, probably the Nestorians). Khulagu gave him a yarligh, and assigned him a a shahnah, or overseer. He had two gold bejewelled crosses made, of which he gave one to the Catholicos and the other to the Superior of Wardzia, his companion. He also gave the former a gilt baton, surmounted by a cross. He then bade them good-bye, and gave them charge of the churches and monasteries.†

Guiragos tells us the condition of the Georgians now became worse. The invaders "ate and drank without ceasing, and brought the people within two fingers' breadth of death." Among other things, whereas Arghun had imposed the two taxes of mal and khaphchuri on the people, Khulagu added that called thaghar. All the people entered on the royal registers had to pay one hundred litras of wheat, fifty of wine, two of rice, two sacks of dzgndjat (?), three topraks (?), two cords (probably bow-strings), one white (*i.e.*, a piece of money), one arrow, and one horse-shoe, besides a twentieth of cattle, and money and other presents. Those who could not pay were robbed of their sons and daughters.‡

There is some confusion in the authorities in reference to the doings of the two Georgian kings at this time. It would seem, however, from the narrative of the author of the *Georgian Chronicle*, that they lived on good terms with one another. He tells us that he had himself seen numbers of charters headed "David and David, Bagratids, kings by the will of God," with their double signature.§ Vartan tells us Khulagu was visited by the two kings, who were well treated. The *Georgian Chronicle*, on the other hand, assures us it was only David, son of Lasha, who was his favourite. He was a big man and stout, and could draw the strongest bow, was simple, frank, and credulous; while his cousin, the son of Rusudan, was small, puny, and fair to look upon. He had beautiful hair, and was a skilled hunter, was eloquent of speech, generous, and modest, a good horseman and brave warrior, just, and stirred by an active ambition. The son of Rusudan, we are told, was much disliked by Khulagu, who, when at Alatagh, had him arrested and sent to the winter camp of the Tartars, at Berdaa. When they reached Nakhchivan he escaped, with

* Hist. de la Géorgie, 540. † *Id.*, 541-542.
‡ Op. cit., ed. Brosset, 182. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 483-484. § Op. cit., 543.

the Gurcelel amir Ejib and Bega-Suramel, whom the Mongols called Salin (Sain) Bega, or the Good Bega, and fled to Aphkhazeth. When he reached the district ruled by Avak, dressed in humble costume, he was seen by Sempad the Orpelian, who was then hunting. He begged him not to betray him, and gave him a precious stone which had belonged to his mother. Sempad accordingly sent him disguised to Thor, where the Liparit prince, Thorel, surnamed Dewis Kur (*i.e.*, the camel's ear), gave him horses and clothes, and conducted him to Kuthathis. Thereupon the Aphkhaz, the Suans, the Dadian Bedian, the Eristhaf of Radsha, and all those beyond Mount Likh, assembled together and saluted David as King of Aphkhaz, as far as that chain of mountains which thenceforward separated the two principalities.* The story of the feast is no doubt the same which has been already told, and it is a proof of the impossibility of reconciling the various accounts of these transactions. The *Georgian Chronicle* reports how, shortly before the campaign against Baghdad, Batu Khan, of Kipchak, of Osseth, Khazaria, Russia, Bulgaria, and all the country between Servia, Derbend, and China, sent an express to summon David, who left with rich presents, leaving behind him as Regent the Queen Djigda Khatun, and the mestumré† Jikur, during whose rule brigandage and robbery ceased. He built a magnificent palace at Isanni, imposed a tribute on the Phkhoels, and used this savage people as muleteers.

David went, according to the Georgian annalist, to Batu; if it was really to Batu it must have been before 1256, when the latter died, but the dates of our author are so crooked that they are not to be relied upon, and it was more probably Bereke to whom he went. He was well received, and remained at the Golden Horde for some time. David, in setting out, had appointed deputies in his various provinces, and among others, gave Kakheth to Thorgua Pancel (*i.e.*, chief of Pancis), with orders to obey the Queen. Imagining that David would never return, he retired to the citadel of Pancis, and usurped authority in Kakheth for himself, and ceased to obey the Queen and Jikur, the mestumré. Batu, we are told, conferred the sukur, or umbrella, which the Khan and his family had alone the right to use, upon David. He also asked Khulagu to give him precedence over every one but himself. We are told that among the Tartars no one could sit in the Khan's presence, not even at meals. David now returned again to Karthli. He was received with rejoicings at Hereth, and thence went to Tiflis. Thorgua was summoned to his presence. He demanded a safe conduct, and it was granted him; but he was, nevertheless, taken to Cldé-Karni, and put to death.‡ David now repaired to Khulagu, who granted him the privileges of the other Noyans

* Op. cit., 545-546.
† The person so called issued invitations in the king's name, and welcomed the guests.
‡ Hist. de la Géorgie, 547-548.

in regard to standing and sitting, with the title of Yaraguchi (*i.e.*, in Mongol, a judge), the right to try cases and give judgment.*

The Georgians were not the only Christians who were very considerately treated by the Mongols at this time. I have already described how Haithon, King of Little Armenia, visited Batu.† The account given of his journey by his relative, the Armenian Prince, Haithon, in his chronicle, verges on the improbable. He says he asked Mangu Khan to become a Christian, and cause his people to be converted; and goes on to say that this demand, with six others, having been laid before Mangu, he assembled his council, and the King of Armenia being present, addressed him in these terms: "Since the King of Armenia has come a very long distance without being compelled, it is reasonable to satisfy his wishes, at all events, in what is just. We tell you, then, O King of Armenia, that your requests are agreeable to us, and by the help of God they shall be carried out. In the first place I, the Emperor of the Tartars, will be baptised. I hold the Christian faith, and will urge my people to conform to it also, although I will use no force to compel them to do so." Haithon goes on to say that Mangu, in fact, had himself baptised by a certain bishop who was chancellor to the Armenian King, together with his household and many grandees of the Empire. D'Ohsson remarks, in regard to this, that "it is quite possible he was baptised, for he supported without favour the various religions practised at his Court, without professing any positive faith, and the Mongols doubtless looked upon baptism as a form of purification." Haithon reports that the King secured the exemption of the Christian priests from taxes; but the exemption had already been specially provided for by Jingis Khan. The towns captured from his people by the Mussulmans, and re-captured by the Mongols, were to be restored to him. The Mongol generals in the west were ordered to help him when in need. They were, lastly, to attack the Khalif, and to unite themselves with the Christians for the emancipation of the Holy Land from the Muhammedan yoke.‡ I shall reserve an account of Haithon's itinerary from Karakorum to the Oxus for the next volume, and will here merely say that after crossing that river he went on by way of Mrmn (Merv), Sarakhs, and Tus; then, entering Mazanderan, he passed by Bostam, and thence to Irak, on the borders of the Mulahids, or Assassins. He then passed successively the towns of Dameghan, Rai, Kazvin, Abher, or Ahr, Zenguian, Miana, Tebriz, and eventually reached the Araxes. At Sisian (?) he met Baichu Noyan, who conducted him to Khoja Noyan, to whom he had deputed his command, while with the bulk of the army he had set out to meet Khulagu. On arriving at the village of Vartenis, where lived Prince K'urth, and where he had left his suite and baggage, he awaited the return of the priest

* Hist. de la Géorgie, 548. † Ante, ii. 88-89. ‡ Haithon Chron., 23. D'Ohsson, ii. 312-313.

Basil, whom he had sent to Batu to take him the letters with which he had been intrusted by Mangu. There he was met by various ecclesiastics, to whom he presented some rich vestments and other presents. The ingenuous king reported to his friends some of the marvels which he had seen or heard tell of on his journey. How beyond Khatai was a race among whom the women were as they were elsewhere, while the men were shaped like dogs, were big and hairy, and had no reason or were dumb. These dog-men allowed no one to enter their country; they hunted, and lived on the game they caught, which they shared with their wives. Of the offspring of these people, the males followed the appearance of their fathers, and the females that of their mothers. He also spoke of a sandy island where grew a bone of great value in the form of a tree, which they called a fish's tooth. When this was cut down another grew in its place like a stag's horn. The former story may be compared to the tales about Burtechino, the wolf ancestor of the Mongols, and of Tsena, the ancestor of the Turks, and their intercourse with women, while the latter, as Brosset says, seems a distinct reference to mammoth ivory.* Haithon also brought home stories about people who worshipped clay statues, which were very large, and called Sakia munim (*i.e.*, they were statues of Buddha). They reported to him that this god had lived 3,040 years, and still had 35 tumans of years (*i.e.*, 350,000) to live, when he would lose his divinity in favour of another god named Madri (*i.e.*, Maitreya), to whom they raised enormous clay statues in a magnificent temple. All this people, men, women, and children, were clerics, and were called tuins (this is the Mongol name for the Buddhist clergy). They had their chins and heads shaved. They wore a yellow mantle like the Christians, with this difference: that it hung from the neck, but not the shoulders. They were temperate and chaste. Haithon reached his house in Armenia eight months after leaving Mangu. This was in the year 1255.†

Let us now turn more directly to Khulagu's own doings. Of the principal commissions he had received from his brother he had amply fulfilled one, viz., the crushing of the Ismaelites, and he now turned to acccomplish the other—the destruction of the Khalif. Matters were going on badly at Baghdad. In the autumn of 1256 a terrible downfall of rain had flooded the town and submerged many of the houses, while one-half of Irak remained untilled. The Khalif Mostassim was a weak prince, and passed his life in debauchery—musicians, dancers, tumblers, &c., being his chief companions. His arrogance was a match for his imbecility. The princes who went to Baghdad to do homage were not admitted to his presence. They had to be content with holding to their lips a piece of black silk, representing the lappet of the Khalif's gown, which was

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 180. Note.
† Brosset, op. cit., 176-181. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. *Id.*, 470-473.

suspended at the palace gate, and to kiss a stone placed on the threshold, like the pilgrims to Mekka, who similarly kissed the black stone and the veil of the Kaaba. When he sallied forth on horseback on solemn occasions his face was covered with a black veil.* The great vassals who formerly received investiture at his hands were the Sultans of Egypt and Rum, the Atabegs of Fars and Kerman, the Princes of Erbil, Mosul, &c.; but the chiefs of Rum, Fars, and Kerman were at this time feudatories of the Mongols. The Khalif's principal officers were Suliman Shah, the generalissimo of his army, which was said to consist of 60,000 cavalry; the Great Devatdar, or chancellor, the Devatdar i Kuchuk, or Little Devatdar, *i.e.*, the vice-chancellor, the Sharabi, or cupbearer, and the Vizier, Muayad ud din Muhammed, son of Abdul Malik el Alkamiyi. The Khalif's most trusted officer was the Little Devatdar, Eibeg, who, notwithstanding, plotted with some of the principal people to dethrone him in favour of some other prince of the house of Abbas. The Vizier having heard of this reported it to his master, who was infatuated by Eibeg and told him what he had heard, and said he should not credit the accusations. Although the Devatdar Eibeg continued his intrigues, he wrote a memoir in his own hand, declaring all the accusations against him to be calumnies. This was publicly proclaimed in the streets, and the Devatdar's name was inserted in the khutbeh, or Friday prayer, directly after the Khalif's.† Eibeg, in his turn, charged the Vizier with having secret negotiations with the Mongols. This charge had some truth in it, and Wassaf distinctly states that he sent his submission to Khulagu, and invited him to invade the country.‡

Abulfeda, Wassaf, and others tell us why he was dissatisfied. They say that the village of Karkh, near Baghdad, was occupied almost entirely by Muhammedans, of the sect Ranefi (*i.e.*, Shias), between whom and the Sunnis there arose a dissension, whereupon the Baghdad troops, under the command of Abubekr, the Khalif's son, and Rokn ud din, the Devatdar, proceeded to ill-use the Ranefitjs shamefully, to drag their women out of their harems, and to carry them on their horses' cruppers with their faces and feet bare in the public streets. The Vizier, who belonged to this sect, was outraged, and sent a letter to the Seyid Taj ud din Muhammed, Ibn Nasir el Hoseini, the rais of Hillah, a famous seat of Shia influence, complaining, *inter alia*, that Karkh had been plundered, that the sons of the house of Ali had been robbed, the people of the stock of Hashim made prisoners, and the dishonour which had formerly been put upon Hussain, the grandson of the Prophet in the plundering of his harem, and the accompanying bloodshedding, had been renewed. The Seyid replied in the names of all the relatives of the Prophet: "The heretics must be put to death and destroyed, and their race be uprooted.

* D'Ohsson, iii. 208. † Quatremere, 229. ‡ Op. cit., 57-58.

If you will not side with us you will be lost. You will be despised in Baghdad, as henna, which delights women, is despised by rough men, and as a ring is despised by him who has had his hand cut off."* Khulagu at this time had captured the Ismaelite fortress of Alamut, and the Vizier wrote to him pointing out the weakness of Baghdad, and inviting him to march thither. Khulagu was naturally a little anxious about a struggle with a power so formidable as that of the Khalif, whose troops had already twice defeated the Mongols, and he consulted Husam ud din, an astrologer, who had accompanied him at the instance of the Khakan. He was apparently a Mussulman (friendly to the Abbassi dynasty), and foretold that an expedition against Baghdad and the House of Abbas would be followed by six grave events: (1) all the horses would die, and the soldiers be attacked with pestilence; (2) the sun would not rise; (3) rain would not fall; (4) there would be violent hurricanes and earthquakes; (5) plants would cease to grow; (6) the Emperor would die during the year. Khulagu insisted on the astrologer putting these lugubrious prophecies down in writing. On the other hand, the Mongol bakshis and the amirs declared that the expedition would have a fortunate issue, an opinion also propounded by the famous astronomer, the Khoja Nasir ud din, of Tus, who was a Shia. He had a personal grievance against the Khalif and also against the Vizier. It seems that on one occasion he sent the Khalif one of his poems, on the back of which the Vizier wrote a note addressed to Nasir ud din the Mohtesshim, in which he sneeringly said that the composer had the knack of putting into his letters and writings the thoughts of other people, a jibe which was highly resented by Nasir ud din, who was the most learned man of his time.† Elsewhere Von Hammer gives a different version of this, and says that while Mostassim was one day sitting by the Tigris, Nasir ud din took him a poem, in which he expressed his devotion. Instead of rewarding him the Khalif, in consequence of a sharp criticism of the Vizier's, had it thrown into the Tigris. He thereupon left Baghdad in a rage and went to Sertakht, to the Ismaelites.‡

Meanwhile things were going badly at Baghdad. The Vizier, probably in preparation for his intended treason, persuaded the Khalif to reduce his army, urging that with so many powerful princes as his vassals, he had no need of such a large force, which continually drained his resources. He urged also that with the money thus saved he might buy off the invaders for a while, and persuaded him to reduce his army from 100,000 to 20,000.§ Meanwhile earthquakes and some terrible fires desolated the country. These were apparently caused by lightning. One of them laid waste the district of Hara, near Medina, over a district of four parasangs. Medina itself was burnt, and afterwards plundered by the Arabs. In this last fire its famous library perished. "Thus," says Von Hammer, "there were

* Abulfeda, iv. 551. Wassaf, 53-54. † Wassaf, 56. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 140.
§ Abulfeda, iv. 551. D'Ohsson, iii. 212.

destroyed in one year two of the most famous libraries in the East, that at Alamut and that at Medina."* Khulagu having determined to crush the Khalif, now sent him a summons from Hamadan couched in haughty phrases. He began by denouncing him for not having assisted the Mongols in their campaign against the Ismaelites; reminded him of the success which had attended the armies of the Mongols from the time of Jingis Khan, and how the Khuarezm Shahs, the Seljuki, the rulers of Dilem, the Atabegs, and others had all succumbed, all of whom had been masters of Baghdad. Why should its gates be closed to him? He warned him not to strike with his fist against an iron spike, nor to mistake the sun for a taper, and bade him dismantle the fortifications of Baghdad, to leave his son in charge there, and go to him in person, or, at least, send the Vizier, Suliman Shah, and the Devatdar to confer with him. In that case he should preserve his dominions; if not, the Mongols would march on Baghdad; and where would he hide—in the heavens or the depths of the earth?† The Khalif received the envoys with courtesy, and sent back Sherif ud din ibn Duzy, or Juzy, an eloquent person, Bedr ud din Muhammed, and Zanghi Nakhjivani, who was probably an Armenian, with his reply, which was by no means a cringing one:—"O, young man only just commencing your career, who show such small regard for life, who, drunk with the prosperity and good fortune of ten days, deem yourself superior to the whole world, and think your orders equivalent to those of destiny, and irresistible. Why do you address me a demand which you cannot secure? Do you think by your skill, the strength of your army, and your courage, that you can make captive even one of the stars? You are probably unaware that from the east to the west, the worshippers of God, religious men, kings and beggars, old men and young ones, are all slaves of this Court, and form my armies; that after I have ordered these isolated defenders to gather together, I shall first settle the affairs of Iran, and will then march upon Turan and put each man in his proper place. No doubt the earth will be the scene of trouble and confusion in consequence, but I am not greedy for vengeance nor eager to win the applause of men. I am not anxious that through the tramp of armies men shall have occasion either to bless or curse. I, the Khakan, and Khulagu all have the same heart and the same language. If, like me, you would sow the seed of friendship, what have you to do with meddling with the intrenchments and ramparts of my servants? Follow the road of goodness and return to Khorasan. If, however, you desire war, I have thousands of troops who, when the moment of vengeance arrives, will dry up the waves of the sea."‡ This is apparently the message reported by Guiragos in somewhat different terms. He says the Khalif was very arrogant, styled himself Jehangir, master of the sea and land; boasted that he possessed the standard of

* Ilkhans, i. 142-143. † Quatremere, 231-233. D'Ohsson, iii. 215-217.
‡ Quatremere, 235.

Muhammed, and if he set it in motion he and all the universe would perish. "You are only a dog and a Turk, why should I pay you tribute or obey you?"* Hardly were the envoys outside the walls of Baghdad when they were attacked by the fanatical mob, who tore their clothes, spat in their faces, and would have killed them if the Vizier had not sent some people to rescue them.† Khulagu, who was at Panj Angusht (the five fingers), on hearing of this declared that the Khalif was as crooked as a bow, but he would make him as straight as an arrow; and sent back his envoys with the message that God had given the empire of the world to the descendants of Jingis Khan, and as their master refused to obey there was nothing for it but that he must prepare for war.‡

Meanwhile the Khalif was perplexed by the varying counsel of his Ministers. While the Vizier advised him to propitiate the Mongols by rich presents, including 1,000 Arab horses, 1,000 camels, and 1,000 asses, laden with treasure and richly caparisoned, and by offering to have the khutbeh said, and money coined in Khulagu's name, his rival, the Devatdar, bade him rely on his army, and on the assistance of the faithful. The latter at length prevailed. He and his supporters professed great contempt for Mostassim, whom they accused of being fond of musicians and buffoons, and of being unfriendly to the army. The amirs complained that they had lost everything in his reign which they had acquired in his father's, and their chief, Suliman Shah, spoke out bravely that if troops were only summoned from the various provinces and he was put at the head of them, he thought he could break the Mongol army, and even, if beaten, it was well for a brave man to perish with glory and honour in the midst of the fight.§ The Khalif approved of these words, ordered largess to be distributed to the soldiers, and told the Vizier to give the command over them to Suliman Shah. The Vizier prepared to carry out these orders, but only in a languid fashion, which strengthened the suspicion that he was in league with the Mongols, a view which the Devatdar widely proclaimed. The Khalif's avarice prevented sufficient money being spent, and it was five months before the troops were ready. He now dispatched Bedr ud din Diriki and the Kadhi of Bindinjan, a town of Kurdistan, with a fresh mission to Khulagu to remind him of the fate of many who had formerly attacked the sacred Abbassidan House. "How Yakub ibn Leith, of the family of Saffar, had died while on his way to attack Baghdad. How his brother, Amru, who had the same intention, was captured by Ismail ibn Ahmed, the Samanid, who sent him in chains to Baghdad. How Besasiri had marched from Egypt with a large army and had captured the Khalif and kept him prisoner at Hadithah, and for two years the khutbeh had been said and the money struck at Baghdad in the name of Mostansir, the

* Op. cit., ed. Brosset, 185. † Quatremere, 257.
‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 218-219. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1231. Note. § Quatremere, 237-247.

Ismaelite Khalif of Egypt; and how then Besasiri was attacked and put to death by Tughrul Bek, the Seljuk. How the latter's successor, Muhammed, had to retreat after his venture on Baghdad, and died on the way; and, lastly, how the Khuarezm Shah Muhammed, who had determined to uproot the family of Abbas, had been almost overwhelmed in the defile of Asad abad by a storm, in which he lost most of his troops, and was forced to retire, and how he had ended his days miserably in the Isle of Abisgum, chased thither by the Mongols." The envoys concluded by reminding Khulagu that he had no cause of quarrel with the Khalif, and bidding him take warning.* This portentous retrospect only aroused the anger of Khulagu, who is said to have quoted in reply some lines from the great Persian epos, the Shah Nameh :

> Build about yourself a town and a rampart of iron;
> Erect a bastion and a curtain-wall of steel;
> Assemble an army of Peris and of Jins;
> Then march against me, inspired by vengeance,
> If you were in heaven I would bring you down,
> And spite of yourself I will reach you in the lion's den.†

Khulagu knew it was a serious matter to assail a town so renowned as Baghdad, and he took precautions accordingly. Hearing that Husam ud din Akah—who on behalf of the Khalif commanded at Daritang (*i.e.*, the narrow defile), a fortress commanding the main route from Hamadan to Baghdad, and the key to Irak Arabi—was dissatisfied, he summoned him to his presence. Leaving his son Said in the town, which was famous for its beauty and strength,‡ he obeyed. Khulagu received him well, and gave him as an appanage the castles of Warudah, Merj, &c.§ He proceeded to occupy these fortresses. Having collected a considerable force about him, he seems to have repented of his treachery, and communicated with the Khalif through Taj ud din Ibn Salayeh, of the family of Ali, who governed the town of Erbil, offering to raise an army of 100,000 Kurds and Turkomans, with which to overwhelm the invaders. His proposition was not accepted by the Khalif. Meanwhile the intrigue had reached the ears of Khulagu. He was naturally greatly enraged, and ordered Kitubuka to march with 30,000 cavalry to forestal the traitor. This officer sent him word he wanted to concert common measures against Baghdad. He unwittingly went to his camp, whereupon Kitubuka arrested him, and told him if he wanted to save his life he must order his wife and son, and all his adherents and soldiers, to march out of the fortress, that a census of them might be taken for the poll tax. Husam ud din had to issue an order to this effect, and also to demolish his fortresses, after which he was put to death with all his adherents.

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* Quatremere, 249-251. † Rashid ud din, by Quatremere, 253.

‡ The defile in which it lay was watered by the Diala, which some miles higher up flowed past Kasr Shirin, the ancient Artemita. Ilkhans, 145.

§ Quatremere, 255. Von Hammer calls these two places Disser (*i.e.*, the Golden Castle) and Dis Merjh (*i.e.*, the Meadow Castle). Ilkhans, i. 145.

Only one of his towns escaped, viz., that governed by his son Said, who refused to surrender, and afterwards made his way to Baghdad, where he fell fighting.*

Khulagu now summoned the various contingents of his army to converge on the doomed city. Baichu was sent for from the borders of Rum, while Bulghai and the other princes, who then commanded contingents belonging to the other ulusses, with Sunjak and Buka Timur, took the road from Shehrsor to Dakuka.† Kitubuka Noyan, Kadsun, called Kurusun by Von Hammer,‡ and Nerkilka, arrived from Luristan, Beiat, Takrit, and Khuzistan. Khulagu himself, leaving his family and greater baggage in the meadows of Zek, not far from Hamadan, in charge of Kaiak Noyan, advanced with the centre towards Kermanshahan and Holwan. He had with him the great amirs Kuka Ilka, Arkatu, Arghun-aka, the bitikchis Karatai and Seif ud din, his favourites the astronomer Khoja Nasir ud din, Alai ud din Ata Mulk (*i.e.*, the historian, Juveni), as well as all the sultans, kings, and secretaries of Iran.§ He passed by way of Asad abad, a small town seven parasangs from Hamadan, which still exists, and is mentioned by Kerr Porter.‖ Thence he sent a fresh message to the Khalif, who only replied by evasions. When the army reached Dinawar, twenty parasangs north-west of Hamadan, Ibn Juzi came with fresh threats from the Khalif in case Khulagu did not retire; but he replied that, having come so far, he could not go back without having an audience of the Khalif, and that after conferring with him and receiving his orders, he could then retire. Khulagu marched through the Kurdish mountains (Kuh-Girdaa), captured Kérman shahan and pillaged other places on the route. At Tak Kesra he was joined by Sunjak, Baichu, and Suntai, with whom he held a consultation; and we read how, after leaving him, the Mongol officers consulted the burnt shoulder-blades of sheep which were used by them in divination.

We must here make a short digression, to bring up the story of the Mongol doings in Rum to this point. We have seen how Rum was divided between the two brothers, Iz ud din and Rokn ud din. Iz ud din was very suspicious of Baichu, and, we are told, began to collect some forces, and sent a messenger to Malatia and Khartabert, or Saida, to bring together a contingent of Kurds, Turkomans, and Arabs. Two Kurdish chiefs, named Sherif ud din Ahmed ibn Bilas, from Al Hakkar, and Sherif ud din Muhammed ibn Al Sheikh Adi, from Mosul, came to him, and he appointed the former governor of Malatia and the latter of Khartabert. The Malatians having sworn allegiance to Rokn ud din, refused to receive the Kurdish chief, and as he besieged the place, until great want prevailed there, they attacked him and killed 300 of his

* Quatremere, 257-259. † Ilkhans, i. 146 ‡ *Id.*, i. 46.
§ Quatremere, op. cit., 265. ‖ Travels in Georgia, &c., ii. 139.

followers. He himself withdrew through the district of Klaudia, and burnt the monasteries of Madhik and Mar Asia, and plundered that district and Guba. He then went on towards Amid, where he was attacked and killed by the governor of Mayafarkin. The other Kurdish chief was on his way to join Iz ud din when he was attacked and killed by the Noyan Angurg. Iz ud din now nominated Ali Behadur as governor of Malatia. He was small of stature but of great vigour, and speedily reduced the neighbourhood to order, and severely punished the Turkomans who infested the neighbouring mountains and continually harried the country round. Malatia had, however, been assigned to Rokn ud din in the partition already named, and Baichu marched from Bithynia, with his Mongols who were scattered in Cappadocia and Galatia, to secure it for him. He first attacked Abulestin, which he captured, killed 7,000 people, and carried off the boys and girls into captivity. When he approached Malatia, Ali Behadur, its governor, fled. The citizens then surrendered the place. He made them swear allegiance to Rokn ud din and pay a fine. Fakhr ud din Ayaz was appointed its governor.* It would seem from Guiragos that Haithon, the King of Little Armenia, took part in this campaign of Baichu's. The latter afterwards sent him with an escort to Sis, his capital.

On the departure of Baichu, Ali Behadur again obtained possession of Malatia, after a siege in which the inhabitants were reduced to great want. He put to death Rokn ud din's deputy and some of his supporters, and presently, fearing the return of the Mongols, again abandoned the place. Baichu meanwhile advanced upon Mosul, where he arrived in the beginning of 1258. Malik Salih, son of Bedr ud din Lulu, Prince of Mosul, who was an ally of the Mongols, had recently returned from visiting Khulagu, and had married a daughter of the Khuarezm Shah, Jelal ud din. According to Minhaj-i-Saraj, both he and the ruler of Fars had furnished a contingent to the Mongols for the campaign. The people of the country round sought refuge in the town at Baichu's approach, but he left again without doing them any harm.† He crossed the Tigris and joined Khulagu as I have mentioned. The advance guard of the Khalif's troops which was stationed at Yakuba, or Bakuba, was commanded by a Turk from Kipchak, called Kara Sonkor (*i.e.*, black falcon), while in the Mongol army there was a Khuarezmian Turk named Sultan Juk. The latter now wrote to his compatriot, counselling him if he wished to save his family, to do as he had done, viz., to submit to the Mongols, who had treated him well. Kara Sonkor, in reply, vaunted the long history and prosperity of the Abbassidan House, and having denounced the threatened advance of Khulagu, offered complacently to ask the Devatdar to obtain the Khalif's pardon for him if he would

* Abulfaraj Chron. Arab., 332-333. Chron. Syr., 542-544. † *Id.*, Chron. Syr., 544.

retrace his steps and be penitent.* Khulagu laughed when this letter was read to him, and, according to Rashid, replied in poetry:

> In my eyes the ant, the fly, and the elephant are alike indifferent;
> So are the springs, the rivers, the seas, the Nile.
> If our measures contravene the orders of God,
> Who can tell but Himself what the end may be.†

Abulfaraj apparently refers this incident to Eibeg al Halebi, an envoy of the Khalif himself.‡ Khulagu sent a fresh demand for the Khalif's submission, and orders for him to send the Vizier, Suliman Shah, and the Devatdar to him to arrange terms. If he was determined to resist, however, he bade him prepare for war, and the next day he pitched his camp on the River Holwan, where he remained for thirteen days, while the Amir Kitubuka conquered the greater part of Luristan.

Meanwhile, Baichu Noyan, Buka Timur, and Sunjak crossed the Tigris. Bedr ud din, Prince of Mosul, had supplied Baichu with a bridge of boats, which he put on that river at Takrit. The people of Takrit sallied out and burnt it, and killed some of the invaders. The next day, however, they repaired the bridge, and crossed over to the west bank of the Tigris, and pushed on towards Kufah, Hillah, and Karkh, and martyred the people.§ Elsewhere we read that Baichu, with Buka Timur and Sunjak, went to encamp on the Nahr Isa, or the canal of Isa. Sunjak took command of the advance guard of this division, and speedily arrived at Harbieh. The inhabitants of the district of the Little Tigris (Dojeil), of El Ishaki, and the canals of Malik and Isa fled precipitately, and freely gave the boatmen bracelets, brocaded robes, or large sums of money to transport them in safety to Baghdad. When the Devatdar and the general Fath ud din Ibn Korer (Minhaj-i-Saraj says Fath ud din's son, Iz ud din), who were posted between Yakuba and Besheriyeh, on the way to Holwan, learned that the Mongols had thus approached Baghdad on the western bank of the Tigris, they also crossed that river. Minhaj-i-Saraj says they summoned the men of Karkh and other towns to assist them. The forces of the Khalif were chiefly infantry, and sustained the attack bravely, and killed many Mongols.‖

Elsewhere we read that the Khalif's officers fought the Mongols under Sunjak, near Anbar, before the Koshk Mansur, above Madrikah or Mezzrikah, on the east bank of the Euphrates, about nine parasangs from Baghdad. Wassaf merely says the fight took place near the Dojeil, or Little Tigris. Abulfaraj says the struggle took place at the tomb of Ahmed.¶ It was fought on the 9th Muharrem, 656 (*i.e.*, the 16th January, 1258). The Mongols were defeated, or perhaps merely pursued

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* Quatremere, 269-277. † *Id.*, 279. ‡ Chron. Arab., 337-338.
§ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1237-1238.
‖ Quatremere, 279-281. D'Ohsson, iii., 229-230. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1237-1238.
¶ Ilkhans, i. 148. Chron. Syr., 549.

their usual Fabian tactics, and having made a detour joined their main army under Baichu at Besheriyeh.* The Devatdar wrote to his master to tell him he would complete the victory next day, and exterminate the enemy. Meanwhile a discussion arose between the Khalif's two principal officers. Fath ud din, who was a skilful soldier and feared some stratagem, counselled delay; while his civilian companion, the Devatdar, urged an immediate pursuit, while the enemy was distracted.† Fath ud din allowed his judgment to be overborne by his imprudent friend. The Mongols having reached the Dojeil turned about, and a second and more terrible struggle followed, to which an end was put by the darkness, when each army bivouacked on its own ground. In this struggle Fath ud dín had ordered the feet of the mule on which he rode to be shackled with iron splints, so that he could not well escape.‡ Minhaj-i-Siraj says that "near the battle-field was a piece of water, called the Nahr i Sher, which was connected with the Euphrates, and the land through which it flowed was elevated, while the Mussulmans were encamped on the low ground. During that night the accursed *rafizi* Vizier dispatched a body of men and turned the water of the canal on the Mussulmans, and the whole was flooded with water, and their arms and armour were spoiled, and they became quite powerless. Next morning at dawn the infidels returned, and another battle ensued." The Khalif's people were defeated and driven across the Little Tigris, and posted themselves where the great Sanjari mosque and kazr (castle) was situated.§ Wassaf, Rashid ud din, and Abulfaraj, who wrote under the shadow of the Mongol rulers, do not suggest the breaking of the dykes as the work of the Vizier, which is indeed most improbable. With these authors it was the Mongols themselves who cut the dykes, so that the plain behind the Khalif's army was flooded. They then attacked and routed the latter. Fath ud din and Kara Sonkor, with 12,000 men, were killed, without counting those who were drowned and smothered in the mud.‖ The Devatdar reached Baghdad again with only a few—one account says three—persons. Others found refuge at Hillah and Kufah. Meanwhile Khulagu, leaving his baggage at Khanekin, pitched his tent to the east of the city. This was on the 11th Muharrem (*i.e.*, the 18th of January, 1258).¶ He planted himself opposite the gate Ajami. The Noyan Kuka Ilka, with the two princes Tutar and Kuli, of the Golden Horde, faced the Kalwaza gate, while the princes Bulghai, Tutar, Aroktu, and Shiramun posted themselves opposite the gateway of the Suk-i-Sultan (*i.e.*, the Sultan's market-place). Meanwhile, on the western bank of the river, Buka Timur was on the side of the citadel, near Dulabi-Bakul (Abulfaraj says

* D'Ohsson, iii. 230.

† Minhaj-i-Saraj reverses the positions of the two men, but here, as so frequently elsewhere, cannot be trusted.

‡ Wassaf, 63-64. § Op. cit., 1241-1244.

‖ Quatremere, 281. Wassaf, 64. Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 549. ¶ Quatremere, 281.

near the kitchen garden), and Baichu and Sunjak were on the west, where the Uzdi hospital (called Adad by Quatremere) was situated (Abulfeda says in Karia, near the Sultan's palace).*

Meanwhile the Khalif continued in a state of mental imbecility. When the Little Devatdar returned to him after the slaughter of his army, accompanied by only three men, he merely said, "God be praised that Mushahid-ud din is safe," as when the Mongols made a previous invasion of Irak Arab, and had advanced to Jebel Hamrin, he had said, "How can they ever pass it?"† The walls were ordered to be repaired and barricades made, and the citizens were told off to man the defences, and the two Devatdars, the Munjenk, Suliman Shah, and other leaders of the army and the Mamluks encouraged them. The attack was pressed. The bricks that lay about outside the city were collected and built into great mounds, upon which were planted battering engines and machines for shooting burning naphtha.‡ The Khalif now sent the Vizier with one of his favourites, named Ibn Darnus, and Makiko, the Nestorian patriarch, with presents. Khulagu told them that the conditions which would have satisfied him at Hamadan were no longer enough, and he must insist on the Devatdar and Suliman Shah, the latter of whom had won more than one victory over the Mongols, being surrendered. The next day the Vizier, the Sahib Divan, or Minister of the Interior, and a deputation, consisting of the principal inhabitants of the city, went to Khulagu's camp. He would not, however, receive them. The attack was closely pressed, and the bombardment continued for six days. As there were no stones near Baghdad to ply the machines with, they were sent for from Jebel Hamrin and Jélula, and palm trees were also cut down to furnish projectiles, while letters were shot into the place offering their lives to the kadhis, doctors of the law, sheikhs, Alévis, and other non-combatants.§ At length, on the 28th Muharrem (*i.e.*, the 4th of February‖), the Burj-i-Ajami, or so-called Persian Tower, was battered down, and presently the Mongols stormed this part of the wall. Khulagu having reproached his relatives who were posted before the gate Suk Sultan with being dilatory, they also stormed the wall in front of them, and during the night the whole of the defences of the eastern part of the city were in the Mongol hands. The invaders had taken care to close the Tigris with bridges of boats, on which were planted war engines.¶ Buka Timur was dispatched with a tuman (*i.e.*, 10,000 men) towards Modain and Basrah, to cut off the retreat of any who might try to escape by the river. Minhaj-i-Saraj says the Devatdar tried to persuade the Khalif to embark on a boat with his treasure, and to make his way down the Little Tigris to Basrah, and to take shelter in the islands in the delta of the Euphrates and Tigris till the

* Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1243. Raverty's notes. † Wassaf, 64. ‡ *Id.*, 66. D'Ohsson, iii. 233.
§ D'Ohsson, iii. 233-234. ‖ See Weil, iii. 477. ¶ D'Ohsson, iii. 234-235.

danger had passed. The Vizier argued against this counsel, and persuaded the Khalif that he was himself arranging terms with the Mongols.* Rashid ud din says nothing about the proposed escape of the Khalif, but that the Devatdar himself made an attempt to get through and to reach the town of Sib, but when he reached Karia ul Ukab (*i.e.*, the eagle village), also called Karia ul Ghaffar, a shower of arrows, stones, and stink pots drove him back, after losing three of his boats, the men on which were all killed, and the Devatdar had to make his way back to Baghdad.†

The Khalif now began to lose heart. He sent Fakr ud din, of Dameghan, and Ibn Darwish to the Mongol camp, to try and appease Khulagu, sending only a few presents with them, as he feared to excite his cupidity. These not having been received, it was determined that the Khalif's second son, Abu fazl Abd ur Rahman, should go to Khulagu's camp. He is called Abubekr by Minhaj-i-Saraj, who says he was sent at the instance of "the accursed Vizier," who at the same time sent a messenger to Khulagu to tell him to pay the young prince special attention, so as to secure his object with the Khalif. He goes on to say that the prince was met by a crowd of Mussulmans and Mongols as he neared Khulagu's camp, who paid him the usual deference. When he came to the place of audience Khulagu advanced four steps to meet him, took him to a seat, and said that his uncle (relative) Bereke had become a Mussulman at the hands of the Sheikh Saif ud din, the Bakhurzi. He then went down on his knees before him, affirming he had gone to Baghdad in order to accept Islam under the Khalif himself. All this is a most unlikely proceeding, as anyone who has any acquaintance with Mongol ways will allow. The prince, we are told, returned to his father thoroughly deceived by these promises.‡ Rashid ud din says, on the contrary, that Khulagu would not receive him nor his elder brother, who went out with the principal citizens to beg for clemency. Khulagu sent them back, and ordered the Khoja Nasir ud din to go with Itimur and open negotiations directly with the head of the Faithful. They returned on the 7th of February, and were followed by Fakhr ud din, of Dameghan, and Ibn Darwish, who were armed with a yarligh and paizah and were told to summon Suliman Shah, the Khalif's commander-in-chief, and the Devatdar. Abulfeda says Khulagu wanted to treat the Khalif generously, and wished to marry his own daughter to his son Abubekr.§ Having received safe conducts, Suliman and the Vice-Chancellor went at length to the Mongol camp. They were ordered to go back into the city and fetch their relatives and retainers, as Khulagu intended to send them with some of his own people against Syria and Egypt. They accordingly went in to bring them out. On their return they were distributed among

* Op. cit., 1245. † Quatremere, 291-293 Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1245. Notes.
‡ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1247-1248. § Op. cit., iv. 553.

the Mongol soldiery. At this stage, an arrow having struck Hindu,* who was a bitikchi or secretary, and a favourite of Khulagu's, in the eye, he ordered the siege to be pressed, and told the Khoja Nasir ud din, of Tus, to station himself at the gate Halbeh, and to receive those who came out of the city to surrender.†

On the 8th of February, Eibeg, the Little Devatdar, was put to death. Suliman was summoned to his presence by Khulagu, who said to him, "You are an astrologer, who understand the portents, good and evil, of the stars. How is it you did not foresee these events, and forewarn your master?" "The Khalif," replied the warrior who had already twice defeated the Mongols, "was led by his destiny, and would not heed the counsel of his faithful servants." Khulagu had him put to death, with all the people of his household, to the number of 700. The Amir Haj ud din, son of the Great Devatdar, suffered the same fate. The heads of the three chiefs were sent to Salih, who commanded the Mosul contingent, in which were enrolled the Shias from Karkh, with orders to send them to his father, Bedr ud din, who had been an old friend of Suliman Shah, and now with tears in his eyes had to give orders for the three heads to be exposed.‡

On the 10th of February the Khalif left the town with his three sons, Abd ur Rahman, Ahmed, and Mobarek, with 3,000 other people—Seyids, Imams, Kadhis, and grandees. Khulagu, on his arrival in his presence, asked after his health. He was told to order the citizens to lay down their arms, an order which was proclaimed in the streets. A special tent was set up for him before the gate Kalvaza, in the quarters of Kitubuka, where he was guarded by some Mongols, and on the 15th of February, Khulagu having entered the city to visit his palace, had him summoned, and said to him: "You are the master of this house and I am your guest. Let us see what you can give us." The trembling Khalif broke some locks, and offered Khulagu 2,000 complete sets of robes, 10,000 gold dinars, and a quantity of precious stones. He would not take them, but said, "It is unnecessary to point out what is patent; disclose your hidden treasures." The Khalif then bade them dig in a certain place, where they found a cistern filled with gold pieces, each weighing 100 miskals.§ Sunjak was ordered to make an inventory of the treasures. These were taken to the Mongol camp, and piled up like mountains about Khulagu's tent. The Mongols, says Wassaf, treated the gold and silver vessels which they had carried off from the Khalif's kitchens as if they had been lead. Many of these treasures in this way reached Shiraz, and those who had been wretchedly poor became very rich. The soldiers secured so much money, rich stuffs, and products of Greece, Egypt, and China, Arab horses, mules, Greek, Alan, and

* Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1246. Note. † Quatremere, 297. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 237-238.
§ Quatremere, 299 and 301. D'Ohsson, iii. 239-240.

Kipchak boys; Turkish, Chinese, and Berber slave girls, that it was impossible to count them. *Inter alia*, Wassaf mentions that they secured a beautiful bowl, decorated with gold, and engraved by Mostansir and Nassir. It was a curious circumstance that the Khalif En Nassir lidin illah left behind him two basins or cisterns filled with gold. His grandson, Mostansir, was one day with one of his most trusted followers, and expressed the wish that he might not live until it was necessary for him to spend this money. His companion laughed. The Khalif was angry, and asked him the cause. "One day," he replied, "I came into your grandfather's presence here when one of those two basins was not full, when he said, 'I wish to live only until I have filled up these two basins.' I was contrasting the two wishes." Mostansir spent all this money in good works, and, *inter alia*, built the famous college, Mostansiriyeh. "The point of this story," adds Wassaf, "is that when Mostassim came to the throne he once more filled up these basins, or rather reservoirs, by his avarice, and finally emptied them as well."* Khulagu now gave orders that the Khalif's harem should be numbered, and it was found to contain 700 wives and concubines, and 1,200 servants. He thereupon implored that 100 of the females, on whom the sun and moon had never shone, should be handed back to him, and this being granted he selected his relatives.†

The Georgians especially distinguished themselves in the capture of Baghdad, where Guiragos tells us Zakaria, son of Shahan Shah, was present. It was a grand opportunity for them to repay on their Mussulman enemies the terrible sufferings they had long borne at their hands. We are told in the *Georgian Chronicle* that it was they who breached the walls, and having entered the place commenced a great slaughter, the troops of Baghdad having great dread of the Georgians. The latter are made to open the gates through which the Tartars entered. The booty captured, we are told, was so great that Georgians and Tartars succumbed under the load of gold and silver, precious stones and pearls, rich stuffs, gold and silver vessels, &c., while as to the vases from China and Rashan (*i.e.*, porcelain), and those made in the country of iron and copper, they were deemed of scarcely any value, and were broken and thrown away. The soldiers were so rich that the saddles of their horses and mules and their most ordinary utensils were inlaid with stones, pearls, and gold. Some of them broke off their swords at the hilt and filled up the scabbards with gold, others emptied the body of a Baghdadian, refilled it with gold, precious stones, and pearls, and carried it off from the city.‡ The place was cruelly ravaged; the only people to whom consideration was shown were the Christians, who were sheltered in one of the churches by the Nestorian

* Wassaf, 73-74. † D'Ohsson, iii. 240. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1250. Note.
‡ Op. cit., 550.

patriarch. This fact seems to give some foundation to the remark of Minhaj-i-Saraj, that they had been in communication with Khulagu. Abulfaraj says that many rich Muhammedans handed over to the patriarch their treasures in the hope of securing their lives, but all perished.* The place was now gutted, and the Khalif's palace was reduced to ashes, together with the Great Mosque. The tombs of Musa-Jewad and of the Khalifs were burnt. Nearly all the inhabitants, to the number, according to Rashid ud din, of 800,000 (Makrizi says 2,000,000) perished, and thus passed away one of the noblest cities that had ever graced the East—the cynosure of the Muhammedan world, where the luxury, wealth, and culture of five centuries had concentrated. Presently the wretched remnant of the population sent Sherif ud din Meraghi, Shehab ud din Zengani, and Malik dil rast to beg that the carnage might cease. Khulagu gave orders accordingly, and, we are told, he had to withdraw to the villages of Wakhf and Jelabieh to avoid the tainted air.† As a proof of the horrors that took place at this time, a story told by Hamdullah may be cited, viz., that a Mongol, named Mianju, found, during the massacre, in a small street of the city, upwards of forty motherless sucking babes, and thinking to himself that without mothers' milk they would perish, put them to death to deliver them from their sufferings.‡

It is probable that Khulagu would have spared the Khalif's life, impressed by the lugubrious prognostications of the faithful Mussulmans about him, if he had not been dissuaded from this course by the Shias who were with him, and who had a bitter resentment against the Abbassidan dynasty. Minhaj-i-Saraj tells us that the Malik Bedr ud din, Lulu of Mosul, and other infidels (thereby probably meaning Shias) represented to Khulagu saying, "If the Khalif continues alive, the whole of the Mussulmans among the troops, and the other Mussulman peoples who are in other countries, will rise and bring about his liberation, and will not leave thee alive."§ Wassaf says that Khulagu was afraid of releasing him, since the Mussulmans looked upon him as the successor of the Prophet, and the true Imam, and the absolute master of all life and property, and would have gathered round him a very powerful army.‖ On turning to the Vizier for counsel the latter replied, "The Vizier has a long beard." This was a joke which had been used against that official by the Devatdar, and is derived from the Arab proverb, "Long in beard, short in wit."¶ Some of the orthodox Mussulmans affirmed that if the Khalif's blood was shed upon the ground there would be an earthquake.** Another account attributes the warning about the portents that would happen if the Khalif were executed to the astrologer, Husam ud din, and tells us that these predictions were answered by his brother astrologer, Nasir ud din, of Tus, who was a Shia, and who said that no such portents had occurred

* Op. cit., Chron. Syr., 550. † Quatremere, 303. ‡ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1250. Raverty's Note.
§ Op. cit., 1252. ‖ Op. cit., 76. ¶ Ilkhans, i. 154. ** Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1252.

when John the Baptist, the Prophet Muhammed, and the Imam Hussain were killed, and that they were not likely to happen then.* It was determined, therefore, to put him to death, and we are told that Husam ud din was himself executed on the 23rd of November, 1262, his prophecies having proved false.† The mode of the Khalif's execution is wrapped in some obscurity. Rashid ud din says that, having lost all hope of saving his life, he asked permission to make his ablutions. Khulagu ordered five Mongols to attend him, a *cortége* "of infernal guards" to which he objected.‡ He recited two or three verses of a poem beginning thus:

In the morning we dwelt in a house like paradise or heaven,
In the evening we had no longer a dwelling as if we had been homeless.

On the 20th of February, we are told, he was put to death in the village of Wakf, with his eldest son and five eunuchs who remained faithfully with him. The mode of his execution is not stated by Rashid ud din, and, Quatremere suggests, it was in fact probably kept secret.

The *Georgian Chronicle* tells us that on being brought into the presence of Khulagu, the Khalif was ordered to bend the knee. This he refused, and remained standing, saying: "I am an independent sovereign, who am dependent on no one. If you choose to set me free I will submit to you; if not I will die before becoming any man's slave." To make him stoop they tripped him up by the foot, so that he fell on his face. As he remained obstinate, Khulagu told Ilka Noyan to take him out and kill him and his sons. "The Khan pities you," that officer said to him. "Does he propose then to restore me Baghdad?" "No," said Ilka, "but he will kill you with his own hand, while his son Abaka will perform the same office for your relatives." "If I am to die," he replied, "it matters little whether it be a man or a dog who kills me."§ Wassaf and Novairi say he was rolled up in carpets and then trodden under by horses so that his blood should not be spilt. This was in accordance with the yasa of Jingis Khan, which forbade the shedding of the blood of royal persons. Guiragos, whose account, as he tells us, was derived from the lips of Prince Hasan, son of Vasag, surnamed Brosh, who was an eye-witness, and employed by Khulagu as one of his envoys to the Khalif tells us that when Khulagu had summoned him to his presence, he asked the Khalif, "Are you God or man?" The latter replied, "I am a man, the servant of God." "Did God order you," said the Mongol chief, "to treat me with contumely, to call me a dog, and to refuse me, the dog of God, something to eat and drink? Verily, I am the dog of God, and I am very hungry, and will devour you." He then killed him with his own hand, telling him it was as a special honour he did so, instead of remitting the work to another. He ordered his son to similarly kill a son of the Khalif's, and to throw a second one into the Tigris. He afterwards put

* Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1253. Raverty's note. † D'Ohsson, iii. 225.
‡ Koran, ch. xcvi., verse 18. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1253. Note. § Op. cit., 550.

to death many of the grandees, while his men for forty days continued a horrible butchery of men, women, and children. Tokuz Khatun, Khulagu's Christian wife, redeemed the lives of the Nestorian and other Christians.*

Another and much more romantic story is told by Nikby and Mirkhond. They tell us that when the Khalif presented his treasures to Khulagu the former put him before a trencher covered with gold pieces and bade him eat. "I cannot eat gold," was the reply. "Why then have you hoarded it instead of giving it to your troops? Why have you not converted these iron gates into arrow points and advanced to the Jihun to prevent my crossing it?" The Khalif replied that it was the will of God. "What will happen to you is also the will of God," was the grim answer.† A similar story is told in his inimitable language by Joinville, who calls Khulagu the Lord of the Tartarins, and speaks of the Khalif as the apostle of the Saracens. He says the former insisted on the Khalif entering into matrimonial relations with him, that when he consented he urged him to send forty of his principal people to attest the marriage, and afterwards forty of his richest men, and that, having thus secured the leading people in Baghdad, he made sure of overwhelming the place. He goes on to say: "Pour couvrir sa desloiauté et pour geter le blasme, sur le Calife de la prise de la ville que il avait fète, il fist prenre le Calife et le fist mettre en une cage de fer, et le fist jeuner tant comme l'en peust faire home sanz mourir, et puis li manda, se il avait fain. Et le Calife dit que oyl; car ce n'estoit pas merveille. Lors le fist aporter le roy des Tartarins, un grand taillouer d'or, chargé de joyaus à pierres precieuses et li dit. 'Cognois tu ces joiaus? Et le Calife respondi que oyl,' il furent miens. 'Et il li demanda si les amait bien, et il respondi que oyl.' Puisque tu les amoies tant, fist le roy des Tartarins, or pren de celle part que tu vourras et manju. 'Le Calife li respondi que il ne pourrait; car ce n'estoit, pas viande que l'en peust manger. Lors li dit le roy des Tartarins. Or peus veoir, ô Calife, ta défaute; car se tu eusses donne ton tresor d'or, tu te feusses bien deffendu à nous par ton trésor se tu l'eusse despendu, qui au plus grant besoing te faut que tu eusses onques."‡ This is much like the report of the Armenian historian, Malakia, who says that Khulagu ordered him to be imprisoned for three days without food or drink. He then summoned him and asked him what he needed. The Khalif denounced his inhumanity, and said he had lived three days at the bottom of a pit. He had boasted to his people before the siege how he would put Muhammed on his standard and disperse the enemy. Khulagu then sent for a salver with some gold coin on it and bade him eat it, and thus satisfy his hunger. The Khalif replied that 'one cannot support life on gold, but needs bread and meat and wine." "Why, then, did you not send me a lordly present of gold so that I might

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 490-491. † D'Ohsson, iii. 243. Note. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 245. Note.

have spared your city and not captured you, instead of spending your time in eating and drinking," and he had him trodden under foot.* The Khalif's death took place on the 21st of February, 1258. His tragical end forms one of those grim episodes which Longfellow delighted to put into verse. He makes Khulagu address the avaricious Khalif thus :

I said to the Khalif, "Thou art old,
Thou hast no need of so much gold ;
Thou shouldst not have heaped and hidden it here,
Till the breath of battle was hot and near,
But have sown through the land these useless hoards,
To spring into shining blades of swords,
And keep thine honour sweet and clear."
* * * * * *
Then into his dungeon I locked the drone,
And left him there to feed all alone,
In the honey cells of his golden hive ;
Never a prayer, nor a cry, nor a groan,
Was heard from those massive walls of stone,
Nor again was the Khalif seen alive.

On the morrow after the Khalif's death all his attendants were killed, as well as nearly all of the family of the Abbassides, except some obscure individuals, and Mobarek Shah, the Khalif's youngest son, who was spared at the request of Khulagu's wife, Oljai Khatun. She sent him to Meragha, to the Khoja Nasir ud din. He afterwards married a Mongol woman by whom he had two sons.† Minhaj-i-Saraj reports that a daughter of the Khalif was also spared, who, with some females from his harem and some rarities from his treasure, were set aside to be presented to the Khakan Mangu, and were dispatched towards Turkestan. Other things were sent to Bereke, the Khan of the Golden Horde, who refused to accept them, and, according to this author, put the messengers who took them to death, thus causing enmity between him and Khulagu. When the booty meant for Mangu Khan reached Samarkand, the daughter of the Khalif asked leave to visit the tomb of Kusam, son of Abbas, in that city. He had accompanied Said, the son of the Khalif Osman, who had been sent to Mavera un Nehr with an army, and had died and been buried at Samarkand. There she performed the customary rites, made a prayer of two genuflexions, and said, "O God, if this Kusam, son of Abbas, my ancestor, hath honour in Thy presence, take this Thy servant to Thyself, and deliver her out of the hands of these strange men," whereupon she died.‡

It is curious to contrast these accounts of the famous campaign against Baghdad with the accounts given by the Chinese. In the "Si shi ki" we are told how the city, which is there called Bao da, a name like M. Polo's Baudas, was divided into an eastern and a western part, separated by the Tigris, the eastern city having walls of large bricks, the upper part of

* Malakia, ed. Brosset, 453. † Quatremere, 306-307. ‡ Op. cit., 125.

splendid construction, and the western having none. A great victory was won against 400,000 men (!!!) beneath the walls. The western city first fell, and its population was slaughtered; then the eastern city was assailed, and after an attack of six days it was captured, and a terrible slaughter ensued. The Ha li fa (*i.e.*, the Khalif) tried to escape in a boat, but was captured.* In the biography of Kouo Khan (*i.e.*, of Kuka Ilka) we read that this chief during the siege built floating bridges, to prevent the retreat of the enemy down the river. When the place was taken the Khalif tried to escape in a boat, but finding the way thus barred went to the Mongol camp and surrendered. Kouo Khan then went in pursuit of a general of the Khalif's, named Judar (*i.e.*, the Devatdar), captured and put him to death.† In the "Si shi ki" we are told the Khalif's palace was made of fragant and precious woods, viz., of aloë-wood *(aloëxylon agallochum)*, sandal-wood *(santalum album)*, ebony *(diospyrus ébenum)*, and a red fragrant wood called hiang chen hiang by the Chinese, and whose botanical name is not apparently known.‡ The biography of Kouo Khan states that when the palace was burnt the fragrance impregnated the air for a distance of 100 li.§ The walls of the palace were built, according to the "Si shi ki," of black and white jade (*sic.*, but surely porcelain tiles are meant). Great stores of gold and immense pearls, precious stones, and jewelled girdles, worth a thousand liang, were found there. The people of Baghdad were famous for their goods, and the horses there were called tolicha. The Khalif, we are told, did not drink wine, but sherbet, made of orange juice and sugar. His people used guitars with thirty-six strings. On one occasion when the Khalif had a bad headache, a man was sent for who played on a guitar of seventy-two strings, when the headache immediately left him.‖

Muayid ud din Alkamiyi retained his post as Vizier, the reward doubtless of his dubious loyalty. Fakhr ud din Dameghani was made Sahib-divan, or chief of the administration. Ali Behadur, who was the first to enter the city when assailed, was given control of the merchants and artisans, with the title of Shahnah (*i.e.*, governor), Imad ud din Omar Kazvini, deputy of the Amir Karatai, caused the mosque of the Khalif and the Meshed of Muza Jewad to be rebuilt. Nejm ud din Ibn-Abu Jafar Ahmed Amran, who was entitled Vizier-rast-dil (the sincere Vizier), was given command of the districts east of Baghdad, including the country towards Khorasan, Khales, and Bendinjein.¶ Nizam ud din Abd

* Bretschneider, Notes on Med. Travellers, &c., 82. † *Id*, 83.
‡ *Id.*, 83. Note 110. § *Id.* ‖ *Id.*, 84.

¶ Quatremere, 307-309. His is a good example of the rapid fortunes that often attend men in the East. Mirkhond reports how when Khulagu arrived he was in the service of the Governor of Yakuba, employed to tickle the soles of his master's feet to lull him to sleep. One day he told his master how he had dreamt that he had become Governor of Baghdad, and received a kick for his pains. When the siege of Baghdad took place, Ibn Amran shot a letter attached to an arrow informing the Mongols, who were then in some stress for provisions, that if they would send for him he would tell them something useful. Khulagu having accordingly asked the Khalif to let him go to his camp, he conducted the Mongols to some hidden granaries at Yakuba, where they found corn to keep them going for fifteen days. His reward was the command already mentioned, which was an approximate realisation of his dream. Wassaf, 79. D'Ohsson, iii. 247-248. Note.

ul Mumin Bendinjein was made Kadhi of the Kadhis, or chief judge. Ilka Noyan and Kara buka, with 3,000 Mongol horsemen, were sent into the city to restore order, and rebuild the houses. The bazaars were rebuilt, and the corpses of men and animals removed.* The devastation must have been dreadful, and when Wassaf visited the place sixty years later not a tenth part of the old city remained.† Master of the city, Khulagu proposed this question to the Doctors of the Law there: "Who is to be preferred, a just, unbelieving ruler, or a Mussulman ruler, who is unjust?" The Ulemas, who had assembled in the college of Mostansir to deliver their fathva, or decision, on this question, hesitated to reply, when a famous doctor, called Razi ud din Ali Ibn Tavus, took the paper and wrote the words, "The infidel who is just is preferable to an unjust Mussulman," and his example was followed by the rest.‡

Khulagu having left Baghdad, encamped near the tomb of the Sheikh Makarem, and afterwards marched by easy stages to rejoin his ordu in the town of Khanekin.§

During the siege of Baghdad, some of the chief people of Hillah, where the Seyids or descendants of Ali were influential, sent an embassy to Khulagu with their submission, and stating that it was a tradition among them derived from their ancestors, Ali and the twelve Imams, that he (Khulagu) would become the master of that district (*i.e.*, of Irak Arab). Khulagu thereupon dispatched Buklah, or Tuklah, and the Amir Bijel-Nakhchivani (called Alai ud din by Wassaf and Ali by Von Hammer), and eventually Buka Timur, brother of his wife Oljai Khatun, to secure the towns of Hillah, Kufa, and Vassit. The people of Hillah put a bridge on the Euphrates, and went to meet him gladly. He therefore passed on towards Vassit, where he arrived seven days later, and where he was resisted. He speedily captured the place and slaughtered its male inhabitants.‖ Buka Timur now advanced towards Khuzistan, taking with him Sherif ud din ibn Juzi. He captured Shuster, where the soldiery were put to death, while Basrah and other places submitted willingly. Meanwhile Seif ud din, the bitkichi, with the approval of Khulagu, sent a body of one hundred Mongols to protect the tomb of Ali at Nejef. Buka Timur rejoined his master on the 12th of Rabi the First (*i.e.*, the 19th of March).¶ When Khulagu marched against Baghdad he dispatched Arkatu (called Oroktu by Von Hammer and D'Ohsson) to attack the fortress of Arbil or Arbela,

* Quatremere, 309. † Ilkhans, 155. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 254-255, § Quatremere, 311.
‖ Quatremere says 40,000 were thus killed. D'Ohsson says, more probably, 4,000. Quatremere, 309-311. D'Ohsson, iii. 255. Ilkhans, i. 155-156.
¶ Quatremere, 311. Minhaj-i-Saraj here tells a story which is not confirmed by the other authorities. He says that some of the Khalif's people who had retired into the Wâdi (*i.e.*, the low marshy ground near the river) to the number of 10,000, suddenly crossed the Dijlah, and attacked Baghdad, cut the Vizier and the Mongol Shahnah to pieces, together with all the supporters of the Mongols and Christians they could lay hands upon. When news of this reached the Mongol camp, a body of cavalry was sent to reinstate matters, but the assailants had withdrawn, and not one among those holy warriors of Islam was taken. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1260-1261. I look upon this story as a fable.

whose fame dates back at least to the time of Alexander the Great. Rashid says it had not its equal in the world. It was situated between the Greater and Lesser Zab, two days' journey from Mosul. It owed its chief importance to the Turkoman chief, Kukebusi ibn Abul Hasan Ali, entitled Malik Moaasem Mozaffer ud din, who had died about twenty-eight years before. He was famous for his beneficence, and made Arbil one of the finest towns of the Persian Irak. He founded several institutions there, such as had not been patronised by Islam before—a foundling hospital, an institution for wet nurses and for suckling babes, a house for widows, a common hospital, a special hospital for the blind, a karavan-serai, in which travellers were not only provided during their stay, but had the expenses of their further journey defrayed; a sort of monastery (probably for dervishes), a medressah, or school, in which both the Hanifi and Shafi rites were taught; and, lastly, a mosque, where the birth of the Prophet was annually celebrated with great pomp. During this feast visitors, preachers, orators, poets, koran readers, and sofis flocked thither from the surrounding towns. A month before, twenty dome-shaped buildings of three storeys high, and made of boards, were erected between the monastery and mosque. From their galleries poets and orators addressed the crowd, while others exhibited magic lanterns. Mozaffer ud din himself repaired to one of these buildings for the mid-day prayer, spent the night in the monastery with the dervishes, and in the morning went out hunting. At the birth-feast itself, a great number of camels, cattle, and sheep were taken to the square, and there killed and cooked amid music. At night the town was illuminated, and in the morning the guests sat down at two tables—one for the more distinguished, the other for the crowd. The dervishes danced, and prayers were sung from the minarets, while dancers and singers were rewarded with alms. Such was Arbil; the town itself was situated on a plain, and its castle on an isolated hill close by.* The Vizier, Taj ud din ibn Salaia, who apparently governed it, went to his camp. Arkatu said he would believe in his sincerity when the town had submitted, but the Kurdish garrison refused to surrender it. He was thereupon sent on to Khulagu, and was put to death. The garrison meanwhile resisted the Mongol attack bravely. They made a sortie, and destroyed their siege apparatus and killed many of their men. Bedr ud din Lulu, the Prince of Mosul, who had sent a contingent of troops to help the Mongols, was asked his advice as to what should be done. He counselled the abandonment of the siege till the summer, when the Kurds would seek shelter from the heat in the mountains. The siege was confided to him. He captured it in the summer, and it was made over to him.† Bar Hebraeus says Lulu bought the town and its contents from the Mongols for 70,000 dinars, but his people were not long in possession of it, and the unruly Kurds there speedily gained

* Ilkhans, i. 158-159. † Quatremere, 316-317.

the upper hand, and a Kurdish amir, named Sherif ud din Jelali, drove out the garrison, and secured the place, but having shortly after marched with a Tartar army against some rebels at Gulmeragi, Bedr ud din sent some Kurds, who assassinated him while sleeping in his tent. A Christian called Muktez, the brother of a famous doctor of Arbil, named Saphi Solimani, now secured the place, and on his death was succeeded by his son, Taj ud din Isa, a good and faithful person.*

Meanwhile the Malik of Herat, Shems ud din Kért, who was perhaps the most powerful of the Mongol vassals, and who had not taken part in the campaign against Baghdad, was having some adventures of his own in the far east. We read that he attacked Mustebij, a town of Guermsir.† The chiefs of Guermsir, Shahin Shah, Bahram Shah, and Miranshah, shut themselves up in the fortress of Khasek with 5,000 men. The fortress was blockaded for ten days, when it was reduced to extremity. Miranshah escaped with some men in the night. The next day the place was captured, and the two other chiefs, with ninety of their adherents and relatives, were put to death. Shems ud din then attacked Hissar Tiri, another fortress of the Afghans, which was taken after an attack of two months, and its Afghan governor Almar was cut in two, and his principal officers were either executed or bastinadoed. Three other fortresses, named Kehberar, Duki, and Saji, the last of which was razed, fell into the hands of the Malik of Herat. A great number of Afghans perished in this campaign. In 1258 Shems ud din had another adventure, which shows that Khulagu's authority in these regions was an administrative one merely, and shows also what a powerful person Batu Khan of Kipchak, who was the Aka, or senior prince of the Mongol world. We are told that in that year the Malik returned from Badghiz from visiting Bulghai and Tumar (both princes of the Golden Horde), when some officers of his army informed Batu that he disregarded the yarlighs or Imperial orders, and despised the envoys of the Mongol, Shah zadehs. Batu sent one of his officers named Guerai-beg to Bulghai to tell him to arrest the Malik. Bulghai, who was then in Mazanderan, forwarded the order to Kebtuka (*i.e.*, Kitubuka) to apprehend and take him to Mazanderan. A little before this Shems ud din had set out for Sijistan to strengthen his authority there. *En route*, he met his deputy in that province, the Malik Ali Masud, who was not friendly to him, and who was now on his way to Kitubuka's camp, where he professed to have a pressing engagement. When he reached it he urged upon Kitubuka that if the Malik of Herat were left at liberty he would presently displace the Mongols from all Khorasan, that already his power extended as far as India, and that he was master of the principal fortresses of Khorasan. This intrigue was reported to Shems ud din by a secret agent, who

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 551.

† Yakut says Mustebij is a town of Sind, a day's journey from Khandabil, seven days' journey east of Bost.

hurried to let him know, and was speedily followed by Masud and Dendai, who, with 10,000 men, was charged by Kitubuka to arrest Shems ud din. The latter shut himself up in his castle, and decided to defend it to the last extremity. Dendai secured an audience with him, and urged him to come out and receive the letter and robe of honour which Kitubuka had sent him, but he was not to be taken in with such a trick, nor would he leave the limits of his castle, asking that the yarligh and the robe of honour might be given to him there. Various expedients were tried, but without avail. Eventually Masud, having secured an interview, determined to try and assassinate the Malik, and said to his men : "When you see his head roll down from the walls rush into the castle." Shems ud din, who evidently suspected something, ordered ten men to be posted at each one of the gates, and that all Masud's men were to be detained, and when he reached the fourth gate he found himself with but three companions. Shems ud din, who was concealed behind a veil, sprang upon him, killed him, and threw his head over the wall of the audience chamber. The soldiers of Kitubuka, and the Sinjars, or people of Sijistan, mistaking the head for that of Shems ud din, pressed their attack, but on seeing the Malik himself still alive they retired in disorder. Shems ud din then came out and proclaimed Mangu Khan as his suzerain. The next day he put to death the three chief kelaunters (calendars) of Sijistan, disarmed the Sinjarians, and then distributed a large number of khilats or robes, and 30,000 pieces of gold to the learned men and poor. He then went to the camp of Khulagu, and met Tumar and Bulghai, who were on their way to arrest him. Although he told them he must hasten on to Khulagu, and could not stay with them, "yet the Turks," says the chronicler of Herat, "with their natural brutality, tried to detain him." He struck the Mongol who seized his bridle over the face with his whip. Things were becoming critical, when Khulagu's envoys arrived and conducted him to the Imperial camp.*

According to other authorities, the events just related are told very differently, and we are assured that Shems ud din, having incurred Khulagu's resentment, the latter ordered Tegur to march against him and to bring him his skin stuffed with straw. Shems ud din defeated Tegur, and also a second army sent against him, at Shelaun, on the borders of Herat, but afterwards sent an embassay with his submission and with presents. He had put to death the Governor of Nimroz (*i.e.*, Sijistan), by whom Masud is no doubt meant. Khulagu demanded why he had done so, when he answered, "I slew him so that the Khan might inquire of me, 'Wherefore didst thou kill *him*,' and not inquire of *him* why he had killed me." Major Raverty makes him give this answer to Mangu.† Of the two accounts the former seems to be the most reliable. We are told that Khulagu sent Shems ud din back again covered with honours.

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 447-451. † Ilkhans, i. 278. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1200. Note.

In 657 (*i.e.*, 1258) the Malik laid siege to Bikr, a fortress of the Afghans, built on a rock in the midst of *the sea*.* It was deemed impregnable, and was thence known as Bikr (*i.e.*, the Virgin). In eighteen days the Malik built thirty large vessels and one hundred boats. He then attacked the place on two sides, and after a struggle of twelve days, during which most of the officers in the army of Herat were killed, the inhabitants submitted, and agreed to pay the capitation tax. Its governor also offered a sum of 10,000 dinars, ten loads of silken goods, five Arab horses, and fifty slaves loaded with precious objects. After this Shems ud din entered Zamin Daver, and pursued Miranshah (previously named),† who, on his approach, left Khasek. He was captured and put to death.‡

We must now return again to Khulagu. On the 17th of April he once more reached Hamadan and Siah Kuh, where he rested from the fatigues of the Baghdad campaign. He ordered the Malik Majd ud din Tebrizi to build a treasure-house, where the various treasures he had captured in the fortresses of the Ismaelites, of Rum, of the Georgians, Armenia, Luristan, and Kurdistan were to be guarded. We can hardly picture the number of valuable objects thus despoiled. Wassaf, as usual, is rhetorical on the subject, but here, at least, his rhetoric seems justifiable. He speaks of the gold, of the rich stuffs and cloths from Greece, Egypt, and China, Arab horses, rare mules, Greek, Alanic, and Kipchak boys, Turkish, Chinese, and Berber slave girls, &c.§ The site of Khulagu's treasure-city is discussed by Quatremere in a long note. The place itself was called Tela, and was, situated in the great lake of Azerbaijan, the Lake of Urmia, called Spauta by Strabo, and Gabodan by the Armenians, whence the name of Kabudan given it by some of the Arabic and Persian writers. Its waters are said to be very salty, and to contain no fish, but its banks were strewn with towns and were well cultivated. Large numbers of boats traversed it to and fro. From its saltness it was also called Deriai Shur (*i.e.*, the salt lake), while the districts of Urmia, Oshmiah, Dehwarkan, Tasuj, and Silmas, which bordered it, also gave it their name. It is now called indifferently the Lake of Shahi and the Lake of Urmia.‖ The fortress itself of Tela, according to Von Hammer, is the modern Gurchinkalaa, a great rock inaccessible on three sides. It is compared by Porter, who visited it, to Konigstein, in Saxony.¶ Abulfeda says that Khulagu garrisoned his fortress with a thousand men, and that its commander was changed every year.** Hulaju was sent to the Khakan Mangu with a share of the spoil. He also took him word that Khulagu, having conquered Iran, now proposed to attack Syria and Egypt, news which was very grateful to the Khakan.††

* *i.e.*, the Lake of Abistandeh, the only one in Afghanistan. Its waters are salt like those of the streams Paltsi and Jilga, which feed it, and it is situated three or four miles S.S.E. of Ghazni. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 451. Note.

† Ante. ‡ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 451-452 § Wassaf, 73-74.

‖ Quatremere, 316-321. Note. Ilkhans, i. 160. ¶ Porter, ii. 592-593.

** D'Ohsson, iii. 257. Note. †† Quatremere, 321.

A few weeks after the capture of Baghdad, and on the 2nd of Jumada (*i.e.*, May), the Vizier Alkami died, and was succeeded by his son, Sherif ud din.* Eastern opinion has been divided in regard to the merits of the Vizier, but the majority of his critics denounce him as a traitor. For a long time it was customary to inscribe in books used in colleges, &c.: "May he be cursed by God who will not curse Ibn ul Alkamiyi."† The historian Ibn Tagriberdi says expressly that the Vizier, belonging to the sect of the Rafizis, designed the ruin of the Abbassidan house and the transference of the Khalifate to that of Ali.‡ Wassaf speaks more diplomatically, but refers to the chagrin the Vizier felt when he was made to play a second part to Ibn Amram, the Governor of Yakuba, after his own ignoble behaviour and disobedience of the Khalif.§ Minhaj-i-Saraj continually refers to him as the accursed Vizier, and invokes God's curse upon him, charging him with continual treachery to his master.|| On the other hand, a contemporary Arab writer, the author of the "Fi adab is Soltaniyet," or "Qualities of the Sovereign," defends him warmly. He tells us how he studied the *belles lettres* in his youth, wrote well, and had an excellent memory. He describes him as accomplished, generous, able as a governor, equitable and honest. He was a patron of men of letters, and had acquired a library of 10,000 volumes, of which several had been dedicated to him. The household of the Khalif were jealous of him, and he was accused of treachery; "but his best character," says our author, "was the confidence Khulagu reposed in him. He would never have trusted him if he had betrayed his master."¶ His title of Alkamiyi was derived from the fact that he had made the canal Alkami in Egypt, of which country he was a native, and which was afterwards known as Kazani.** About this time there also died the Khoja Fakhr ud din, who held the post of Ulugh bitkichi. This was given to Hosam ud din, although he was the youngest of his sons, but he could speak Mongol and write Uighur, "which," says Juveni, "was considered a paramount accomplishment."††

We are told how the astronomer Nasir ud din ventured at this time to suggest to his peremptory master, who was at Meragha, that he should do something else than destroy, and told him that once when the Khuarezm Shah was being pursued by the Mongols, and his troops were pillaging Tebriz, he answered the protests of the people with the words, "I came as a world conqueror, and not as a world preserver." Khulagu replied, "Thank God I am both a world conqueror and a world preserver, and no weakling like Jelal ud din Khuarezm Shah."‡‡ Nasir ud din was therefore commissioned to build an observatory. Rashid ud din tells us that Mangu Khan was distinguished among all the Mongol sovereigns by his prudence, tact, sagacity, and wit, and was sufficiently intelligent to have

* Quatremere, 313. † D'Ohsson, iii. 249. ‡ *Id.*, 253. Note. § *Id.*, 252. Note.
|| Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1234, &c. ¶ D'Ohsson, iii. 250-251. Note. ** *Id.*, 251-252. Notes.
†† D'Ohsson, iii. 268. ‡‡ Quatremere, 324-325.

mastered several problems of Euclid, and he desired that during his reign an observatory should be built, and charged Jemal ud din Muhammed ibn Tahir ibn Muhammed Zeidi, of Bukhara, to build one, but the difficulties proved insurmountable. The reputation of Nasir ud din having reached Mangu, the latter, in saying goodbye to his brother, asked him, when he had destroyed the Ismaelite fortresses, to send Nasir to him, but as Mangu was then occupied with his campaign in Southern China, Khulagu ordered him to build an observatory in Persia, which was completed in his seventh year. With him were associated four learned men—Muayid-ud-din-Aradi (or Urzy), Fakr ud din Meraghi, Fakr ud din Akhlati, and Nejm ud din Denran Kazvini.* Nasir ud din had convinced his master of the desirability of such a work, since it was necessary to calculate some new tables and to make some new observations, if the daily position of the sun, stars, and planets was to be duly calculated, for the purpose of drawing horoscopes, &c.; and as the stars had a certain motion of precession it was necessary to continue these observations for at least thirty years, to cover the revolution of Saturn. Khulagu wished him to complete the work if he could in a dozen years, and he said he would try to do so with the help of the earlier tables, including those of Enerjes drawn up fourteen centuries before, those of Ptolemy 275 years later, others made at Baghdad in the reign of the Khalif Meimun, others again by Tebani, in Syria, and lastly those of Hakemi and Ibn ul A'lem in Egypt, made 250 years before, which were the latest. These facts are recorded by Nasir ud din himself in the preface to his own tables. Abd ulla Beidavi tells us that Khulagu took with him many learned men from China, astronomers, &c., and it was from one of these, Fao mun ji, better known as Sing-Sing, or the learned, that Nasir learnt about the Chinese era and their mode of calculating tables.† The observatory was built on a hill north of Meragha, and was duly furnished with armillary spheres, astrolabes, &c., including a terrestrial globe, in which the earth was divided into seven climates, while a slit in the cupola allowed the sun's rays to record on the pavement the height of the meridian, &c. Some of the learned works captured at Baghdad were sent there. The tables which were now made were published during the reign of Khulagu's successor, Abaka, under the title of Zij ul Ilkhani and they showed an error of forty minutes in the position of the sun at the beginning of the year as calculated by previous tables.‡ The building of the observatory, the instruments for which alone cost 20,000 dinars, was a costly matter. Nasir ud din, to further convince his master that the money was well spent, rolled a metal bowl down the hill. At the noise made by this the soldiers, who did not know its cause, rushed from their tents, while the astronomer and his patron, who both knew it, remained

* Quatremere, 325-327. D'Ohsson, iii. 266-267. Note. † D'Ohsson, iii. 263-265.
‡ *Id.*, 265.

tranquil; the moral being that events do not cause panic when they can be foretold.*

While Khulagu was at Meragha he was visited by Bedr ud din Lulu (*i.e.*, the full-moon pearl), Prince of Mosul, who was then ninety years of age.† He had been the slave of Nur ud din Arslan Shah, of the dynasty of the Sunkars, rulers of Diarbekr, who on his death appointed him tutor to his son Masud, and he ruled the principality during that prince's life, which ended in 1218. Nur ud din left two infant sons, who died within two years of his own death, whereupon Bedr ud din was acknowledged as ruler, and had many struggles with the Ayubit princes. He had now exercised authority for 39 years.‡ He had apparently taken care not to declare himself too openly for the Mongols until their success was quite assured; the contingent of 1,000 men under his son Salih only arrived after the fall of Baghdad. Having aroused their suspicion in consequence he was constrained to pay Khulagu a visit in person. § Some writers say that his family wished to dissuade him from going, as he had incurred Khulagu's anger, but he replied that he hoped to conciliate this redoubtable warrior, and to rub his ears. || When he arrived, he presented Khulagu with rich presents, and went on to say, "I have reserved a gift which I mean for you personally." He then produced two splendid ear-rings, each containing a large pearl, and asked permission to put them on Khulagu's ears himself, which would bring him great credit among the other princes. Khulagu having consented, he turned to the people of Mosul, who had accompanied him, and pointed out how he had kept his word.¶ Bedr ud din thereupon returned to Mosul, where he shortly after died. Abulfeda says he died in the year 657 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1258).** Makrizi says the same. He left three sons. Malik al Salih al Ismael, the eldest, succeeded him at Mosul, Alai-ud-din at Sinjar, and Saif ud din at Al Jezireh.†† Salih was confirmed in his authority by Khulagu, who gave him a daughter of Jelal ud din Khuarezm Shah, named Turkan Khatun, in marriage.‡‡ We shall hear of him again.

Bedr ud din Lulu's visit to Khulagu was followed by that of Said, son of Abubekr, atabeg of Fars, who congratulated him on the capture of Baghdad.§§ Khulagu having moved his quarters to Munik, in the district of Tebriz, was also visited by the brothers, and now reconciled rivals, Iz ud din and Rokn ud din, the joint Seljuk rulers of Rum. The former had not only defied Baichu Noyan, as we have seen, but had ventured to attack him, and it was necessary he should now be humble. He accordingly had a splendid boot, worthy of a sovereign, made, upon the sole of which was painted his own portrait, and presenting it to Khulagu, he begged him to put

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* D'Ohssou, iii. 266. † Quatremere, 321. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 258.
§ Abulfaraj, Chron. Arab., 344-345. Chron. Syr, 553.
|| This is an eastern expression, meaning to vanquish, and was used by Molière in "Tartuffe"—"Jour de Dieu! je saurai vous frotter les oreilles."
¶ Novairi, &c., quoted by Quatremere, 236-237. Notes. ** Op. cit., iv., 567.
†† Abulfaraj, Chron. Arab., 347. ‡‡ Ilkhans, i. 194. D'Ohsson, iii. 306. §§ Quatremere, 323.

his foot on the head of his slave. Khulagu was moved at this, and Tokuz Khatun, his Christian wife, having asked for his pardon, it was granted.* Rokn ud din ruled over the district between Cæsarea and Great Armenia, with his capital at Sebaste, while Iz ud din held the country thence to the sea, with his seat of power at Iconium. The two princes accompanied Khulagu on his march towards Syria as far as Mesopotamia, and then returned home again.†

The Greater Lur was now ruled by a line of Atabegs, founded about a hundred years before. Its ruler at this time was the third Atabeg, Tekele, the son of Hasarsif or Hasarasp. When Khulagu advanced against Baghdad, he went to do homage, and was ordered to join the advance guard under Kitubuka. Unable to restrain his indignation at the capture of Baghdad and the death of the Khalif, he incurred the displeasure of Khulagu, and hearing that he was suspected, escaped from the Mongol camp. Khulagu reprimanded Kitubuka for allowing this, and sent him with the Noyan Sidak and some troops in pursuit. His brother, Shems ud din Alp Arslan, counselled him to allow him to go to the Mongol camp and intercede for him. He set out, but was waylaid by the Mongols, and, notwithstanding his errand, was put in irons and his men were killed. Tekele sought refuge at the fort of Manjasht. He presently offered to surrender if Khulagu would send him his ring as a guage of safety. This was sent, but notwithstanding he was put to death on his arrival at Tebriz, and his brother, Shems ud din Alp Arslan, was given the throne of the Greater Luristan.

The Lesser Lur was ruled by another dynasty of Atabegs, founded seventy years before. The fourth of these Atabegs, Bedr ud din Masud, had been driven out by his cousin and rival, Suliman Shah, who was supported by the Khalif's troops. He went to implore the help of Mangu, and accompanied Khulagu in his westward march. At the siege of Baghdad his rival, Suliman Shah, commanded the Khalif's army. He asked to have him surrendered to him if captured. Khulagu replied, "That is a great promise to make to you by God." When Baghdad fell, however, and Suliman Shah was killed, the latter's family were handed over to Masud. He behaved so well to them that when he presently gave them the choice of remaining in Luristan or going to Baghdad, few of them went. He was renowned for his judgment, and knew by heart 4,000 juridical maxims of the Shafi Rite. He died two years after the taking of Baghdad. On his death his sons, Jemal ud din Bedr and Nasir ud din Omar, struggled with Taj ud din Shah, son of Hosam ud din Khalil, for authority in the Lesser Luristan.‡

The generally favourable treatment meted out to the Christians by the Mongols had an exception in the case of Takrit, whose Christian

* Quatremere, 323. † Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 554.
‡ Tarikhi Guzideh, cited by D'Ohsson, iii. 259-261. Ilkhans, i. 161-163.

inhabitants had applied to the Catholicos to secure that they should have a prefect sent to protect them. When the Mongols proceeded to slaughter the Arabs, the Christians, who remained for six weeks concealed in one of their churches, were accused by an Arab, called Ibn Duri, of having killed many of his co-religionists, and appropriated their property. When the Prefect brought this charge before them they would not deny it, and sent him what things they had secreted. The facts having been reported to Khulagu, he ordered them, in accordance with the Draconic Mongol code, to be put to death, and an officer was sent with a contingent of troops, who took the Christians in parties of twenty to the citadel under pretence of making them assist at its demolition, and then put them to death. Only the old people were spared, and the boys and girls whom the Mongols carried off captive. The Muhammedans once more occupied the cathedral of Takrit, while the few Christians who had escaped were ministered to by two Carmonian priests (presbyteri Carmonenses), in the other churches. Presently Ibn Duri was in turn put to death by a Christian named Bahram, who had been nominated Prefect of Takrit.* Altogether, however, the condition of the Christians was greatly improved all over the East by the Mongol invasion. They were relieved from many indignities which the Moslems had heaped upon them, and they looked upon Khulagu as a deliverer. After the capture of Baghdad the Georgians—David and his people—having been a long time under arms, asked permission to return home. Khulagu gave his permission, and they set out loaded with presents and booty, and returned to Tiflis by way of Azerbaijan. This was in 1259. At this time the grandees of the kingdom were greatly distressed that David's wife, Jigda Khatun, had no son, and in order to secure a successor he married a pretty Ossetian damsel called Althun, engaging not to see her again if she should have a male child. She had a son called Georgi, who was adopted by the Queen. Althun presently had a daughter named Thamar. Soon after the Queen was buried in the Royal Sepulchre of Mtzkhétha.†

The Mongols were now masters of all the country from the Oxus to the Tigris, but Khulagu's commission was that he should lay his hands upon all Asia, as far as the farthest west, and the next objects of attack therefore were Mesopotamia and Syria. These two countries, with Egypt, had been dominated over by the famous Ayubit dynasty, of which Salah ud din was the greatest name. Egypt had been lost to the family, however, and was now controlled by the Mamluks, but six branches of the Ayubit stock ruled over Arabian Irak and Syria. These were the princes of Mayafarkin, Hossnkief, Karak, Aleppo, Hamath, and Hims. If they had been united in a common policy they might have offered a reasonable resistance to the Mongols. But who ever heard of union

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 552-553. D'Ohsson, iii. 270-271. † Hist. de la Géorgie, 553-554.

among the Kurds? The most powerful of these princes was Malik Nasir Yusuf, Prince of Aleppo and Syria, and great grandson of Salah ud din. Mayafarkin, Hossnkief, and Karak were ruled by descendants of Malikol Aadil, Salah ud din's brother ; Hamath by a descendant of Shahin Shah, another of his brothers, and Hims by a descendant of Shirkuh, Salah ud din's uncle.* Nasir, Prince of Aleppo, had succeeded his father in 1236, when only six years old, and in 1250 conquered the principality of Damascus from the Mamluk Eibeg, who had usurped authority in Egypt. He intended driving Eibeg completely out of Syria, but having been defeated by him in 1251 he ceded to him, on the mediation of the Khalif, Jerusalem, Gaza, and the coast as far as Nablus.† Nasir had sent his Vizier, the Sahib Zain ud din Hafedi, to the Court of Mangu, with precious gifts worthy of a sovereign, and had been granted a yarligh and paizah.‡ On Khulagu's arrival in the West, in 1258, he sent his son Aziz, with the same Vizier, to conciliate him.§ Khulagu asked him why his father had not gone in person, and was conciliated by the reply that he feared to leave his dominions lest they should be attacked by the Franks.‖ Makrizi says the young prince offered Khulagu the presents which he bore, and also asked for his aid to help him to drive the Mamluks out of Egypt. Khulagu ordered that the prince on his return should be escorted by 20,000 horsemen.¶ Novairi tells us that Nasir had also sent a letter to the Prince of Mosul to intercede for him.** The young prince took back with him for his father a letter which was composed by Nasir ud din of Tus, and which Wassaf praises as a *chef d'œuvre* of this kind of Arabic composition, in which brevity and condensation, sonorous phrases, short periods, cadences and rhymes, alliterations and puns, and apt citations from the Koran, are greatly admired.†† We have this letter in several copies differing from one another greatly. It has been preserved by Rashid ud din, Wassaf, Abulfaraj, Makrizi, and by Ibn Arabshah in his history of Timur.‡‡ In the first volume of this work I gave the letter as reported by Wassaf, Here I will transcribe the version preserved by Makrizi :—

"We inform Malik Nasir, Prince of Aleppo, that by the strength of the sword of the most high God, we have conquered Baghdad, exterminated the warriors of that town, destroyed its buildings, and made its inhabitants prisoners, according to the maxim which God has enshrined in the sacred volume. 'When the Kings enter a town, they cause ravage there and reduce to the direst humiliation the most distinguished of the inhabitants.' We summoned the Khalif to our presence, and addressed him questions which he answered deceitfully. But he presently repented of his conduct, and has well deserved the death which we inflicted on him. The perverse man devoted himself only to amassing riches, and hoarding up precious

* Ilkhans, i. 168-169. † D'Ohsson, iii. 290-291. ‡ Quatremere, 327.
§ Abulfeda, iv. 565. ‖ D'Ohsson, iii. 294. ¶ Makrizi, i. 78-79. ** D'Ohsson, iii. 294.
†† *Id.*, iii. 302-303, &c. ‡‡ *Id.*, iii. 302-305 Note.

objects, without caring at all for his subjects. His reputation had spread very widely, and he occupied the highest rank. May God defend us from perfection, and the fate attending grandeur.

When a thing has reached its highest point it begins to descend.
When you hear a man say there is perfection beware of a catastrophe.
If you are prosperous be on your guard,
For crimes continually undo goodness.
How many men have spent the night happily,
Without suspecting that death would suddenly overtake them?

"When you have considered my letter hasten to submit to the King of Kings, Lord of the World, and to subject to him your person, your people, your warriors, and your riches. Thus you will avoid his anger and deserve his benevolence. As God the most high has declared in his august work, 'Yes, man shall only reap the reward of his works, and God who knows his works, will not fail to recompense him with the greatest zeal.'* Mind you do not, as you have done before, imprison our envoys, but treat them according to the laws of justice, and send them back with proofs of goodwill. We have heard that some Syrian merchants and others have taken refuge in a caravan-serai with their wives and riches. If they were to retire to the mountains we would tear them down; if they hid beneath the ground we would root them up.

Who shall escape, for no one shall find a hiding place.
The two elements—the land and the water—belong to us.
Our redoubtable strength has overcome lions,
Amirs and viziers are subject to us." †

The young prince, with this somewhat truculent letter, started homewards about a month after the capture of Baghdad, and we are not surprised that it should have aroused some panic in Syria. Nasir sent his wife to seek refuge at Karak, many of his people fled towards Egypt, and many were robbed and plundered *en route* thither. Among other fugitives was the Prince of Hims, and Wassaf has preserved the text of a bitter letter which he says he sent to Khulagu in reply to the one the latter had sent. This I have already abstracted.‡ This no doubt inflamed the wrath of the Mongols, which would not be made calmer when they heard how Nasir had lately given a welcome to 5,000 deserters from Khulagu's army, who are called Sheherzurs, whence it is probable they were Kurds from Sheherzur. Presently they deserted him in turn and went over to one of his rivals, Moguith, the Prince of Karak, with whom he was at this time in strife. Having at length made peace with Moguith, on condition that the latter surrendered all the Bahri Mamluks in his service, and dismissed the Sheherzurs, he returned to Damascus. Some of the Sheherzurs went on to Egypt, and as far as Maghreb (*i.e.*, Africa).§

Khulagu set out on his new campaign on the 12th of September, 1259, and was accompanied, *inter alios*, by Salih, the Malik of Mosul. Kitubuka

* Koran, ch. liv. verses 40-41.
† Op. cit, 83-85. ‡ Ante, i. 206-208. § Makrizi, i. 79-80.

commanded the advance guard, Singkur or Shiktur and Baichu the right wing, Sunjak and other chiefs the left wing, while Khulagu himself took charge of the centre.* West of Ararat, between it and Erzerum, and south of Hasan Kalaa, rises the mountain Alatagh (*i.e.*, the spotted mountain), where was the town of the same name. Khulagu passed by this, and was so pleased with the rich pastures in its neighbourhood that he gave it a new Mongol name, viz., Lebnasagut.† Thence he entered the district of Akhlat or Khelat, on the northern shores of Lake Van, and the mountains of Hakkar, the resort of Kurdish brigands, all of whom who fell into the hands of the Mongols were duly executed.

Khelat, or Akhlat, which I have mentioned frequently before, was a very old town, famous in the time of Nushirwan, and the residence of his uncle, Shahmasp, and was called Khliat by the Greeks. It was famous for the size of its apples, some of which weighed 100 drachmas. It first suffered from an attack of the Khuarezm Shah, and twenty years later was much injured by an earthquake. Seyid Hussein of Akhlat, learned in all eastern knowledge, had, before the great Mongol inroad into Persia, incurred the displeasure of Jingis Khan, and migrated with 12,000 families to Cairo, where his gravestone and the part of the city known as the quarter of the Akhlattians still preserve their memory.‡ Khulagu now reached the province of Diarbekr, where he captured Jezireh, generally called Jezirat Ibn Omar, a famous and very ancient little town on the Tigris, thirty parasangs from Mosul. It was surrounded by a wall, with vineyards and pleasant suburbs about it. Ibn Ḥaukal describes it as the centre of trade for Armenia, Mayafarkin, and Arzen, and that its boats floated down to Mosul laden with honey, oil, cheese, walnuts, filberts, pistachio nuts, figs, &c. It had been captured by the Seljukis, and was devastated at a later day by Timur. The Syrians call it Gozarto.§

Khulagu now sent the Malik Salih to attack Amid, the ancient Tigranocerta.‖ The geographer, Seif ud daulat ibn Hamdan, tells us it was situated on a rock west of the Tigris, which it dominated from the height of fifty fathoms. It was surrounded by a black wall composed of stones used in Irak as millstones, each one being worth fifty gold pieces. Inside the wall were three streams, which turned several mills. It was formerly very flourishing, vines and fruit trees girdling it about, while many pious foundations existed on its ramparts. "When I visited it," says our author, "in 534 HEJ., it only retained feeble traces of its former self. Formerly it was the home of distinguished men, sages, philosophers, men of letters, and wealthy people,; but tyranny, injustice, and intolerable oppression compelled them to fly from their hearths, so that the homes of Amid were deserted."¶ It revived again under the Ortokid princes, and

* Quatremere, 327-329. † *Id.*, 329 Ilkhans, i. 173. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 173-174.
§ Quatremere, 328-331. Note. ‖ *Id.*, 331. Note. ¶ Quatremere, 332. Note.

became a centre for the carpet trade. It was repeatedly captured and re-captured by the Arabs, Egyptians, and Mongols. Haidar Razi calls it Kara Hamid, and tells us its citadel was one of the strongest in the world. The Portuguese Teixeiro calls it Caraemite, and in the itinerary of an Italian merchant of the 16th century, published by Ramusio, it is called Caramit.*

Meanwhile the Prince of Mardin sent his son with a suite to offer his obedience. In reply to the summons of Khulagu he professed that he was ill and could not go in person. The Mongol chief deemed the sickness diplomatic, and that the cautious prince was evidently afraid of taking sides with a possibly unlucky cause.†

To revert to Khulagu, we are told he advanced upon Nisibin, where the people having resisted, it was pillaged. Duniasar (*i.e.*, the head of the world), according to Ibn Khallikan, a place between Nisibin and Ras ain, where several roads converged, and Harran were then secured.‡ Abulfaraj, who says Khulagu's army numbered 400,000, adds that the people of Harran submitted. Roha or Edessa (the modern Urfa) did the same. The people of Saruj, however, having resisted, were almost exterminated.§ At Roha Khulagu was visited by Haithon, the King of Little Armenia. The Mongol chief's known friendliness for the Christians, and the bitter strife the latter in their crusading days had with the Mussulmans of Syria, doubtless made Khulagu's arrival seem like that of a deliverer. We are told Haithon, whose contingent was a respectable one—12,000 horse and 4,000 foot soldiers—recommended him, in attacking Syria, to begin with Aleppo.‖ This was perhaps partly to protect the Crusaders and his relative, the Prince of Antioch.

While Khulagu was at Harran, Nasir, the Syrian prince, called a council, where it was determined to resist; but he was a poet rather than a warrior, and his heterogeneous force of Arabs, Turks, and volunteers was not reliable. His Vizier, Zain ud din El Hafizi, who was aware of this, enlarged on the power of Khulagu, and urged him to submit. This aroused the fanaticism of the Mamluks, and especially of Bibars, one of their chiefs, who one day struck him and accused him of wishing to ruin the Mussulmans. The next night Nasir was attacked, and only escaped assassination by seeking shelter with his brother Tahir in the citadel of Damascus. Some of the principal Amirs persuaded him to return to his camp, which he did, but Bibars, who was disgusted with his pusillanimity, rode off to Gaza. Nasir now sent his wife, who was a daughter of the Seljuk ruler, Kai Kobad, his son, his treasures, and his harem to Egypt, and this was followed by a large exodus of those who left under various pretences, so that Nasir's army virtually disbanded, and he was left only

* Quatremere, 331-333. † D'Ohsson, iii. 308. ‡ Quatremere, 331, and notes.
§ Chron. Arab., 347. Chron. Syr., 555. I would add that the order of Khulagu's conquests in this campaign, as given by Rashid ud din, is misleading and irregular.
‖ D'Ohsson, iii. Note. Ilkhans, i. 174.

with some Amirs.* Nasir sent to ask help from the Egyptian authorities. When his envoy reached Cairo, the throne was filled by Mansur, a son of Eibeg, who was a mere child. His council was convened, and the grand judge, Bedr ud din Hasan, and the Sheikh Iz ud din Ibn Abd us Salam, were asked for their opinion, whether it was lawful under the circumstances to levy a war tax on the nation. They replied that when the enemy had entered the territory of Islam, it was the duty of every Mussulman to arm, and that a levy might be made. This decision was accepted. Meanwhile the times were not favourable for a boy to fill the throne. The threatening aspect of affairs, and the appearance of Khulagu, gave a pretentious excuse to Kuttuz, Mansur's atabeg, or tutor, to seize the throne, at least until the Tartars were driven back. He professed to be a nephew of the Khuarezm Shah, Jelal ud din, and that he had been formerly captured by the Mongols, and sold as a slave at Damascus, whence he was taken to Cairo. Having imprisoned the discontented, and received the allegiance of the army, he wrote to Nasir a humble letter offering him the throne of Egypt, and treating himself as his lieutenant there. He said he would march into Syria to his help if he wished it, but if this would embarrass him offered to send an army under any general he might name.†

Khulagu having secured his rear by the conquest of Mesopotamia, now continued his advance, accompanied by his wife, Dokuz. He captured the fort of Bire or El Biret, on the Euphrates, where the Ayubit prince Said had been imprisoned for nine years. Having set him at liberty, and given him the command of Subaibah and Banias,‡ Khulagu crossed the river by four bridges of boats, viz., at Malatia, Kalat ur Rum (*i.e.*, the Roman castle), El Biret, and Kirkesia, respectively on the sites of the ancient Melitene, Zeugma, Birtha, and Kirkesion. The guards stationed at these fords were killed. He captured Menbedsh, the ancient Hierapolis, also called Bombyce, and once famous for its temples (especially that to Astarte) and cotton products.§ Various places on the Euphrates were taken, and their inhabitants slaughtered, such as Mabug Nejm (*i.e.*, the star castle), Rakka (the ancient Kallinike or Nicephorium), Jaaber (famous in the history of the Osmanli as the place where Suliman, one of their early sultans, was drowned, and where we are told his grave, called the Turkish grave, still remains), and Lash (?).‖ When a division of the Mongols reached Salamiyet, near Aleppo, some of the garrison, with a rabble of the citizens, went out to oppose them, but seeing that the enemy offered a firm front they withdrew. Presently they made a similar effort, and posted themselves at the mountain Bancussa, under the Ayubit prince Moazzam Turan Shah. The Mongols drew them into an ambuscade,

* Makrizi, i. 87-88. † D'Ohsson, iii. 315-316. ‡ Makrizi, 88.
§ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 555. Chron. Arab., 347. Ilkhans, 181-182.
‖ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 555. Ilkhans. 182. D'Ohsson, iii. 316.

killed a considerable number of them, and then marched to Azaz, north of Aleppo, which capitulated. Other divisions secured the towns of Maaret Naaman, Hamath, and Hims, and also the town of Bab Ali or Babela, near Antioch, so called from St. Babylas.*

The Mongols now approached Aleppo. Aleppo is famous both for its ancient prosperity and trade, and for its products—cucumbers, water melons, figs, apricots, and especially pistachio nuts, which are called by the Arabs the daughters of memory, since eating them is thought to strengthen that faculty. As the *entrepôt* for Indian goods, it was known as the Little India. Before the Jewish Gate, also called the Gate of Delight, is a great and ancient stone on which Jews and Christians used to swear. Mussulmans reverence Aleppo as the abode of Khizr, the guardian of the sources of life (the legends about whom are mixed up with those of Saint George), and also because Abraham is said to have milked his herds here. The latter legend has possibly arisen out of the corruption of the ancient name of the city, Khalybon, into Alep, which in Arabic means milk.† The Mongols now approached the famous city. Khulagu sent the Prince of Erzerum to Moazzam Turan Shah, its governor, to say that they did not wish to do it or its inhabitants any harm, their quarrel being merely with Nasir, and requesting only that two Mongol Shahnahs might be allowed—one in the town, the other in the citadel—to await the impending battle which was to decide to whom the place should belong. If the Mongols won it was to be theirs, if the Sultan won then they might put the Shahnahs to death. Moazzam replied that there was only a drawn sword between them—a rash reply, which brought a sharp Nemesis.‡

The place was now beleaguered. Arkatu Noyan was posted at the gate of the Jews, Kitubuka at that of Rum (*i.e.*, of the Greeks), Sunjak before that of Damascus, and Khulagu himself before that of Antioch.§ The town was surrounded by lines of circumvallation, on which were planted the battering engines, consisting of twenty catapults, and the attack was sustained for seven days, being chiefly pressed against the so-called gate of Irak. The place fell on the 25th of January, 1260,‖ and a general massacre ensued, which lasted for five days, and was at length put an end to by a proclamation of Khulagu. He had issued a firman, in virtue of which the houses of Shihab ud din Ibn Amru, of Najm ud din, the brother of Mazdekin, of Bazdiad, and of Alm ud din Kiasari, of Mosul, were to be spared. In these, in the khanoka or monastery of the Sufis, where Zain ud din Sufi lived, and the synagogue of the Jews, upwards of 50,000 people found shelter.¶ The citadel, whither Moazzam Turan Shah had fled, held out for two months longer,

* Ibn Tagri Birdi, in D'Ohsson, iii. 317-318. Ilkhans, i. 182. Abulfeda, iv. 573-575, and Note 413.
† Ilkhans, i. 183. ‡ Abulfeda, iv. 577-579. D'Ohsson, iii. 318-319. § Quatremere, 334-335.
‖ Weil, iv. 13. ¶ Abulfeda, iv. 579.

during which some people who were suspected of carrying on a correspondence with the Mongols were put to death. At length, however, the garrison deemed it better to surrender. Haithon says it was captured by sapping, and their lives, including that of Moazzam, who was a very old man, and who died a few days later, were spared. The Mongols released some Mamluks who had been imprisoned there, *inter alios*, Sonkor Ashkar, Seif ud din Tenkez, Seif ud din Beramak, Bedr ud din Bekmesh Masudi, Lajin jamdar Salehi, and Kijadi the Little. They were handed over to a Kipchak in the service of the Mongols, named Sultan Jak, of whom we have already spoken in describing the campaign against Baghdad.* The prisoners were sold to the Armenians of Cilicia and to the Europeans.† Makrizi says the streets were so encumbered with corpses that the Mongols marched over them. The number of women reduced to slavery he calculates at 100,000. The citadel was razed, and the walls of the city, the jamis, mosques, and gardens were destroyed.‡ Rashid ud din tells us that during the siege several chiefs, such as the Amirs Kurjan, Uju Sokurji and Sadek Kurchi, were wounded in the face and elsewhere. Khulagu congratulated them, saying that as a rose colour is the prettiest *parure* of a woman, a man can have no nobler ornament than some crimson blood strewn over his face and beard.§

Among the prisoners were several of Nasir's children with their mothers.‖ Haithon says that Khulagu presented the King of Armenia with the spoils he had captured at Aleppo, and also made over to him some of the lands he had conquered, so that the King secured several castles, which he fortified. Khulagu afterwards sent him some presents by the Prince of Antioch, and restored to him the districts he had captured from the Muhammedans, and which they had retaken,¶ a heritage which brought its Nemesis when the Mussulmans were again dominant. Vartan tells us that Haithon accompanied Khulagu on this campaign, and redeemed many Christians, both lay and cleric, who had been made prisoners.** Abulfaraj, the historian, was at this time the Jacobite metropolitan of Aleppo. He tells us the upper part of his church had been destroyed by the Balbecenses (*i.e.*, the people of Baalbek), and in fear of these events he had gone to visit Khulagu. He had been detained by him at the fortress of Nedjm, on the Euphrates, and deplores that in consequence he could not protect his flock as he would have wished. The Mongols apparently found their way into a Greek church and killed a crowd of Christians who had sought refuge there, only a few being saved by the exertions of an Armenian priest named Turus, the brother of the Catholicos Mar Constantine, and by the monk Khurakh.††

Khulagu now issued a proclamation, in which he appointed Amad ud

* *Id.*, 583. Makrizi, i. 90. † D'Ohsson, iii. 320. ‡ Makrizi, 90. § Quatremere, 357.
‖ D'Ohsson, iii. 320. ¶ Op. cit., ch. 29. D'Ohsson, iii. 321. Note.
** Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 293. †† Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 555-556.

din, of Kazvin, his *locum tenens* at Aleppo, and intrusted the citadel of the same place to Fakhr ud din; Tukal Bakhshi being appointed Shahnah or Mongol commissary.* On the arrival of the Mongols in Syria, Mansur, son of Mozaffer, Prince of Hamath, left that town in charge of the Tavashi Mureshid, and went to Damascus. Mureshid, on hearing of the fall of Aleppo, rejoined his master, whereupon the notables of Hamath, taking the keys of the city with them, went and submitted to Khulagu, asked him to spare their lives and property, and to appoint a shahnah. Khulagu appointed a Persian named Khosru Shah, said to have been descended from Khaled, the son of Valid, as governor of the town, and Mojayed ud din Kaimaz as commander of the citadel. † When the news of the fall of Aleppo reached Damascus, the Malik Nasir was still there. He had collected an army of 100,000 Arabs and Persians, who now disbanded, each one sold his furniture, and prepared to fly in hot haste. Nasir left the camp at Berzah, near Damascus, on the 29th of January, and taking with him the Prince of Hamath, and the few retainers who stood by him, went towards Gaza. The citizens were thus defenceless, and so great was the anxiety to get away that the hire of a camel rose to 700 pieces of silver. There was a general stampede, and it was thought the Day of Resurrection had arrived.‡ On the departure of Nasir the Vizier Zain Hafidi, already named, took possession of the city, and closed its gates, and having summoned the citizens, it was agreed to surrender it to the Mongols, and it was duly made over to Fakhr ud din Merdegai, to the son of the commander of Erzerum, and the Sherif Ali, who had been sent as his envoys to Nasir by Khulagu. They informed Khulagu, who sent a Mongol corps to take possession of it, forbidding his soldiers to touch anything belonging to the citizens. Khulagu meanwhile appointed the Kadhi, Muhi ud din ibn Zaki, Kadhi of all Syria, and gave him a robe of honour, made of golden tissue. The Kadhi thereupon returned to the city, and having assembled the chief inhabitants in the great mosque, on the Sunday, the 3rd of February, dressed in his khilat, read out his diploma of investiture, with Khulagu's order granting a general amnesty.§ He was shortly followed by two commanders, one Mongol and the other Persian, who had received orders to treat the people well, and to obey him, and they were followed on the 1st of March by Kitubuka Noyan with a body of Mongols. The act of amnesty was again read, and also a diploma conferring on Kamil ud din Omar Tiflisi the office of Kadhi alkodat in all the towns of Syria, at Mosul, Mardin, and Mayafarkin, and also the superintendence of the mosques and pious foundations. This order was publicly read in the Maidan-akhdar, or green square.‖

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* Abulfeda, iv. 585. Quatremere, 339.
† Abulfeda, iv. 581. D'Ohsson, iii. 322.
‡ Makrizi, i. 91-95. D'Ohsson, iii. 322.
§ Abulfeda, iv. 585. Makrizi, i. 96-97.
‖ Makrizi, i. 97-98. D'Ohsson, iii. 323-324.

Makrizi tells us the Christians at Damascus now began to be in the ascendant. They produced a diploma of Khulagu guaranteeing them express protection and the free exercise of their religion. They drank wine freely in the month of Ramazan, and spilt it in the open streets, on the clothes of the Mussulmans and the doors of the mosques. When they traversed the streets, bearing the cross, they compelled the merchants to rise, and illtreated those who refused. They carried the cross in the streets and went to the church of St. Mary, where they preached sermons in praise of their faith, and said openly, "The true faith, the faith of the Messiah, is to-day triumphant." When the Mussulmans complained they were treated with indignity by the governor appointed by Khulagu, and several of them were by his orders bastinadoed. He visited the Christian churches, and paid deference to their clergy.* The governor here meant was no doubt Kitubuka, who was a Kerait and a Christian. "Guiboga," says Haithon, "loved the Christians, for he belonged to the race of the three kings who went to worship Our Saviour at his nativity."†

Meanwhile Zain Hafidi levied immense sums on the inhabitants, with which he bought costly stuffs, and gave them to Kitubuka, to Baidara, and to the Mongol amirs and generals, and sent them daily gifts of various kinds.‡ The citadel of Damascus still held out under Bedr ud din Muhammed ibn Karmjah and the Amir Jelal ud din ibn Sairafi. Kitubuka laid siege to it. Meanwhile, however, there came on a terrible storm of rain and hail, with a hurricane of wind, and an earthquake which shook the district, and the siege was accordingly protracted. Twenty catapults battered the walls without ceasing, until the wearied garrison agreed to capitulate. The Mongols then entered the place, secured all the valuables, demolished a large number of the towers, and set fire to the siege machinery.§ Zain Hafidi sent to ask Khulagu what was to be done with the commander of the fortress and his deputy, and having received orders to put them to death, he did so with his own hand, at the Mongol camp of Merj Bargut.‖

At this time the Ayubit prince Ashraf, who had been deprived of Hims by Nasir twelve years before, and had been given Telbashir in exchange, having presented himself before Khulagu was by him reinstated in his principality. He was also given a diploma constituting him viceroy of Damascus and of all Syria, and Kitubuka and the other amirs were constrained to obey him.¶

While the siege of Aleppo was proceeding a summons was sent to Harim, a town situated between Aleppo and Antioch, often mentioned in the history of the Crusades, and famous for its pomegranates; and as it did not surrender it was attacked. The citizens offered to submit if a Mussulman in whom they could trust was sent to swear on the Koran

* Makrizi, i. 98. † Op. cit., 30. D'Ohsson, iii. 325. ‡ Makrizi, i. 98-99.
§ Makrizi, 99. ‖ D'Ohsson, iii. 326. ¶ Makrizi, i. 99.

that they would be spared. Khulagu inquired whom they wished, and they replied Fakhr ud din, who was the commander of the citadel of Aleppo. Khulagu accordingly sent him, but piqued at their refusal to trust his word, he had them all slaughtered—old and young, women and children—except an Armenian goldsmith.* Fakhr ud din was also put to death, having been charged with tyranny by the people of Damascus.† Abulfaraj says he was upbraided by Vali ud din, son of Safi ud din, Prince of Aleppo, who said, "He killed my father and brothers, to whom he had said, 'surrender the town, lest you be put to death.'"‡ Zain Hafidi, from Damascus, was given his command, and we are told that Mogul, with three Persian assessors, Alai ud din Jashi, Jemal ud din Karkai Kazvini, and the Kadhi Shems ud din Komi, were given charge of Damascus.§

While Khulagu was encamped at Aleppo, Sinktur Noyan arrived from the Imperial head-quarters in Mongolia with the news that Mangu Khan was dead. Khulagu was greatly distressed, and determined to return home.‖ Haithon says that it was his intention to have returned to Mongolia to put in a claim for the Imperial throne, but that when he reached Tebriz, hearing that his second brother Khubilai had been raised to that dignity, he did not go on.¶

Note 1.—The spelling of Mongol names is a subject of great difficulty. For the most part Western writers have followed the spelling used by the Persian authors, to whom we owe so much of our information about the Mongols, in which the names are presented in a decayed fashion. The name of the founder of the power of the Ilkhans is generally written Hulagu or Hulaku. I have spelt it Khulagu, and have followed in so doing the excellent example of Schmidt,** who was one of the first Mongol scholars of our time. Fraehn wrote a paper which he entitled, "De Ilchanorum seu *Chu*lagidarum numis commentatio." M. Renaud wrote the name, Kulagu.†† Remusat has the interesting note: "Houlagou (mieux Khoulakou) est nommé par les Grecs χαλαν par nos historiens Olaon, par les Armenians Houlav."‡‡ Von Hammer writes: "Hulagu oder wie die Mongolen den Namen schreiben und sprechen, Chulagu."§§ Schiefner also writes the name in the same way. This is assuredly ample authority, and in view of it I cannot resist quoting the following characteristic phrase of Major Raverty, *apropos* of the way I spelt the name in a former volume: "Anyone who understands a single letter of Oriental tongues knows that Khubilai is as impossible as Khulagu for Hulaku, and is incorrect, whatever the 'Mongol' professors may say."‖‖ While the Armenians retain the initial

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Arab., 348. Chron. Syr., 556. † Quatremere, 339. ‡ Chron. Syr., 556.
§ Quatremere, 339-340. ‖ Quatremere, 341. ¶ Op. cit., ch. 29. D'Ohsson, iii. 328. Note 2.
** Journ. Asiat., 1st ser., iii. 108. †† Journ. Asiat., 3rd ser., xiii. 114, &c.
‡‡ Recherches sur les Langues Tartares, 168. Note. §§ Ilkhans, i. 79.
‖‖ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1215. Note. See also same work, pp. 1225-1226. Note.

aspirate in the forms Houlav, Haulaou, Hulaou, the Georgians have dropped it in that of Ulo, which is like the form given by Marco Polo, Alau. The Chinese write the name Hiu lie wu. The name in Mongol means simply thief.*

Note 2.—Some Mongol words which habitually occur in these pages deserve a little notice here. 1. *Noyan.* Noyan or Noin is a Mongol word, and means the leader of a tuman or division of 10,000 men.† The Jihan-kushai says one of Jingis Khan's sons was called Ulugh Noyan, that is to say, Great Amir. In the Zafer Nameh we read in one place, "The amirs and noyans of Jagatai."‡ At the present day, noin or noyan among the Mongols and Kalmuks means a prince or any member of the Royal Family.§ 2. *Taiji* or *Taishi.* The over chief of a ulus or tribe was formerly styled Taishi among the Mongols and Kalmuks.‖ Now the title is used nearly co-extensively with the word Noyan, and is applied to those of royal blood.¶ Among the Tumeds and Karchins the Taijis are styled Tabunans, which was possibly the primitive title in use in Mongolia. Among the Mongols generally by tabunan is now understood the sons-in-law and brothers-in-law of emperors and princes, answering to the Oefu of the Manchus.** The title is of Chinese origin,†† and corresponds to the very primitive title of Tai si or Taishi, which means Grand Master, a title which was borne by the senior official of the empire.‡‡ Rashid ud din says that Taishi was a Chinese word, meaning a great teacher, or a skilful writer.§§ Abulghazi also says it was a Chinese word, meaning the same as Hafiz in Arabic, *i.e.*, one who knows something by heart.‖‖ 3. *Baghatur.* The word Behadur or Bahadur, says Quatremere, is not of Persian origin, but is derived from the Mongol word Baghatur, meaning brave, warlike. Clavigo speaks of "los valientes ebahadures," and a little lower down he says that the man who drinks the most wine is styled Bahadur. The word is written bagator in Jehosaphat Barbaro's Travels, and later, in those of Hanway, a derivative of the word is behaduri, meaning an act of courage. The Akbar Nameh mention a corps of behadurs. In later times the name was applied to a class of functionaries.¶¶ The Russians have adopted the word in the form bogatur. 4. *Shahnah.* This word, according to Quatremere, meant at different times a governor, one who had charge of the police in a town, a head man. In the Kamus we read the word Shahnah, in speaking of a town, indicates the person who governs it on behalf of the Sultan. According to the supplement to the Borhani Kati, p. 1060, the term among the Persians was chiefly used to connote the person charged with superintending the night patrols, and otherwise called kutual. Ibn Khalidun, speaking of the Mongols, says: "They established one of their amirs in each town, who, with a body of troops, was charged with the protection of the country, and they gave this officer the name Shahnah;" and in another passage he says: "A Shahnah who represented the supreme chief of the

* See Ghiragos, ed. Brosset, 179. Note 12.
† Masalak Alabsir, quoted by Quatremere, 76. Note. ‡ *Id.*
§ Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nach, i. 186. Rytschkof Orenburgishe Topographie, i. 32. Bergmann Nomadische Streifereien, ii. 30.
‖ Pallas, loc. cit. Bergmann, *id.* ¶ See Hyacinth's Mongolia, by Borg, 320.
** *Id.*, 321. Note. †† Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nach, i. 186. Note.
‡‡ De Mailla, i. 179-181. Notes. §§ Erdmann, Temudschin, 196. ‖‖ Op. cit., 67.
¶¶ Quatremere, 307-308. Note.

Mongols, resided constantly at Baghdad. When Gazan Khan mounted the throne, he drove the Shahnahs out, and caused his own name alone to be graven on the coin." In the history of Bedr ud din Aintabi we read that Timurlenk established a Shahnah at Damascus to command there in his name. Firishta applies the name to the head of the council and also to one intrusted with superintending the police of the markets, and speaks of a Shahnah of the bazaar.* Von Hammer seems to imply that the word, which he writes Shohné, is Arabic and not Mongol, and he makes it the equivalent of the Mongol baskak, which means a governor, and occurs frequently in this sense, as "Arghaman, the Great Baskak of Volodomir," &c.† Darugha was a similar title, which originally meant one in charge of the police. The Byzantines knew the title in the form Daregas; the Kalmuks use it in the form Darghui. The Tunguses also employ it in the sense of head of a tribe.‡ 5. *Bitkichi.* The word bitkichi, or bitikchi as it is sometimes written, is a Mongol word meaning a scribe or secretary. In the "Jihan-kushai" we read, "the bitkichis, the maliks, and the other amirs," and elsewhere, "among the Mussulman bitkichis was the Amir Imad ul Mulk." There is also mention made in the same work of the chief secretary, Ulugh bitkichi. Rashid, who has frequent references to the title, says: "Formerly the key of the Grand Seal was in the hands of the bitkichi." In the "Zafer Nameh" we read of "the bitkichis of the Chancellary." The word is still in use among the Mongols, for we read in Hyacinth's work, "Denkwurdigkeiten ueber die Mongolie," 306, "bitschetschi," that is to say, scribe; and in "Timkofski's Journal," "bitkhechi," that is to say, secretary of the seventh class.§

Note 3.—The Eastern Christians were at this time broken into so many sects that it is not easy to exactly realise or follow the details of their organisation or to understand the nature of the dignities filled by their higher clergy. A few words on this subject may not be uninteresting. There were three great schisms in the Eastern Church, arising out of different ways of viewing the Incarnation. First and most important was that of the Nestorians, dating from the fifth century, who held that Christ had two distinct natures, one divine and one human, and that the Incarnation was not a natural and complete union of the Divine Word with human nature, but a simple residence of the Word in a man, as in a temple. Almost contemporaneous in origin with the Nestorians were the Monophysites, also called Jacobites, who held that there were not two natures mingled together in Christ, but one nature only. The Monophysites prevailed chiefly in Egypt and Syria, while the Nestorians had their chief seats further east. Lastly, the Armenian Church separated itself at the Council of Chalcedon, on the question of the single nature of Christ, and other matters.

The orthodox were styled simply Greeks or Melkites (*i.e.*, Imperialists), since they recognised the civil supremacy of the Emperor of Byzantium, and the ecclesiastical superintendence of the Patriarch of Antioch, who was once the

* Makrizi, by Quatremere, ii. 195-197. Note.
† Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 238. Note 10. ‡ *Id.*, 238-239. Notes. Georgi Besch, &c., 307.
§ Quatremere, Rashid ud din, 113-115.

supreme head of all the Asiatic Christians. The Jacobites had a patriarch of their own, with his seat either at Amid, or in the monastery of Barsuma, near Malatiya. They also had a Maphrian or Primate, whose dignity was intermediate between that of the Patriarch and the Archbishop, who lived at Takrit, and ruled over the more eastern dioceses. In Syria, Asia Minor, and the countries watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris, there were as many as 121 Jacobite bishoprics.

The Patriarch of the Armenians had his seat at Kalaat ur Rum, on the Euphrates, and ruled over sixty-four dioceses. The Nestorian patriarchs, in the time of the Seleucidan Empire, had their seat at Koché, near Seleucia, a town separated by the Tigris from Ctesiphon. When the Abbasidan Khalifs made Baghdad their capital the Nestorian patriarchs moved their seat thither. Before the schism these patriarchs had been suffragans of the patriarchs of Antioch, with the title of Archbishops of Seleucia. After the separation from the orthodox church, about the year 498, it became the practice for them to be elected by a synod, composed of a number of metropolitans and the bishops of the dioceses nearest to Baghdad, and after having received the confirmation of the Khalif, they were duly consecrated according to ancient custom in the church of Koché. The Nestorian patriarchs had secured the exclusion from Baghdad of the suffragan of the orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, and of the Maphrian of the Jacobites. The Jacobites had only a bishop there, and the orthodox Greeks at Baghdad were only occasionally visited by one of their own bishops. The Nestorian Church in Asia comprised twenty-five provinces and seventy dioceses, and included Irak Arab, Mesopotamia, Diarbekr, Azerbaijan, Syria, Persia, India, Transoxiana, Turkestan, China, and Tangut.* The Nestorian patriarch was not only the spiritual head of his co-religionists, but had civil authority over them also, and also held from the Khalif the right to judge disputes among the Jacobites and Melkites; and even the clergy of the two latter rites were subjected to him by two diplomas, written in Arabic, of which the terms have come down to us. They ran as follows: "The ruler of the faithful has thought proper to constitute you Catholicos of the Nestorian Christians living in the City of Salvation (*i.e.*, Baghdad) and of all other countries, and to set you over the Jacobites and Greeks living in the country of the Mussulmans, or who happen to be travelling there. Cause your orders to be respected by all Christians."† Many Christians during the Khalifate followed the profession of doctors, and although it was contrary to law, were also employed as scribes in the administration. These officials acquired considerable influence over their co-religionists, and thus influenced the elections of the patriarchs. During the first two lines of Khalifs, Christians even secured sometimes the government of provinces. They prospered greatly for some time in Egypt and Syria, but presently aroused the envy and cupidity of the Mussulmans, and as they became richer they became also the more certain victims of the orthodox officials and of outbreaks of fanaticism. The Christians therefore looked upon the Mongols as saviours and friends, and for a while the latter, no doubt finding them useful allies against a common foe,

* D'Ohsson, iii. 278-281. † *Id.*, 281-282.

treated them with consideration, and until they themselves became Muhammedans the condition of the Christians was no doubt greatly improved.*

Note 4.—The unfamiliar titles and dignities in use among the Georgians, several of which occur in these pages, make it useful to devote a few words to them. Immediately below the King were the thawads or princes, a word derived from thawi, head, and equivalent to the Latin princeps (*i.e.*, primum caput). They were of three classes: the first class, styled didebuls (*i.e.*, "the great" or the glorious), comprised in Karthli the heads of the six aristocratic families (*i.e.*, the Eristhavs of Aragvi and of Ksan, the heads of the Amilakhors, Orpelians, and Tzitzishivili, and the Maliks of Somkheth), but in its widest sense the term included all the princes having large domains, or an influential position either in Karthli or the other Georgian districts. 2. The mthawars, an administrative rank, including the Dadian, the Guriel, the Atabeg, the Sharwashidzé of Abkhazia, and the principal grandee of Suaneth. 3. The eristhavs (*i.e.*, literally, chiefs of the people), also rather administrative titles than titles of nobility, included, besides those already named, those of Radsha, of Bar in Imereth, and certain great vassals of the Prince Guriel.

Next to the thawads or princes were the aznaurs or nobles. These were sometimes in the feudal service of the thawads, and could pass into that rank. A class somewhat apart was that of the mokalakés or *bourgeois*, who were found chiefly at Tiflis, and were almost entirely of Armenian origin, that town being essentially an Armenian town. The traders of Gori, another Armenian town, formed a similar body. Nearly all the larger merchants in Georgia were Armenians, except in Western Georgia, where there were many Jewish traders. Few Georgians followed the vocation of trade in the towns. Next to the nobles were the msakhurs, a class standing above the serfs or slaves, and employed in the service of the ruler or the State either as soldiers or with civil functions. The chief of the msakhurs was the third official in rank in the State. "It would seem," says Brosset, "that, as in Russia, the fact of a man's being in the public service gave him a special status."

The title "son of an aznaur" had the same significance in Georgia that that of "son of a boyard" had in Russia. The head of a family represented its nobility; the other members were known as sons of aznaurs; so it was also with the thawads.

Lastly, were the monas or slaves, and qmas or serfs, who were attached to the soil, and worked it, performing in return certain services, paying certain imposts, &c. They were royal serfs (*i.e.*, belonging to the Treasury) or private. Some could have property of their own, others not.†

* *Id.*, 283-285. † Hist. de la Géorgie, Introduction, lxxix., lxxxi.

CHAPTER III.

KHULAGU KHAN.—*Continued.*

BEFORE describing the subsequent doings of Khulagu and of his lieutenant in Syria, Kitubuka, it will be well to bring the story of Mongol aggression in other directions up to this point. And first in regard to the Arabian Irak, and the old frontier fortresses of the Byzantines and Persians.

Mayafarkin was a famous old town situated to the north-east of Diarbekr, on the site of the Karcatiocerta (the capital of Sophiene) of the ancients. It was situated on the Nymphius, now called the Golden River (the boundary between the Roman and Persian Empires), and north of it flowed the stream Bekr. Malakia and Guiragos call it Mufarghin; Stephen the Orpelian, Nephergherd; while it was called Maifkerkat by the Syrians. The Greeks called it Martyropolis, after its bishop, Marutha, who had assembled there the relics of many martyrs he had found in Persia, Armenia, and Syria, and had fortified it. It filled a very important *rôle* in the wars of the Romans and Sassanians, and in early Muhammedan times, and was the capital of the province of Diarbekr. Quatremere has a very valuable note on the town.* At this time it was ruled by the Ayubit prince, Malik el Kamil Nasir ud din Muhammed, the son of Muzaffar Shihab ud din Gazi, who was the son of El Adil Abubekr, son of Ayub, who gave his name to the dynasty. Kamil had succeeded his father in 642 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1244). When the Mongols under Charmaghan and Baichu were harassing the west, we are told that Kamil determined to visit Mangu Khan, by whom he was presented with an honorary dress. This was because he had refused to drink kumiz at a feast, urging that it was forbidden by his religion, and he therefore would not act contrary to his faith. When Khulagu set out westward Kamil accompanied him to Irak. When he advanced to Baghdad he ordered him to furnish 7,000 horse and 20,000 foot for the campaign. Kamil pleaded that he could not furnish more than about 2,000 horse and 5,000 of 6,000 foot. Khulagu was annoyed at this, and told the Vizier he must be put to death. He was then apparently at the Mongol Court, and the Vizier, who was friendly to him, informed him of

* Op. cit., 360-365. Note. See also Ilkhans, i. 186-187.

Khulagu's resentment. He therefore made an excuse that he wanted to go on a hunting excursion. He set out with eighty followers, and hastened away to his own country, which he reached in seven days. There he gave orders to put to death the various shahnahs who had been placed in the towns he ruled over during the control of western affairs by Charmaghan and Baichu. These shahnahs were executed, we are told, by having five spikes driven into them—one into their foreheads, and four others into their feet and hands. Abulfaraj says that Kamil also put to death a Syrian priest from Badlis, who had been sent to him by the Khakan with a yarligh or diploma. When Khulagu heard of his flight he sent in pursuit, but in vain. Kamil now asked Nasir, the Prince of Damascus, to make common cause with him against the Mongols, to aid the Khalif, and to prevent the invaders entering Syria, but he was put off with empty promises. He set out for Baghdad himself, but heard *en route* of its fall. He accordingly returned home, put his strong places in order, and warned the nomads who lived in his land to seek shelter in places of strength, and himself took up his quarters at Mayafarkin.*

After the capture of Baghdad, Khulagu ordered his son Yashmut to march upon Mayafarkin. He was accompanied by the Amirs Ilka Noyan and Suntai. Stephen, the Orpelian, says they were also joined by the Armenian princes, Avak, Shahan Shah, and Elikum, the last of whom fell ill there, and was eventually poisoned, it was said, by a doctor at the instigation of Avak.† The Malik Kamil having been in due course summoned, sententiously replied that it was useless for the Mongol chief to hammer cold iron, that he had no faith in his promises, and was not to be taken in by his smooth phrases. He did not fear the Mongol army, and should fight, sword in hand, as long as he lived. He charged Yashmut with being the son of one who had broken his promise to the Khurshah, the Khalif, and others, and said he did not mean to court their fate by imitating their ingenuousness. Having dispatched these brave words, he busied himself with putting the place in defence. Addressing the citizens, he said: "You shall have the gold and silver in the treasury and the corn in the granary. It shall all be distributed among those who have need. Thanks be to God, I am not like Mostassim, a worshipper of gold and silver." His spirit animated that of his people. They made several successful sorties, in which two famous champions, named Saif ud din Arkali, or Lukbili, and Kamr i Habash or Anbare Habashi, killed many Mongols and greatly distinguished themselves. *Inter alios*, they killed a Georgian hero, called Aznawari, who fought on the side of the Mongols. A famous and large piece of siege artillery inside the city was also admirably worked, and the Mongol amirs began to despair. At length Bedr ud din Lulu, Prince of Mosul, ordered a famous engineer in the besiegers' army to build a great

* Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1262-1268. Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 553; Chron. Arab., 345.
† Hist. de la Siounie, 228.

catapult to oppose to that inside, and we are told that both machines being discharged at the same moment the stones cast by either met in mid-air, and were broken to pieces. All were astonished at the skill of the engineers, but presently the machine outside was set on fire with naphtha. As the siege was very protracted, Khulagu sent Arkatu with a division of troops to help his people, and ordered that the attack should not be relaxed till the money and food began to run short. Arkatu or Oroktu* went with this view, but when he reached the camp the two champions from the garrison, who had already performed prodigies of valour, again made a sortie, and created some confusion. Arkatu, who happened to be drunk, ordered the attack to be pressed, but the sortie was more or less successful: the two heroes killed a number of the enemy, and, we are told, the Mongol general, Ilka Noyan, was himself unhorsed. Every day the two warriors, who were doubtless protected by heavy armour, made their attack. Thus a year passed by. Food began at length to run short, and live provisions came to an end; the people began to live on carrion; dogs, cats, and rats, and even human flesh were put under requisition. Guiragos says a pound of human flesh sold for 78 dahekans. Like fish, says Rashid ud din, they devoured one another. The two champions having no barley or straw left, killed their horses and ate them. Malakia says an ass's head was sold for thirty pieces of silver. Vartan says they first ate various animals, pure and impure, then the poor, then their own children, and lastly each other. The dean and chief of the clergy, in his terrible hunger and rage, ate some of the flesh of his relatives. "He wrote the confession," says our author, "on a slip of paper, hoping that it would fall under my eyes, and that he would obtain pardon from the merciful Being who created us. Then giving himself up to lamentation and grief, he took it so to heart that he died. We have seen, as he hoped we would, his written confession, and we have confidence that he will obtain grace from Him who is goodness itself. All of you into whose hands this book may come, implore God with all your hearts, saying Amen for him and for the vartabed Thomas, the transcriber."† To revert to the siege, treachery presently began to appear. A letter was written to the Mongols describing the condition of things, and urging an immediate attack. We are told by Rashid that, having entered, they found the place almost full of corpses piled on one another; but seventy remained alive. Malik Kamil and his brother were both captured, and the place was given up to pillage. The two champions we have named meanwhile climbed to the roof of a house and shot with their arrows those who came near. Arkatu ordered a number of brave men to dislodge them. They now came down, and holding their bucklers in front of them, fought desperately until both were killed.

* He is called Jagatai by Guiragos, who says he was accompanied by Prince Hasan, surnamed Prhosh. Op. cit., ed. Brosset, 188.

† Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 292-293.

Kamil himself was taken to Telbashir, the Turbeysel of the Crusaders, not far from Aleppo, and on the other side of the Euphrates, and brought before Khulagu, who had reached that town on his return from Syria, and who reproached him bitterly, and recalled the various favours he had received at the hands of the Khakan. He was then cut into small pieces, which they thrust into his mouth till he died. Rashid says he was a pious and austere man, who, although a prince, followed for humility the craft of a tailor.* The head of the hero, for he surely deserved the name, was paraded round the Syrian towns of Aleppo, Hamath, and Damascus, with music and singing, and hung out at last from one of the windows of the gate known as the Gate of Paradise at Damascus. On the victorious entry of Kuttuz into that city (*vide infra*), it was buried in the tomb of the martyr Hussein. His memory was celebrated in some stirring verses by the poet Sheikh Shihab ud din Ibn Abu Shamah, in which he apostrophised the two heads which met together thus gloriously in one tomb.† Of the mameluks who were captured with Kamil, seven were put to death, while the eighth, who had been Master of the Hunt, was taken into his service by Khulagu.‡ Vartan has a curiously worded paragraph about the siege, showing what curious alliances the religious animosities of the time brought about. He says "there perished there a fine young man, Sevata of Khachen, son of the Grand Prince Gregory. After prodigies of valour, he won an immortal crown, always faithful to God and the Ilkhan. He will be associated in the triumph with those who have shed their blood for Christ, and who have preserved their faith and the fear of our Saviour. Amen."§ On the sack of the town, the churches as usual were spared, as well as the innumerable relics which the holy Marutha had collected there. We are told that the Christians who fought in alliance with the Tartars had let them know the veneration in which these relics were held, and recounted to them the numerous apparitions of the saints which had shown themselves on the ramparts with luminous bodies.

Minhaj i Saraj, who was then writing in India, reports similar stories. He says that while the siege progressed several horsemen, clothed in white and wearing turbans, used to sally out and attack the enemy. "They used to dispatch about a hundred or two hundred infidels to hell, while no arrow, sword, or lance of the infidels used to injure them, until about 10,000 Mongols had been destroyed by them." Khulagu sent Ilka Noyan to complain to his son that while he himself had captured Baghdad in less than a week, he had not been able to capture the small fortress after such a prolonged attack. Yashmut replied that his father had taken Baghdad by treachery, while he had to fight hard, and that it

* Quatremere, 361-375. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1270-1274.
† Abulfeda, iv. 589-591. Ilkhans, i. 188-189. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 357.
§ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 294.

was not fair to compare the place with Baghdad. Khulagu, we are told, was much displeased at the answer, and sent him word to keep out of his sight or he would kill him, and swore he would take Mayafarkin in three days. He hastened there. The attacks of the supernatural champions continued, and many Mongols continued to be killed, whereupon Khulagu remarked that the fortress belonged evidently to the Tengri (*i.e.*, to heaven, or to the gods), and he would spare it, but he asked the citizens to tell him who the white-robed champions were. They swore they knew not any more than himself. He thereupon offered a propitiatory offering of 1,000 horses, 1,000 camels, 1,000 cattle, and 1,000 sheep, but the citizens would not accept his offer. He thereupon raised the siege, leaving behind the offering he had made, and went towards a verdant plain called the Sahra i Mush (*i.e.*, the rats' plain, which is marked on the maps, according to Raverty, on the eastern branch of the Euphrates, fifty miles west of Lake Van). There was soft mud and stagnant water, and he sank in it.* This story doubtless grew out of the exploits of the champions already named, and out of the prolonged resistance offered by the place, and is interesting only as showing the kind of tales that found their way to India about the Mongol doings. The same author reports that the son of Bedr ud din Lulu, of Mosul, who was with Yashmut, saw in a dream, several times, Muhammed appear on the ramparts of Mayafarkin and draw the hem of his garment about the fortress, declaring it was under the protection of God and of himself, and that eventually he became so frightened that he left the Mongol camp and went to his father, who reproached him for the danger and trouble he would bring upon his kingdom. "I cannot war with Muhammed, the Apostle of God, the Almighty bless him and guard him," was the reply. And he wrote out an account of what he had seen, and departed.†

Mayafarkin fell in the early spring of 1260. Malakia tells us how some of the Christians were enriched by the capture. Thus, we are told, the Armenian Grand Prince Thaghiatin, who was one of the Bagratid princes of Loré, secured the cross of St. Bartholomew, which a Syrian prince was carrying off, and which he was afterwards obliged to cede to the Grand Prince Sadun the Ardzrunian, who deposited it in the monastery of Haghpat, which belonged to him, and with it the right arm of St. Bartholomew.‡ The Mongols nominated one of Kamil's amirs, named Abdulla, to govern the city.§ At the same time as the capture of Mayafarkin the country of Sanasun, or Sasun, a mountainous district in the province of Aghetznik, north of Armenian Mesopotamia, south-east of Mayafarkin, also submitted. This was through the influence of Prince Sadun, son of Sherparok and grandson of Sadun, a strong and brave

* Op. cit., 1271-1275. † Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1279-1280. ‡ Op. cit., 454.
§ Abulfaraj, Chron. Arab., 349.

warrior, who was a Christian, and had gained the goodwill of Khulagu by his skill as a wrestler. The district of Sasun was made over to him.*

About the same time that Kamil, Prince of Mayafarkin, came to his end, there also perished his cousin, Mowahid, son of Turan Shah, the last Ayubit Sultan of Egypt, who ruled over the strong fort of Hosnkeif (the castle of Kiphas of the Byzantines), which derived its name from the Syrian word kifo, a rock.† According to the Arab legends the name was derived from a certain brave man named Hasan, who, confined there as a prisoner, asked the Amir's permission one day to exercise one of his mares in the castle garth. He galloped round and round, and eventually leaped desperately over the wall into the Tigris below, over which he safely swam. The name of the place, it was said, was derived from the exclamations of the bystanders, "Hasan Keifa." (Go on, Hasan.)‡ The geographer Seif ud daulah ibn Hamdan speaks of it as very strong, and protected by defiles on all sides save the east. It was situated on the western bank of the Tigris, and opposite to it was a high bridge of stately architecture, re-erected in 510 HEJ. It contained beautiful streets, shops and houses, markets and baths, all built of stone and with lime ; but its climate, especially in summer, was unhealthy. The author of the "Nozhat alkolub" tells us "that the town, although largely ruined, had a customs receipt of 82,000 pieces of gold." The Portuguese traveller Teixeiro calls it Arcengifa; Josaphat Barbaro, Hassan Chifh. He mentions the caverns cut in the mountain close by, which are also named by the modern traveller, Kinneird. A merchant, who travelled in Persia in the sixteenth century, and whose voyage was published by Ramusio, calls it Asanchif. He places it four days' journey from Mardin, and mentions a magnificent bridge of five arches over the Tigris, no doubt the one above-named.§ Before it was fortified by the Ayubit Amir Merd Mahmar, it was called Rasol Ghul (*i.e.*, the Demon's Head) by the Arabs, probably from the position of its citadel. Hosnkeif was now captured by the Mongols, and its prince killed.‖

When Khulagu recrossed the Euphrates on his return from Syria, he sent to command the ruler of Mardin to go to him in person. This he refused. His son Mozaffer, who was at Khulagu's Court, was then specially commissioned to urge his father to go, and to point out to him the danger of obstinacy. The old man, instead of listening to him, put him in prison.¶ The town was built in terrace above terrace on the mountain called Izale, Judi, or Masius, the last name derived from its oak woods (from the Persian, *masu*). In Moslem tradition Noah's ark rested on its highest summit, and thence Noah and his sons went forth to repeople Mesopotamia. There Sunni and Shia,

* Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 188. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 495-496.
† Quatremere, 333. Note. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 189-190. § Quatremere, 333-334. Note.
‖ Ilkhans, 189-190. On p. 193, Von Hammer says that the Ayubits continued to rule there.
¶ Abulfaraj, Chron. Arab., 349. Chron. Syr., 557.

Catholic and Schismatic, Armenians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Chaldæans, and Jews, sun, fire, calf, and devil worshippers still live over each others' heads. The most numerous are the devil-worshipping Kurds, called Yesidi, perhaps descended, says Von Hammer, from the Mardi, who gave their name to the town.* Arkatu summoned the place, and bade Malik Said remember that if his head reached the sky it would, when trodden under by the Mongol army, be as dust, and that if he refused to listen the Eternal God knew what would happen. The old chief replied that it had been his intention to submit, but the fate of several of his friends who had done so deterred him, and that, thank God, the town was well provided with arms and provisions, and defended by a good garrison of Turks and Kurds.† Arkatu therefore planted his siege apparatus, and commenced a bombardment. For eight months the place held out bravely, while the Mongols plundered the neighbouring towns of Duniasar and Arzan. At length pestilence, preceded by famine, began to devastate the place, and Malik Said himself fell ill, and as he still refused to submit, his son Mozaffer gave him a bowl of poison and he died. Mozaffer now surrendered. Khulagu reproached him for the base crime, which he defended on the ground that his father's obstinacy was causing a terrible calamity to the town and its inhabitants. Khulagu pardoned him and gave him command of Mardin, where he ruled till the year 695 HEJ., and was succeeded by his son and grandson, the latter of whom was a favourite of Gazan Khan, who also made him governor of Diarbekr and Diar rabiah.‡ Thus the family of the Ortokids subsisted here as vassals of the Mongols, as the Ayubits did at Hosnkeif and Hims.§ Wassaf calls the Mongol commander who attacked the town Shamaghar. Soyuk Kotoghtai and Tenghur were the names of the envoys he sent to summon the place. He says Mozaffer had been imprisoned by his father, and adds that Said was submissive, but notwithstanding was put to death with his seven viziers, and Mozaffer having been put on the throne in his place, the three envoys above-named were appointed baskaks of the town.‖

Malik Ashraf Musa, the former Prince of Hims, or Emessa, had been deprived of that fief by Nasir, the Prince of Syria, and been given Tel bashir in exchange. On the fall of Aleppo he retired towards Egypt, but changing his mind determined to submit to Khulagu, who reinstated him at Hims, and presently appointed him Viceroy of Syria. Shortly after he received orders from his new master to dismantle the walls of Hims and of Hamath. He accordingly went to the latter town (whose prince, Malik Mansur, son of Mozaffer, had fled to Egypt with his family), destroyed the walls of the citadel, burnt the arsenal, and sold the library. He would also have destroyed the city walls but for the warning of Ibrahim, styled

* Ilkhans, i. 190. † Quatremere, 377. ‡ *Id.*, 377-379.
§ Ilkhans, 192-193. ‖ Op. cit., 91-92.

Ibn el Afrangia from the fact of his mother having been a Frank, who was in the Mongol service as a tax collector, and who reminded Khosru Shah, the Mongol prefect at Hamath, that the presence of the Crusaders at Hesn el Akrad (? Acre) made it imprudent to do so.* The activity he showed at Hamath covered an excusable lack of that quality at his own city of Hims, where he only very nominally carried out his master's orders. A few days after Ashraf was nominated Viceroy of Syria an outbreak took place at Damascus, in which the governor of the citadel was the leader. Kitubuka proceeded at once to attack it, amidst a terrible hurricane of rain and hail. The place held out obstinately for forty-five days, but was at length battered by twenty war engines, and the garrison sued for capitulation. The place was pillaged, and many of the towers, with the war machinery and arms of the garrison, were destroyed. The Mongols then marched upon Baalbek. Kitubuka's camp was in the beautiful valley of Ghuta, deemed by Orientalists one of the four paradises of the East.† D'Ohsson calls the place Merj Bargut.‡ There he received deputies from the Franks (*i.e.*, the Crusaders), who were accompanied by Dahir, the brother of Prince Nasir, who was confirmed in the possession of Sarkhad.

Nasir himself continued his retreat towards Egypt. He halted a few days at Nablus, the ancient Neapolis, and having left a garrison there under Mojir ud din ibn Abu Zakr and the Amir Ali ibn Shogga ud din, went on to Gaza, where he was joined by his brother Dahir, and by the Mamluks who had recently deserted him. A few days after he left Nablus the Mongols arrived there under Kushluk Khan, and the garrison having made a sortie were put to death with their two commanders.§ They continued their advance as far as Gaza, Beit-Jebrail, Khalil (Hebron), the lake of Zira, and the town of Salt, killing or making captive the people, and carrying off a great booty. They then returned to Damascus.‖ Malakia says Jerusalem also fell into their hands, but he somewhat mars the credibility of this statement by telling us that Khulagu went there in person, and having entered the Church of the Resurrection, prostrated himself before the tomb.¶ Nasir meanwhile arrived at Katia. The Egyptian Sultan, Kuttuz, was not well pleased that an Ayubit prince with such prestige as Nasir should come so near Egypt. He had, it appears, some reason for suspecting that he had some designs on that goal of many fugitives,** and when he reached Katia he went with his troops and encamped at Salahiyet, where Nasir was deserted by his Kurdish and Turkoman followers. Some of them ranged themselves under the banners of Kuttuz. Others went to Belbeis, and there only remained with him his brother Dahir, the Malik Salih Nur ud

* Abulfeda, iv. 587. † Ilkhans, i. 196. ‡ Op. cit., iii. 329.
§ Abulfeda, iv. 581. D'Ohsson, iii. 329-330. ‖ Makrizi, i. 98.
¶ Op. cit., 458. ** Weil, iv. 13.

din Ismael, son of the ruler of Hims, and three amirs of the tribe Kaimeris. The deserters had been seduced by offers of rewards, &c., but they were not well treated. The Amir Jemal ud din Musa ibn Yagmur was imprisoned, while Nasir's pages and secretaries were plundered.* Nasir himself, not daring to advance further towards Egypt, crossed the desert to Shubek, being robbed of his baggage *en route*. Thence he went towards Karak, whose prince, like himself an Ayubit, sent him horses, tents, and clothes, and offered him an asylum either at Shubek or Karak. He did not accept this, but went on to Balka. His place of retreat was disclosed to Kitubuka by two Kurds in his service.† He was captured on Lake Ziza, and taken before Kitubuka, who was then engaged in besieging Ajalon. He bade him order the governor of the fortress to surrender, which it did after some resistance, and its walls, which had been built by Iz ud din, an amir of Saladin's, were razed.‡ The Mongols had a short time before secured the possession of Baalbek, which they ruined, as well as its citadel. Malik es Said, son of Azis, son of Aadil, son of Ayub, the ruler of Subaiba, or Sabib, and Banias, who had been incarcerated at Biret for nine years and been released by the Mongols, was invested with that district. He supplied his patrons with suggestions for punishing the Mussulmans.§ Nasir, with his brother Dahir, and the Malik Salih above named, were sent on to Khulagu at Tebriz. The Sultan of Karak also sent his infant son Azis with them. They passed through Damascus, Hamath, and Aleppo. When he saw the ruins of the last of these towns, Nasir wept. Khulagu treated him well, and promised to restore Syria to him when he had conquered Egypt.‖

The Mongols were disposed to be friendly towards the Crusaders of Sidon and Beaufort, who were the enemies of their enemies, the Mussulmans; but the Christians brought vengeance upon themselves by plundering some of them, and then killing a nephew of Kitubuka, whom he had sent to get the plunder restored. He revenged himself by harrying Sidon, and destroying a portion of its walls. This *contretemps* impaired the confidence which previously existed between the Mongols and Christians, and which was due to Dokuz Khatun's influence, and to the friendship which existed between Khulagu and Haithon, the King of Little Armenia. The latter, however, obtained for his son-in-law, the Prince of Antioch, the restitution of all the places of which the Moslems had deprived him.¶ The successes of the Mongols in Syria were not altogether reassuring to the Christians. We are told how the people of Acre cut down all the gardens about their town, while urgent letters were written to the Sovereigns of Western Europe to come to the rescue. A rumour spread that Antioch and Tripolis had been taken by the Tartars, and an envoy

* Makrizi, i. 100. † Makrizi says he was betrayed by the halbardier, Hosain Kurdi.
‡ Abulfeda, iv. 591. D'Ohsson, iii. 330-331. § Abulfeda, *id.* Makrizi, i. 88.
‖ Abulfeda, 591-593. D'Ohsson, iii. 330-332. Ilkhans, i. 195-197. Quatremere's Rashid 341.
¶ Ilkhans, i. 197-198.

reached England, where a council was held, and prayers and fasting enjoined. St. Louis held a similar council at Paris, where a like discipline was enjoined, and orders given that no games were to be played except archery and shooting with the cross-bow. The next year (1261) the Pope tried to arouse the Christians to make some opposition to the Tartars, both in Persia and Hungary.* Egypt, which had been a refuge and retreat for the various victims of the Mongols, now found itself threatened, and the greater part of the Africans (we are told) who lived there withdrew. Khulagu, according to Rashid ud dir, as he was leaving Syria sent an envoy named Ilchi Mogul with forty subordinates to summon the Egyptian ruler to submit.†

Makrizi has preserved a copy of this minatory message, which is couched in the usually arrogant language of the Mongols. It was addressed from the King of Kings of the East and West, the Supreme Khan, to Malik Mozaffer Kuttuz, of the race of the Mamluks, who had fled to escape their sword. It bade him and his people remember that the Mongols were the soldiers of God on earth, who had created them in his anger and delivered into their hands all the objects of his wrath. It bade him take warning from what had occurred in other countries, and not to oppose them, but to submit before the veil was torn, for they were insensible to tears or entreaties. "You have heard," says the letter, "how we have conquered a vast empire, how we have purified the earth of the disorders which tainted it, and have slaughtered the greater part of its inhabitants. It is for you to fly and for us to pursue, and whither will you fly, and by what road shall you escape us? Our horses are very swift, our arrows sharp, our swords like thunderbolts, our hearts are hard as the mountains, our soldiers numerous as the sand. Fortresses will not detain us, nor arms stop us. Your prayers to heaven against us will not avail. You enrich yourself by vile means and break the most solemn promises. Revolt and disobedience are in your midst. And you are about to receive a terrible punishment for your pride. Those who have been unjust are going to learn their fate. Those who dare to make war upon us are about to repent. Those who seek our protection will alone be safe. If you will submit to our orders and the conditions we impose you shall share our fortune. If you resist you will perish. Do not commit suicide. He who has been warned ought to be on his guard. You are persuaded we are infidels while we look upon you as criminals, and God, whose orders are irrevocable and whose decrees are perfectly just, has caused us to triumph over you. Your strongest forces are in our eyes mere small bands of men, and your most distinguished people we contemn. Your kings we despise. Do not delay long. Hasten to reply to us before war lights its fires and throws their sparks upon you, or you will find no refuge from the terrible

* Remusat, Mems. Ins., vi. 467. † Quatremere, 341.

catastrophe that will overwhelm you, and you will make a desert of your country. We mean well by our warning. It is to arouse you from your slumber. At present you are the only enemy against whom we have to march. May safety be with us and you and all those who follow the divine commands, who fear the issue of death and submit to the orders of the Supreme King. Say to Egypt: 'Holaun is about to come, escorted by naked swords and sharp blades. He is going to humiliate the great ones of this land, and will send the children to join the old.'"* According to Novairi it was Kitubuka who sent the message.†

When the envoy arrived with this insolent letter Kuttuz summoned a council of his officers. He told them how Khulagu had been everywhere successful and was already master of Damascus, and asked them to consider whether they should resist or obey him. Thereupon Nasir ud din Kaimeri, one of the six Khuarezmian leaders who had abandoned Nasir, spoke out, and said that in the presence of such a power it would be no disgrace to give in, but they must remember how faithless Khulagu was, and he recounted the names of the various princes who had trusted him and been undone. Kuttuz then replied that all the country from Baghdad to Rum was laid waste; that unless they took time by the forelock and attacked the Mongols, that Egypt would share the same fate. There were only three courses open to them—to submit, to fight, or to abandon their country, and the last was impracticable, for "the Maghreb," (*i.e.*, North-Western Africa), their only resource, was too far off; while peace with those who never kept treaties was also undesirable. Some amirs urged that they had not resources with which to oppose the enemy, but asked him to do as he pleased. Kuttuz then summed up his resolve. "I am of opinion," he said, "that we should march together to the combat. If we win, we shall gain our end; if we lose, men cannot reproach us." The same night the Mongol envoy and three of his companions were executed; one in the horse-market, at the foot of the famous Castle of the Mountain; the second outside the gate of Zavila; the third beyond that of Nasr; and the fourth in the place called Ridania. Their heads were hung at the gate of Zavila, and, we are told grimly, were the first Tartar heads which were suspended in that place. Only one of the envoys, who was a young man, was spared, and was enlisted among the Mamluks. The next morning the Egyptian army set out.‡ To pay the expenses of the expedition, Kuttuz had recourse to sources of revenue forbidden by Muhammedanism. He levied an income and a capitation tax, but these only produced 600,000 dinars. He confiscated the property of all the adherents of Nasir, who had abandoned the latter to join him (assuredly a curious kind of gratitude). The wife of Nasir was obliged to produce her jewels, of which a portion were taken. The

* Makrizi, 101-102. † D'Ohsson, iii. 333. Note.
‡ Makrizi, 102-103. Ilkhans, i. 202-203. Quatremere, 345-347. D'Ohsson, iii. 335.

wives of other amirs had to make similar sacrifices, and some of them were badly treated, and even put to death. Kuttuz set out from his fortress, called the fortress of the mountain, on the 26th of July, 1260. His army of 120,000 men consisted (independently of the Egyptian troops) of the Syrians who had joined him, of Arabs and Turkomans, and of the *débris* of the Khuarezm Shah's troops who had sought shelter in Syria and Egypt. A general levy for the defence of Islam was made, and those who hid away were bastinadoed. A summons was sent to Ashraf, Prince of Hims, Khulagu's deputy in Syria, and to Said, Prince of Sabib, to ask them to aid him in the enterprise. Said illused the envoy, and received him with insulting phrases. The messenger then went on to Ashraf, who gave him a private audience, and then prostrated himself before him, offered him a seat, and told him to do obeisance in his name to his master, to tell him that he was at his service, that he thanked God that He had raised him to aid their common faith, and to go on and fight the Tartars, for the victory would be his.*

At Salahiyet Kuttuz held a council of war. Most of his generals were for halting there. "Oh, chiefs of the Mussulmans," he said, "you who have lived for so long out of the public purse, do you now shrink from a holy war? I mean to advance. Those can follow who please, while those who remain behind, God will not forget them; on their heads rest the dishonour of the Mussulman women." He then took an oath from the generals he knew to be faithful, to follow him to the war, and the next day the cymbals sounded the advance, and none presumed to stay behind. The advance guard was commanded by the Mamluk Rokn ud din Bibars Bondukdari, a dependent of Nasir's.† Baidar, who commanded at Gaza for the Mongols, informed Kitubuka, who was at Baalbek, of the advance of the Egyptians. He was ordered to stand firm, but was beaten before Kitubuka could arrive, and pursued to the River Asi. Gaza was occupied by Bibars. The army rested there awhile, and Kuttuz received a deputation from the Knights of St. John, offering him a contingent of troops and also presents. He distributed robes of honour among them, and made them promise that the people of Akka, or Acre, would remain neutral.‡ When he approached the enemy, Kuttuz roused the enthusiasm of his troops by appeals to their faith and patriotism, calling upon them to rescue Syria, and to deal a great blow for the faith. His officers shed tears, and promised to use every effort to drive out the hated Tartars. Bibars having gone on ahead with a body of troops, was the first to encounter the Mongols, and began a skirmish with them. This was at Ain-i-Jalut (*i.e.*, the Springs of Goliath), between Nablus and Baissan. Kitubuka and Baidar, on hearing of the march of the Egyptians, had brought together all the Mongol forces in Syria, and

* D'Ohsson, iii. 335-336. † Makrizi, 103. D'Ohsson, iii. 336-337.
‡ Makrizi, 103-104. Quatremere's Rashid, 347.

had marched against them. The two armies were in presence of one another on the 3rd of September, 1260. Makrizi tells us the Egyptians went into the battle with little confidence ; that it was sunrise, and that the cries of the labourers in the villages were mingled with the martial sound of drums.* The Mongols poured in a shower of weapons, and one wing of the Egyptian army gave way.† Thereupon Kuttuz pulled off his helmet and threw it to the ground, shouting out, "O, Islam!" and threw himself, with those about him, upon the enemy, who were in turn broken.‡ Rashid says that Kuttuz had planted a section of his men in ambush, and that when his main army was beaten, and was being hotly pursued and losing many men, those in ambush sprang out and restored the battle, which lasted till mid-day, when the Mongols broke and fled.§

Wassaf has an improbable story, in which he makes out that the Mongols were taken by surprise in their camp by the Egyptians, who displayed white standards, such as were used by themselves,‖ and dressed themselves in white overcoats called burkas, such as are still used and so called by the Circassians, and which, he says, were also used by themselves.¶ The Egyptian historians and Haithon declare that Kitubuka was killed in the battle, and Makrizi adds that Malik Said, who fought in the Mongol ranks, also perished.** Rashid, who was naturally a flatterer of the Mongols, reports matters differently. He tells us that during the fight Kitubuka fought desperately. He refused to surrender. "Go and tell Khulagu I refused to retreat disgracefully, and sacrificed my life in consequence. As for the rest, the loss of a Mongol army ought not to distress the King. What does it signify? If the wives of his soldiers or the horses in his stables have young ones during one season, it will replace this loss. The monarch himself is safe, and this is a sufficient balance to all the rest. The life or death of us his slaves matters nothing." Although abandoned he fought on alone desperately. At length, his horse having fallen, he was captured. His hands were tied, and he was led before Kuttuz, who jeered at him, saying, "Perfidious man, after having shed so much innocent blood, after having undone a host of warriors by your vile double-dealing, and overturned so many ancient houses with your lies, you have at last fallen into a trap yourself." Kitubuka, like a true Mongol to whom fear of death was unknown, replied with dignity, "Do not be too much elated with your momentary victory. If I perish it is by the hand of God, and not by yours. As soon as the news of my death shall reach the ears of Khulagu Khan, his wrath will boil over like an angry sea. From Azerbaijan to the gates of Egypt the whole land shall be trodden under by the hoofs of Mongol horses, and our soldiers will carry off in the sacks of their horses the sands of Egypt. Khulagu Khan has among his followers 300,000 warriors equal to Kitubuka.

* Op. cit., 104. † Quatremere, 349. ‡ Makrizi, 104-105. § Quatremere, 349.
‖ Op. cit., 89. ¶ *Id.*, 89-90. ** Op. cit., 105.

My death will only make them one less." Kuttuz replied, "Do not boast of the valour of the horsemen of Turan, for they only succeed by treachery and chicane. None of them have the courage of Rustem, son of Destan." Kitubuka answered again, "From my birth I have been the slave of the King. I am not like you, a traitor and murderer of my master. Make haste and put an end to me that I may no longer hear your reproaches." Kuttuz then ordered him to be decapitated.* Abulfeda makes Kitubuka be killed in the fight, and his son be made prisoner.

Makrizi tells us how, during the battle, the young envoy of the Mongols who had been enlisted among the Mamluks, put an arrow to his bow and aimed it at the Sultan, but before it was shot he was cut down: others reported that the arrow in fact struck the horse of Kuttuz, and that he was dismounted.† The Mongols were sharply pursued, and many were killed and others captured; one body of them took refuge in a thicket of reeds, which Kuttuz ordered to be fired, and they perished. The main body was pursued as far as Baisan, where they turned round, and a second fierce struggle followed, more animated than the previous one, during which the Sultan is reported to have cried out three times: "O, Islam, O God protect thy servant Kuttuz, and make him triumph over the Tartars." The Mongols were again defeated, whereupon Kuttuz dismounted, laid his head in the dust, and offered a prayer of thanksgiving, accompanied by two rikahs.‡ The Mongols were everywhere driven out of Syria, and as far as the Euphrates. The camp of Kitubuka was pillaged. His wife, children, and dependents were captured. The various deputies and governors, except those at Damascus, were put to death.§ Zain Hafidi and the other authorities at the latter town fled hastily when they heard the news, and thus escaped slaughter, but their goods were pillaged by the villagers. The Mongols had been at Damascus altogether seven months and ten days. Kitubuka's head was sent to Cairo.‖

In reference to this campaign, Malakia tells us that "Kitubuka had the presumption to advance ten days' journey beyond Jerusalem, but the doglike and impure Egyptians, knowing that the Tartar troops were not on their guard, marched against and massacred many of them, making some prisoners, and causing others to fly." They recaptured Jerusalem, Aleppo, and Damascus, and were aided by the Frankish knights, who, he says, had not as yet allied themselves with the Tartars.¶

The victory of the Egyptians was a turning point in the world's history. It was the first time for a long while that the Mongols had been fairly beaten, and although the defeat was probably largely due to the smallness of their numbers, Kitubuka having apparently only 10,000 men with him, it was none the less decisive. It stopped the tide of Mongol aggression and probably saved Egypt, and in saving Egypt

* Quatremere, 349-353. † Op. cit., 105. ‡ Makrizi, 106.
§ Quatremere, 353. ‖ Makrizi, i. 106. ¶ Op. cit., 458.

saved the last refuge where the arts and culture of the Mussulman world had taken shelter; where, under the famous Mamluk dynasties, and under the new line of Khalifs, it blossomed over in wonderful luxuriance, and not only made Cairo the cynosure of eastern cities, but was eventually the means of distributing culture to the Golden Horde, and very largely also to the Empire of the Ilkhans itself.

The march of the Egyptian army had greatly elated the citizens of Damascus, and the Mongols, who had imprisoned the Naib and Vali of the town, apparently for encouraging this feeling, had then hanged them. The Christians had during the domination of Kitubuka, who was himself a Kerait and a Christian, behaved themselves with great arrogance towards the Moslems, and had openly beaten in the streets the wooden clappers, called nakus, used instead of bells for summoning people to church, and even taken wine into the great mosque. Their day of humiliation was now at hand, and the infuriated Mussulmans, on the victory at Ain-Julat becoming known, destroyed the church of the Jacobites, and also the famous great church dedicated to the Virgin. This was the church which the Khalif Omar II., Ibn Abd el Aziz, had surrendered to the Christians to compensate them for the loss of that of St. John, which on the capitulation of the city to Omar I., Ibn Khattab, had been made over in perpetuity to them, but had been taken from them again by Valid, the son of Abdul Malik, and converted into the Great Mosque, the masterpiece of Saracenic art.* The Mussulmans also put to death a great many Christians, and reduced the rest to slavery, and thus revenged themselves upon those who had lately pulled down the mosques and minarets near their own churches, and otherwise aggrieved them. The Jews were the next victims, and their houses, shops, and synagogues were plundered or destroyed. Lastly came the turn of those Mussulmans who had supported the invaders. Among others was Hussain, the Kurd, who had betrayed his master, the Prince Nasir. Thirty of the Christians were put to death, and a contribution of 150,000 drachmas was levied on their community. Makrizi, who was a Mussulman, says the town offered a terrible spectacle.†

It was not only the Christians who suffered severely by the Egyptian victory. The Ayubit princes of Syria also had cause to regret it. We have seen how Said, the son of Azis and grandson of Malik el Aadil, who had been granted a fief at Sabib and Banias by Khulagu, received the overtures of Kuttuz for an alliance, with contumely. On the defeat of the Mongols he surrendered himself, and offered to kiss the hand of Kuttuz. The latter, however, struck him in the mouth with his foot, and thereupon one of the Egyptians decapitated him.‡ A similar fate overtook Nasir, the Prince of Aleppo. He had taken refuge, as we saw, with the Mongols,

* Abulfeda, iv. 595. Ilkhans, i. 207. † Makrizi, 107. D'Ohsson, iii. 342-343.
‡ Novairi, in D'Ohsson, iii. 340-341.

and had gained the good opinion of Khulagu, who had restored him to the government of Damascus, and had dispatched him thither with 300 horsemen, the very evening when he heard of Kitubuka's defeat. A Syrian who was present suggested that Nasir only wished to join Kuttuz, who owed his victory to his machinations, whereupon a party of horsemen was dispatched in pursuit.* Bar Hebræus reports what followed, on the authority of one of Nasir's companions. He reported that while Nasir was sitting in his tent with himself, whom he had ordered to draw his horoscope, there arrived about noon a Mongol chief, with fifty followers. He spoke to Nasir, who had gone out to meet him, and told him that Khulagu was giving a grand feast that day, and had sent to ask him, with his brother, sons, and grandees to attend it. Thereupon he set out with twenty followers. Shortly after a body of twenty horsemen came up to the tent and summoned the rest of the party, except the servants, cooks, and herdsmen. They mounted accordingly, and rode on to a deep valley where the Mongol chiefs were assembled. The latter approached them and took them severally into custody. The individual who reported the matter to Abulfaraj, and whom he calls Mohar ud din, is called Mej ud din by Rashid, who says he came from Maghreb, or Africa. He let them know that he was an astrologer, and could interpret the stars, whereupon they spared him. All the rest, including Nasir, except two of Nasir's sons, who were taken into his harem by Khulagu, were put to death.† Rashid ud din confirms this.‡ The astrologer was sent to join the staff at the observatory of Meragha. Makrizi reports that Khulagu, in addition to Syria, had invested his *protégé* with the government of Egypt, had loaded him with presents and honours, and given him a seat by himself. He says the party was overtaken in the mountains of Selmas, and that, besides Nasir, there perished his brother Malik Dahir Gazi, Malik Salih, son of Malik Ashraf, Lord of Hims, and many others. Malik Azis, a son of Nasir, who was very young, was spared on the intercession of Dokuz Khatun.§ This slaughter took place on the 29th of October, 1260.‖ Abulfeda reports that Nasir implored Khulagu to spare him, and was rebuked by his brother, Dahir, who bade him meet his fate, which was inevitable, in a manly fashion. Nasir, he adds, fell by Khulagu's hand, who shot him with an arrow.¶

He had been a very powerful prince. Not only had he ruled over all Syria, but also over a large portion of Mesopotamia, including Harran, Roha, Rakka, Ras Ain and later over Edessa, Damascus, Baalbek, Cæle-Syria, and Palestine, as far as Gaza. He lived very luxuriously, and 400 sheep were daily killed for his kitchens. His clemency was so great that the country was overrun with robbers, and men needed a military escort

* Quatremere, Rashid, 353-355.
† Abulfaraj, Chron. Arab., 350. Chron. Syr., 558-559. ‡ Quatremere, 355-359.
§ Makrizi, 108-109. ‖ Ilkhans, 208. Note 4. ¶ Op. cit., iv. 621.

in going from Damascus to Hamath ; while the Arabs and Turkomans in his service greatly plundered and illused the people, and the miscreants who were brought before him for punishment were lightly treated, his policy being, we are told, to preserve the living, and not to increase the dead. He was a poet, and Abulfeda has preserved some of his verses. He also built a school at Damascus, which was called after him, and prepared himself a grand tomb at Salahiyet, in which he was not buried himself, but it became the tomb of the Mongol amir Karmun.*

Meanwhile let us turn again to Kuttuz. Abulfeda tells us he had been accompanied from Egypt by Malik Mansur, the Prince of Hamath, and by the latter's brother, Malik el Afdal, who was Abulfeda's father. After his victory he proceeded to distribute fiefs among his followers. Malik Ashraf, Prince of Hims, who had conciliated the Mongols, and had also sent him a friendly message, was pardoned and restored to his principality, to which were added Palmyra and Rahbah. Mansur was re-appointed Prince of Hamath, and was also given Barin and Maarah, the latter of which the Prince of Aleppo had appropriated twenty-four years before. Salamiah was taken from him, however, and given to the Arab Amir Sherif ud din Isa ibn Mohanna. Mansur, with his brother Afdal, now returned to Hamath, and imprisoned some of those who had sided with the enemy, their advent being celebrated at Maarah in some verses by the Sheik Sherif ud din Sheik es Shoiush, who congratulated them on their victory.† Alem ud din Sanjar, of Aleppo, was appointed governor of Damascus, and the Prince of Sanjar, Mozaffer Alai ud din Ali (called Malik es Said by Abulfeda), son of Bedr ud din Lulu, Prince of Mosul, was made governor of the district of Aleppo. Shems ud din Albarli (Von Hammer says Berlas), a Turkish dependent of Nasir's who had abandoned him and joined Kuttuz in Egypt, and fought at Ain-Julat, was appointed governor of the Sahél and Gaza.‡ Hussain Kurdi, the tabardar who had betrayed Nasir, was strangled. Thirty Christians were put to death, and a fine of 150,000 dirhems was imposed on their co-religionists.

We have seen how the Prince of Karak, Moguith, sent his son Azis to Khulagu with his submission. He was then but six years old. Novairi tells us how he heard from his lips the adventures he went through. He was presented to Khulagu at Tebriz, and, although so young, was given a seat by the great conqueror. The Empress (*i.e.*, Dokuz Khatun) then spoke to him through an interpreter, asked him if his mother was still living, and whether he preferred to stay or to return to his parents. The boy answered that his mother was alive and with his father, and that as to his return it did not depend on himself, who had merely gone on behalf of his father to secure his safety, and that he was at her orders. On her

* Abulfeda, iv. 621-625. † *Id.*, 597-603. ‡ *Id.*, 597-603. Makrizi, i. 107-108.

intercession, Khulagu granted his prayer on behalf of his father, and he then knelt down and withdrew. He set off homewards with a Mongol who had been nominated Prefect of Karak. He was at Damascus when Kitubuka was defeated, was captured there by the Egyptians, and taken to Egypt, where he was detained for two years, when he was sent back to his father, with whom the Sultan formed an alliance. This did not prevent him from afterwards inviting him to Egypt under pretence of friendship, executing him on a charge of holding communications with the Mongols, and then appropriating the principality of Karak.* After his victory, Kuttuz entered Damascus in state. It had been in the Mongols' hands for seven months and ten days. He dispatched the Mamluk chief Bibars towards Hims in pursuit of the Mongols, of whom he killed a great many, and then rejoined his master. Rashid says the Mongol Noyan Ilka, with a number of his followers, found refuge in Rum.† Vartan says the fugitives went to Haithon, King of Little Armenia, who supplied them with horses, clothes, and victuals, and they then returned to their master, both Tartars and Christians pouring blessings on his head. "Thus was the name of Christ glorified in the person of the King, both by strangers and our own people."‡ From the Euphrates to the borders of Egypt Syria was now free from the Mongols, and Kuttuz turned his steps homewards to meet with a singular fate. He had been a traitor to his master, as Kitubuka charged him, but had assuredly done the Mussulman world such a service as might condone many crimes. The Mamluk, Bibars, who had fought so well in the late battle, having been refused the government of Aleppo, was much irritated, and formed a plot with some of his friends to murder the Sultan. The latter was hunting near Kosseir, a day's journey from Salahiyet, and had just returned to his tent when Bibars entered it and asked for the hand of a female captive who had been taken from the Tartars. The Sultan assented, whereupon Bibars kissed his hand and took the opportunity to fall upon him with his companions and kill him.§ This took place on the 25th of October, 1260. The body of Kuttuz was removed to Cairo.

Meanwhile Bibars, with the other conspirators, returned to the camp at Salahiyet, and entered the royal tent. They were about to proclaim their senior Bilban Rashidi as sultan, when the Atabeg Fars ud-din Ogotai, called Aktai Mostareb by Makrizi, who had been left in charge of Egypt, arrived and asked what they were doing. "We are about to proclaim Bilban." "What is the fashion among the Turks in such a case? That the murderer should succeed. Which is he?" They thereupon pointed out Bibars, whom he accordingly conducted to the throne. The latter said, "I sit here by the will of God; kneel down and swear

* D'Ohsson, iii. 351-352. † Quatremere, 359. ‡ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 294.
§ Makrizi, 110-113. D'Ohsson, iii. 345-346.

allegiance." "It is you," said Ogotai, "who must swear first that you will treat them loyally and as your equals, and will promote them."* After this grim comedy, Bibars set out for Cairo, which was *en fête*, preparing to welcome the victorious Kuttuz, and the people there were naturally startled to hear the criers in the streets shout out, "O people, pray for divine pity on the soul of the Sultan El Mozaffer (*i.e.*, Kuttuz), and pray for your Sultan, Ez Zahir Bibars.† Bibars (*i.e.*, the panther beg) was a Turk of the Kipchak tribe of Berlas, called Albarli by Abulfeda. He had been sold at Damascus for 800 drachmas. The purchaser, noticing that he had a white spot on his eye, repudiated the purchase. He was then bought by the Amir Idekin el Bundokdari, whence, after the custom of the Mamluks, he was styled Bibars al Bundokdari. His master having been disgraced in 1246, he entered the service of the Ayubit Sultan Salih, by whom he was successively promoted to several posts, and ended by becoming one of the chiefs of the Bahri Mamluks.‡ His full name was Rokn ud din Bibars, and he first took the title of Sultan Kahir (*i.e.*, the vanquisher), and afterwards that of Sultan Zahir (*i.e.*, the glorious). A curious legend was apparently current among the Armenians about the origin of Bibars, for Malakia tells us that when the Tartars captured Baghdad there were two slaves of the Egyptian Sultan there, named Phentukhtar (*i.e.*, Bondukdar) and Sghur. They managed to secure horses and escaped. They were pursued by the Tartars. The former, who was grown up, rode a miserable horse, while Sghur, who was younger, rode an excellent one. As they were being overtaken Sghur exchanged horses with his companion and bade him flee, saying that if captured, as he was young, the Tartars would not harm him, but reduce him to slavery, and that Phentukhtar could redeem him. Sghur was, in fact, captured, while his companion arrived safely in Egypt. The Sultan being then dead, they made Phentukhtar sultan in his place.§ Bibars was acknowledged by the several chiefs who obeyed Kuttuz, except Alem ud din Sanjar, the governor of Damascus, who set up authority on his own account, adopted the title of Malik Mujahid, and had his name inserted on the coin and in the khutbeh jointly with that of Bibars. Presently he went still further, had the *gashia* borne before him, and took the title of Sultan.‖

When the Mongol general Baidar heard of the assassination of Kuttuz he marched at the head of 6,000 troops, consisting of the *débris* of the army defeated at Ain Jalut, and some other troops from Mesopotamia, to try and restore his master's fortune. When he reached the fortress of El Biret, on the Euphrates, Prince Said, the governor of Aleppo, already

* Makrizi, i. 116. Shafi, in his Life of Bibars, quoted by D'Ohsson, iii. 345-346.
† D'Ohsson, iii. 347.
‡ Shafi's Life of Bibars, D'Ohsson, iii. 347-348. Another account is followed by Wolff, Geschichte der Mongolen, 403, and I have also followed it in an earlier page, ante ii. 115.
§ Op. cit., 459-460. ‖ Makrizi, i. 120-121.

named, sent a small body of troops under Sabuktigin against him, contrary to the advice of the Mamluk chiefs of Aleppo, who thought that a disaster was invited by sending such a small contingent. The Mongols were victorious, and Said's people had to seek shelter at El Biret.* This defeat exasperated the Mamluks, who were further estranged, according to Abulfeda, by the cruelties and ill-conduct of Said himself. They accordingly seized him, plundered him of all his money, and pillaged his tents, and after supplanting him by the chief amir, Husam ud din, they sent him in chains to Shogr and Baka. Husam ud din received a diploma from Bibars constituting him ruler of Aleppo; meanwhile the Mongols had marched upon that town, which they re-entered in November, 1260,† and he sought refuge with Malik Mansur at Hamath.‡ Thither the Mongols now marched, whereupon the prince withdrew towards Hims, and in conjunction with Malik Ashraf, ruler of that town, and his own brothers, Afdal and Mobarez ud din, set out at the head of 1,400 horsemen, who were joined by a large body of Arabs under the Amir Zamil ibn Ali, and attacked the Mongols near Restin on the 10th of December, 1260. Although the latter numbered 6,000, the confederates defeated and destroyed many of them—according to Ez Zehebi, with the loss of only one man, proving, if true, that the fight was a surprise and massacre rather than a battle. The heads of the slain were taken to Damascus.§ This victory was won on the 4th Muharrem, 659.

Baidar now retired by way of Famia, and was attacked and punished by the governor of the citadel. Damascus being relieved by this victory, Mansur, Prince of Hamath, and Ashraf, Prince of Hims, put up at their own palaces there. We have seen how Mujahid had usurped authority at Damascus. Makrizi tells us that Bibars dispatched Jemal ud din Muhammed with 100,000 pieces of money and an array of robes to gain over the principal people of Damascus. This he succeeded in doing, and they proclaimed Bibars as sultan, whereupon Mujahid with his supporters marched against him, but they were defeated, and Mujahid himself was wounded and sought refuge in the citadel. Meanwhile an army marched towards Damascus under the Amir Idekin Bundokdari, Bibar's former master, and now his major domo, and who had been nominated Governor of Egypt by the Sultan, and Mujahid fled towards Baalbek. He was pursued and captured, and sent to Egypt, where he was confined for a while, and eventually released.‖ All Syria was now completely subject to Bibars, who proceeded to rebuild the various fortresses there which had been ruined by the Mongols—viz., the citadels of Damascus, Salt, Ajelun, Sarkhad, Bosra, Baalbek, Shaizer, Subaibah, or Sabib, Shemaimis, and Hims. Their towers were restored and their ditches cleared, and they

* Abulfeda, iv. 609-611.
† Makrizi, i. 121-122. Abulfeda, iv. 611. D'Ohsson, iii. 359.
‡ Abulfeda, iv. 613.
§ Makrizi, i. 132-133. Abulfeda, iv. 613. D'Ohsson, iii. 360. Note.
‖ Makrizi, i. 138-139. Abulfeda, iv. 615.

were supplied with garrisons and provisions, and *inter alia* there was built near Ain Julat, as a memento of the recent fight, a monument named "The Meshed of Victory."*

Let us return to Baidar and his Mongols. After their defeat they withdrew by way of Famia to Aleppo. According to Abulfaraj, in his "Syrian Chronicle," their leader was called Khukhalaga Noyan, and in his Arabic one Gugalki, both being probably corruptions of Kuka Ilka. A crowd of fugitives from the country round had collected at Aleppo. The Mongols ordered the people to leave the place, and that those of each district and village should collect apart. They assembled, according to Abulfeda, at a place called Makar al Anbiia (*i.e.*, the seat of the prophets, which was corrupted into Karnabia). D'Ohsson says at Babili. The country people who had sought refuge in Aleppo were mercilessly slaughtered, on the plea that they had not trusted the Mongols, and among them many Aleppins who had joined them, including some of Nasir's relatives. The Aleppins themselves who had not fled were spared. The invaders now withdrew towards the Euphrates. The town was given up to various excesses, and the ill-fortune of the citizens was completed by the arrival of an Egyptian army, which levied a contribution of 1,600,000 drachmas.†

We must now devote a few words to a very important event, viz., the revival of the Khalifate. On the capture of Baghdad, Abul Kassim Ahmed, son of the Khalif Dahir Abu Nasir Muhammed, and uncle of Mostassim, who was killed by Khulagu, fled, escorted by some Arabs. After living for some years among the Arabs of Irak he determined to go to Egypt, to the Court of Bibars. The latter gave orders that he was to be received *en route* with the honours due to a relation of the Prophet, and he himself went out to meet him, accompanied by the grandees and the principal people of Cairo and Fostat. The Jews bearing the Pentateuch, and the Christians the Gospels, also went out to greet him, a piece of timely diplomacy. Ahmed entered Cairo on the 19th of June, 1261, dressed in the costume of the Abbasides, and rode through the streets, accompanied by Bibars, to the Castle of the Mountain, where splendid apartments were prepared for him, and where the Sultan sat beside him without any symbols of his dignity—neither throne, nor dais, nor cushion. Proofs of his identity were formally examined and attested, and then the various dignitaries, headed by the Sultan, did homage. He in turn invested Bibars with the government, not only of all the lands subject to Islam, but of all such as he should by the aid of God conquer from the infidels. All classes in turn swore allegiance to the new Imam. Messages were sent out to the

* Makrizi, i. 141-142.

† Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 560; Chron. Arab., 351-352. Abulfeda, iv. 611-613. D'Ohsson, iii. 361-362.

different provinces, calling upon them to follow the example of Egypt, and it was ordered that the new Khalif's name should be inserted in the khutbeh, or Friday prayer, and on the coin. He adopted the same surname as his brother, the predecessor of the late Khalif, viz., El Mostansir Billahi, which was an innovation on the previous practice of the Abbasides.* He himself read the khutbeh in the great mosque in the Castle, which he ended by imploring the blessings of heaven upon the Sultan. The latter then strewed gold and silver pieces over him and, amidst tears, repeated the prayer with his people. The Sunday following, the two made a progress in state on the Nile, where a sham fight took place between the galleys. The next day the Sultan was dressed in the robes of the Abbasides, which were given him by the Khalif, consisting of a black turban embroidered with gold, a violet robe, a golden collar, a golden chain, which was fastened about his legs, and a sword, two pennons, two long arrows, and a buckler. He mounted a white horse, with a black scarf about its neck and a horsecloth of the same colour on its back. Ibn Lokman, chief secretary of the chancellery, then got into a pulpit and read out the formal diploma containing the investiture granted by the new Khalif to the Sultan.† It is given at length by Makrizi. It begins with the usual language of praise to God (who had once more displayed the glory of his pearls, hidden for a while in a rough shell), and to the Prophet. It then goes on to describe the virtues of Bibars, and especially his beneficence in restoring the family of the Abbasides to prosperity. It then duly makes over to him the sovereignty of Egypt, Syria, Diar-Bekr, Hejaz, Yemen, the borders of the Euphrates, and all the lands he might conquer ; bids him cherish his people, and beware to-day of ambition, for to-morrow he could demand nothing, but it would be from him that demands would be made ; tells him to cloak himself with piety as with the provisions for a journey, and to devote himself to virtue and justice. The preacher reminded him that the various provinces needed governors, both civil and military, and as he would be responsible for them he ought to have confidential people to report to him their doings ; that he was to choose virtuous men as his subordinates, who would follow the precepts of clemency and moderation, and not let private affection interfere with justice ; who would listen to the complaints of the poor with a bright face ; who would treat those subject to them with kindness, for every Mussulman, whatever his rank, ought to deem himself the brother of another Mussulman. Let them try and win legitimate praise, which, at whatever sacrifice it is secured, is always underpaid, and to remember that riches extracted by crime are a load which presses heavily on a prince, and that no one is more unfortunate than he who at the day of Resurrection shall have the crowd

* D'Ohsson, iii. 366. † Makrizi, i. 148-150.

for his enemies. The sermon afterwards went on to enjoin the duty of fighting the infidel, which was indispensable to all Mussulmans, and which God had promised to reward magnificently. It reminded him how he had already distinguished himself in this way, and how his sword had dealt incurable blows to the heart of the unbelievers, and that it was his duty to restore the throne of the Khalifs. It bade him look well to the fortresses on the frontier, especially those on the borders of Egypt, and also to cherish his fleet. God would not fail to reward him, for reward is the outcome of good deeds.* When this address was finished, Bibars made a grand tour of Cairo, accompanied by a cavalcade, the streets being carpeted with rich rugs. The Sultan then devoted himself to providing his august *protégé* with an army and a suitable Court, the various officers of which are enumerated by Makrizi. He supplied the necessary arms, and, we are told, also bought him a hundred Mamluks, great and small, and gave them each three horses, and camels to carry their baggage; besides these there were pages, doctors, surgeons, secretaries, horses, palfreys, mules, camels, &c.; while he gave to the various persons who had come from Irak in the Khalif's suite, diplomas granting them fiefs.

At length the Khalif and Sultan set out together for Syria, accompanied by all the army. This was on the 4th September. They made a solemn entry into Damascus, whence Bibars returned home while the Khalif went on.† Bibars intended to give his *protégé* a body of 10,000 troops to see him seated safely on the throne at Baghdad, but was dissuaded by one of his followers, who urged that he would then be too strong and would try and deprive him of Egypt. He accordingly only gave him an escort of 300 horsemen. He set out accompanied by the three sons of Bedr ud din, the Prince of Mosul, who had been to pay Bibars a visit, but they all left him *en route* to go to their several appanages. At Rahbah he was joined by the Amir Ali ibn Hodhaifah with 400 Arabs, by 60 Mamluks from Mosul, and some 30 horsemen from Hamath.‡ They went on towards Baghdad, along the western bank of the Euphrates, and at Meshed Ali met El Hakim, who belonged to the stock of the Abbasides, and claimed to be a rival Khalif. Mostansir invited him to make common cause with him to restore the fortunes of the family. This he agreed to do after he had been abandoned by 700 Turcomans who escorted him, and they went on together. Mostansir was well received at Anah and Haditsé, but at Hit the gates were closed against him, and the place had to be stormed. This was on the 24th of November. The Jews and Christians were duly plundered.§

Meanwhile Karabuka, the Mongol general whom Khulagu had put in command of the troops of Irak Arab, hearing of his approach, set out to

* Makrizi, i. 150-158. † *Id.*, 158-164. ‡ *Id.*, 167. § D'Ohsson, iii. 368.

attack him with 5,000 troops. He fell suddenly upon Anbar and slaughtered all its inhabitants. He was then joined by Behadur Ali, the Governor of Baghdad, and met the Khalif close to Anbar on the 29th of November, 1262. The latter placed the Turcomans and Arabs on either flank, and reserved a corps of picked troops for the centre. He fell in person upon the Mongols and broke their advance guard, but he was betrayed by the nomades already named, who fled. The troops about him were thereupon surrounded and killed; only a small body escaped. The fate of the Khalif is unknown. According to some he was killed during the struggle; according to others he was only wounded, and took shelter with some Arabs, among whom he died.* Well may the biographer of Bibars, Shafi, declaim against the absurdity of spending a million and sixty thousand dinars in inaugurating a new Khalif with becoming honours, and then sending him home with such an insignificant escort, that it could not make head against 1,000 Mongols, a race which had made so many conquests.† It would almost seem as if Bibars was chiefly aiming at establishing his own magnificence and power on a better basis, and that he cared little for the *protégé* whom he had so patronised. It gives point in fact to the doubts of Abulfeda about the Khalif's origin, for he speaks of Ahmed as "a certain Egyptian of a black colour, called Ahmed, who was said to be a son of the Imam Dahir."‡ Among those who escaped in the struggle with Karabuka was Hakim, whom we have described as having rival pretensions to Ahmed. He claimed to be fourth in descent from the Khalif Mostereshed, who was assassinated in 1135 by the Ismaelites. He now fled to Egypt, where Bibars gave him welcome. He was pleased to entertain and be the patron of one so reverenced in the Moslem world as a scion of the house of Abbas. He gave him a lordly home in the palace called Menasirolkebesh. His duties were those of giving legitimacy and a good title to those in authority, otherwise his power was a mere shadow. He was styled "Shadow of God upon earth, Ruler by the command of God, Hakim biemr-illahi." He lived thus for forty years, and was the first of a line of Egyptian Khalifs who were mere puppets of the Egyptian Sovereigns, and were only displaced when Egypt was conquered by the Ottoman Sultan, Selim I. Shortly after the accession of Bibars, Said, brother of Salih, Prince of Mosul, who had been driven away from Aleppo by the Mamluks, as we have seen, and had gone to Egypt, wrote a letter to his brother, the Malik of Mosul, advising him to repair to Bibars, who, when he had conquered the Tartars, would constitute him ruler not only of Assyria, but of all the East. This letter was surreptitiously acquired by one of his father's magnates, Shems ud din Muhammed Ibn Yunus al Baashiki, who put his hand under the coverlet and abstracted it. He

* Makrizi, i. 171-172 † D'Ohsson, iii. 369. Note. ‡ Op. cit., 625.

then set out for Baashika, in the province of Nineveh. When Salih missed the letter he sent two slaves after him; but afraid of punishment if caught, he fled towards Irbil, and at Bakteli or Bartella, advised Abad ullah, son of Kushu, to escape at once with his people, as Salih meant to destroy the Christians there, and then escape to Egypt. They accordingly fled towards Irbil.* Meanwhile, Salih, afraid that Ibn Yunus might inform the Mongols, set out from Mosul with his son Alai ul Mulk, and withdrew towards Syria. His wife, Turkhan Khatun, refused to go with him. She remained behind with the Mongol prefect, Yasan. They shut the gates and prepared to defend themselves. One of Salih's officers, named Alam ud din Sanjar, left him as he retired through Syria with a troop of soldiers, and returned to occupy the town. He found the gates barred, and attacked it for some days, when Mohai, son of Zebellak, and a number of the citizens arose within, and opened the gates. Sanjar thereupon entered, and the Mongol prefect, with the princess, were obliged to seek shelter in the citadel. Sanjar commenced a cruel persecution of the Christians, killing those who would not become Mussulmans; and we are told that many priests, deacons, grandees, and others, except those belonging to the families of Said, Dekhukh, and Naphis the goldsmith, renounced their faith. At the same time the Kurds made an attack on the surrounding district, and slaughtered many Christians. They stormed a nunnery at Khudida, and put to death many who had sought refuge there, and for four months they attacked the monastery of Mar Matthew with 1,000 horsemen and foot soldiers, and attempted to storm it, but the monks burnt the scaling ladders with naphtha. The Kurds now rolled two great rocks against the walls from a height above. One of these stuck fast in the wall, we are told, like a seal in a ring; the other pierced the wall. When they tried to force their way through the opening the monks and others opposed them bravely with stones and darts, and repaired the breach with stones and lime. In these struggles the Abbot Abunser lost an eye. The weapons and strength of the defenders began presently to fail, and eventually the Kurds, who were afraid of a Mongol attack, were bought off by the sacrifice of the gold and silver ornaments in the churches, &c. Their booty weighed 1,000 golden denarii. The Amir Kutlughbeg perpetrated another slaughter of men and women at Irbil.† Alam Sanjar, who had secured possession of Mosul, as we have seen, having heard that the Mongols were advancing upon that town, marched against them, but was defeated and killed.‡

Let us now return to Salih, the Malik of Mosul. He made his way, with his son Alai ud din, to the Court of Bibars, who was then apparently at Damascus with the Khalif. He was there received with great

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 561. Chron. Arab., 352-353. † *Id.*, Chron. Syr., 562-563.
‡ *Id.*, Chron. Syr., 563.

honours, as were his brothers Malik Mujahid Saif ud din Ishak, Prince of Jezirah, and Malik Mozaffer Alai ud din Ali, Prince of Sanjar. They were presented with robes of honour, banners, horses, &c., and were granted diplomas confirming them in possession of their states, which were further confirmed by the new Khalif. Salih was appointed Prince of Mosul, Nisibin, Akr and Shush (both near Mosul), of Dara, and the fortresses of the district of Amadiah. Mujahid was styled Prince of Jezirah, and Mozaffer Prince of Sanjar.* The three brothers set out from Egypt, as I mentioned, in company with the new Khalif, but they all left him *en route* to go to their several principalities. Salih repaired to Mosul. He was speedily followed by a Mongol chief named Samdaghu called Sadagun by Makrizi, and Shidaghu by Raverty), who, we are told, was a Christian, and therefore probably a Kerait. He was also young and amiable. He attacked the place with a tuman of troops and twenty-five battering engines, while Malik Sadr ud din, of Tebriz, assisted with a tuman of Tajiks.† The siege began in December and lasted till summer. The garrison consisted of Kurds, Turcomans, and Shuls (a tribe of Luristan, on whom Quatremere has a long note‡), and Salih distributed largess freely among them, and promised that Bibars would speedily send to their assistance. The place was bravely defended. One day eighty Mongols succeeded in scaling the walls, but they were all killed, and their heads shot among their companions. Sadr ud din, of Tebriz, was himself wounded, and was allowed to return invalided. He went to Alatagh and reported what was going on, whereupon Khulagu sent a second army to relieve Samdaghu. Meanwhile Bibars ordered Agush Arbarlu (called Barlu in his "Arabic Chronicle" by Abulfaraj) to succour the place. He sent a pigeon, with a note fastened to its wing, to inform the garrison that help was at hand, but by a singular fatality the bird alighted on one of the Mongol battering engines. Samdaghu having had the letter read, dispatched a tuman of troops to surprise the Egyptians. They planted themselves in ambush in three sections, near Sanjar, almost destroyed their army, and then took vengeance upon the people of Sanjar, many of whom they killed, carrying off the women and children prisoners. They then dressed themselves in the uniforms of the Syrians, and let their hair hang down after the fashion of the Kurds. When they neared Mosul many of the citizens saw them and went out to meet them, fancying they were friends, whereupon they were surrounded and all killed. The siege had now lasted six months, and the terrible heat of summer had made each party desist a while from attacking the other. Famine and pestilence raged inside. Salih sent out a letter, offering to surrender if Samdaghu would send him on to Khulagu and intercede for him.§ Abulfaraj suggests that it was the Mongols who made overtures and

* Makrizi, 164-167. † Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1280-1281. Notes. ‡ Op. cit, 380-381.
§ Quatremere, 383-389. Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 565.

fair promises. Salih was a dissipated person, and came out of the city accompanied by dancers and tumblers, and amidst the playing of cymbals and sistras.* Samdaghu would not see him. The Mongols entered the town on the 25th of June, 1262, when the whole population, except the artizans, were put to death. The latter were carried away captive. The place was completely depopulated, and it was only after the withdrawal of the enemy that 1,000 fugitives, who had sheltered in the mountains and caverns, returned.† In reading these accounts we can realise why Mesopotamia ceased to be a civilised land, and how it came about that a country once so thriving and prosperous became the home of bitterns and pelicans.

Salih was sent to Khulagu, who treated him with great cruelty. He was wrapped in a fresh sheep's skin, which was fastened tightly round him, and in this condition he was exposed to the sun. In a week's time the foul skin produced horrible vermin, which attacked his flesh, and he perished after a month's sufferings. His son, Alai ud din, only three years old, was sent to Mosul.‡ Having made him drunk, they fastened a cord so tightly round his body that they squeezed his entrails towards his face. They then clove him asunder into two pieces, which they hung on two gibbets on each side of the Tigris; Bar Hebræus says, on each side of the city gates. Rashid ud din says dolefully:

> He rotted and fell down from that place.
> O, Heaven, thou art not satisfied then with this act of vengeance.
> Thou hast delicately nurtured this lovable man,
> And hast then given him over to the tooth of the worm. §

Mohai, son of Zeblak, was also decapitated. The traitor, Shems ud din Ibn Yunus, called Bar Yunus by Bar Hebræus, was appointed Governor of Mosul. Samdaghu, after his success at Mosul, went on to Jezirah, called Gazarta by Abulfaraj, which he beleagured during all the winter and into the summer. At that time Hananieshua (meaning the grace of Jesus) was Nestorian bishop there. He knew Khulagu personally, who patronised him on account of his knowledge of alchemy. He went to the Mongol ruler, from whom he obtained a yarligh securing their lives to the inhabitants. The town gates were opened, and Samdaghu entered and ordered the walls to be razed. They then withdrew to Shemam, in the district of Irbil. They set over the place Jemal ud din Gulbeg, an officer of Seif ud din, the Ayubit Prince of Jezirah, who, as we have seen, had been a refugee in Egypt. But some time after, the latter having sent to Gulbeg to forward him a quantity of gold which he had hid when he retired, the news coming to Samdaghu's ears, he arrested Gulbeg and let him know that he had been appointed ruler of Jezirah by the Mongols and not by the Egyptian exile. He then had him executed, and replaced him by Mar Hasia.‖ This took place in 1263. The next year Bar Yunus,

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 565. † Quatremere, 389. ‡ *Id.*, 389.
§ *Id.*, 389. Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 565. ‖ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 565-566.

the ruler of Mosul, whose treacheries we have described, was charged before Khulagu by a spy named Al Zaki, or Zacchæus, of Irbil, with secreting a quantity of treasure with the intention of sending it to Egypt. Knowing that Al Zaki was aware of his design, he had tried to poison him, but he had been saved by a Christian doctor named Muphek, who gave him an antidote. Khulagu, who was enraged, ordered him to be bastinadoed. When he was stretched out a document fell from the folds of his cloak, which was written over with the following sentence from the Koran: "If their tongues clave to their mouths, their feet were shackled, and their necks in chains, we should be delighted and greatly pleased." Khulagu having asked the meaning of these words was told it was an incantation directed against himself, upon which he had him killed. Al Zaki was appointed in his place.* About this time (*i.e.*, June, 1262) Salar, Prince of Vassit, Kufat, and Hillet, a feudatory of the Khalif's, who, after the capture of Baghdad, had sought refuge in the desert of Hejaz, and had remained there six months, received a message from Khulagu reinstating him in his former dominions. When Bibars mounted the throne of Egypt he had summoned him more than once to his presence, and he had professed that he would go when he had collected his wealth. This having reached the ears of Khulagu, he was summoned in turn by him. Afraid to obey, he left his family and goods and retired to Egypt, where Bibars gave him a military command and a fief.†

We must now turn aside to consider what was taking place in Rum. We have seen how the two brothers Iz ud din and Rokn ud din made friends, submitted to the Mongols, and divided Rum between them.‡ They remained good friends till the death of their common vizier, Shems ud din Mahmud, when each prince got a vizier of his own. Rokn ud din's vizier, Moyin ud din Suliman, better known by his Persian title of Sahib Pervana, or keeper of the seals, and called the Peishwa of Rum by Wassaf, determined to make his master ruler of the joint kingdom, and endeavoured to win over Khulagu's lieutenant in those parts, the Noyan Alijak, who, under his instructions, informed his master that Iz ud din was conspiring with the Egyptian sultan, and meditated a revolt; and, in fact, Iz ud din had sent a missive to Bibars offering, for his assistance, to surrender half his kingdom to him, and sending him a number of blank patents, which Bibars might fill up and confer on whom he pleased some fiefs in Rum. The latter ordered his men to march from Damascus and Aleppo to the aid of Iz ud din, and prepared several diplomas conferring fiefs in Rum on his friends. But he presently heard from his ally that in view of his alliance his enemies had withdrawn, and that his own people were attacking Conia (or Iconium). This was during the year 1262. Khulagu issued orders that Iz ud din was to be suppressed. At first

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 567; Chron. Arab., 354-355. † D'Ohsson, iii. 375-377.
‡ Ante, 139-140.

he thought of going to Khulagu's Court in person. He was setting out, when a messenger came to announce that his brother, Rokn ud din, with his minister, the pervana, and the Mongol Noyan Alijak were marching against him, and intended to capture him and to take him to the Mongol Court. He accordingly abandoned his camp and fled. Alijak Noyan entered Iconium, and Rokn ud din was constituted sole ruler of Rum, with the pervana as his minister.* The Alijak Noyan of this notice is no doubt the Aljakta Noyan of Minhaj i Siraj, who says Rokn ud din married his daughter.† Meanwhile, Iz ud din sought shelter with the Greek Emperor Michael Palæologos, who had recently regained that city from the Latins, and who had already offered an asylum to several of his chiefs and found them employment in his service. Having collected his treasures, he accordingly set out from Iconium for Nymphæa, where the Emperor was staying with his treasures. The latter behaved with marked duplicity. While he professed to welcome his guest and to treat him with hospitality, assigning him a guard equal to his own, and also the use of the imperial insignia, he meanwhile negotiated with the Mongols, who wished him to keep Iz ud din under durance, so that he might not disturb their control of Iconium. To secure this end still more, he had the Sultan's wives and children sent to Nicæa. Iz ud din, to whom Michael was under obligations, was deluded by one excuse after another. He accompanied Michael in his various journeys, and enjoyed a kind of imperial servitude, the wily emperor deeming anything better than the imprudence of drawing upon himself the Tartar arms, even to the extent of disarming the natural buckler of the Greek Empire on its eastern flank, namely, the Seljukian kingdom.‡ Abulfeda says that presently Iz ud din, having conspired against the life of his host, was imprisoned, and the eyes of his supporters were seared with a hot iron.§

Let us now turn to the Mongol doings at the other end of Iran. Khulagu had been nominated generalissimo of all his forces in the west by Mangu. He had a commission to destroy the enemies of the Mongols, but he was not apparently endowed with any territory or special jurisdiction. This came afterwards. He and his descendants nominally exercised jurisdiction in the country east of Khorasan. The troops cantoned in Afghanistan and its borders were, nominally at all events, part of their command, and when Khulagu marched westwards we are expressly told that Sali, or Sari, who had previously commanded the troops on the borders of India, was ordered to put himself at his disposal. Sali was a *true* Tartar, and belonged to the Tartar tribe Tutukaliut. When his race was virtually exterminated by order of Jingis, he owed his life to the intercession of Yessulun and Yessugat, the two Tartar wives of Jingis. Sali, we are told by Rashid, had effected the conquest of Kashmir, whence he

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 564. † Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 164.
‡ Stritter, iii. 1042-1044. Lebeau, xviii. 79-81. § Op. cit., v. 13.

had carried off many thousand captives. He adds that all the troops which were under his orders, wherever they were stationed, became by right of inheritance the special property of the King of Islam (*i.e.*, of the Ilkhan).* The conquest of Kashmir by the Mongols is also mentioned in the biography of Kuo Khan (*i.e.*, the Kuka Ilka of Rashid ud din) in the "Yuan shi," where we read that Ki shi mi and a sultan named Hu li, or Khu li, surrendered to the Mongols.† In the "Yuan shi" we are told that in 1263 the generals Sa-li-tu-lu-hua and Ta-ta-r-dai (*i.e.*, Sali and Tair) were sent to Hin-du-sze and Kie-shi-mi-r.‡

In the year 654 Sali and his Mongols invaded India. We are told that after crossing the Indus they sent Shems ud din Muhammed Kert, who was then the ruler of Khaisar in Ghur, to Multan, on a mission to the Sheikh of Sheikhs, Bahai ud din Zakaria, also known as Bahai ul Hakk, whose tomb Major Raverty says was much battered by the English in the siege of Multan, in 1848-9. He agreed to pay 100,000 dinars, and to accept a mamluk of Shems ud din as hakim of the town.§ The invaders dismantled the fortifications of Multan.|| After this they marched upon Lahore, or what remained of it after its sack by Tair Baghatur in 639 HEJ. After that event it is said to have been occupied by the Khokars and also by Kurt Khan, who now agreed to pay a ransom of 30,000 dinars, thirty ass-loads of soft fabrics, and 100 captives.¶ After this Sali plotted against Shems ud din Muhammed, who retired from India and went towards Ghur, but was apprehended *en route* by Malik Imad ud din, the Ghuri, and we are told he thereupon sent a messenger to inform Tair Baghatur (who, according to this account, still governed those parts). He ordered his release, and afterwards had him living near his person.**

At this time Iz ud din Balban, originally a Turkish slave from Kipchak, was the governor of Uch and Multan.†† He was not loyal to his suzerain, the Sultan of Delhi, but entered into negotiations with Khulagu through the medium of the Malik Shems ud din Kert; virtually threw off his allegiance, and asked the Mongols to send a shahnah or intendant to superintend his country. He also sent one of his grandsons to Khulagu as a hostage. Soon after this Balban marched against Delhi, but after making a demonstration before its walls withdrew again, and was abandoned by many of his men. Having reached Uch in safety he went to pay Khulagu a visit in Irak, whence he returned again to his fief.‡‡ In consequence of this he felt constrained to go to Sali who about this time arrived, and proceeded to dismantle the walls of Multan. News of the Mongol invasion having reached Delhi, the Sultan Ulugh Khan i A'zam summoned his troops. On hearing of this concentration they

* Quatremere, 130-131. D'Ohsson, ii. 280-282.
† Bretschneider, Notes on Chinese Travellers, &c., 82. ‡ *Id.* Note 103.
§ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 442. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1201. Note. || *Id.*, 844.
¶ *Id.*, 1201. Note. ** *Id.*, 1202. Note. †† *Id.*, 784. ‡‡ *Id.*, 786.

did not advance further, but harried the frontiers of Sinde and Lahore, as far as the River Biah.*

About this time a curious diplomatic intercourse took place between Khulagu and the ruler of Delhi. According to Minhaj i Saraj the Malik Nasir ud din Muhammed, son of Hasan, the Karluk, who held authority about Banian, had sent secret overtures to Ulugh Khan i A'zam, the Sultan of Delhi's most valiant feudatory, for a marriage between their families. The latter sent a Khalj Turk named the Hajib i Ajall (the most worthy chamberlain) Jamal ud din Ali with his answer. *En route*, he was detained at Multan, and closely questioned about his journey by the Malik Iz ud din Balban and the Mongol shahnah or intendants. He was allowed to go on, and reached Banian safely, but the news of his arrival having reached the Mongol shahnah there, the Malik Nasir ud din was forced to send him on to Khulagu to Irak and Azerbaijan, and in addition wrote letters and sent presents by him in the name of Ulugh Khan i A'zam. They reached Khulagu's presence at Tebriz; the Hajib Ali was well received, and his letters were translated from Persian into Mongol. It was customary in writing letters to the inferior Mongol and other dependent chiefs to alter the usual designation of Khan, borne by many of the grandees of India and Sinde, to Malik, since Khan was among the Mongols a title of supreme dignity. We are told by our courtly author that Khulagu having noticed this alteration in the case of Ulugh Khan i A'zam, enjoined that in his case the title Khan should be used—a very improbable story. When the Hajib returned, Khulagu ordered the Shahnah of Banian, who was a Mussulman, to accompany him, and we are again told a questionable story, viz., that Khulagu sent orders to the Mongol troops under Sali Noyan, saying: "If the hoof of a horse of your troops shall have entered the dominions of the Sultan of Sultans, Nasir ud din Mahmud Shah (God perpetuate his reign), the command unto you is that all four feet of such horse be lopped off."† When Khulagu's envoys arrived near the capital orders were given that they should be detained at Barutah.‡ After a while they were conducted to the capital to be presented to the Sultan, and a magnificent review of troops was held, when, according to Minhaj i Saraj, 200,000 foot soldiers and 50,000 horse, fully equipped, were present, and the imposing armament "was paraded in twenty lines of men one behind another, like the avenue of a pleasure garden with the branches entwined, placed shoulder to shoulder, row after row."§ This spectacle was doubtless arranged to create a feeling of respect on the part of the Mongols when they heard of it. There is a curious bit of local colour in the remark that some of the emissaries were thrown from their horses when the trumpeting elephants charged.‖ The

* Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 846-850. † *Id.*, 859-863. ‡ Perhaps Merut. *Id*, 851.
§ *Id.*, 856. ‖ *Id.*, 857.

envoys were conducted to the capital and received with the honours due to distinguished guests. They were conducted to the Kasr i Sebz, or Green Castle. The castle was decorated with various kinds of carpets and cushions, and a great number of rare articles of gold and silver, with two canopies, one red and the other black, adorned with costly jewels over the throne. The distinguished maliks, amirs, and sadrs, &c., and the handsome young Turk slaves, with golden girdles, stood round about. On the throne sat the Sultan, "as a sun from the fourth heaven, with Ulugh Khan i A'zam in attendance as a shining moon, kneeling upon the knees of veneration and reverence, the maliks in rows like unto revolving planets, and the Turks in their gold and gem-studded girdles like unto stars innumerable."* Minhaj i Saraj unfortunately closes his narrative at this point, and we do not know what was the issue of the embassy.

Let us now turn to Khulagu's doings nearer home, especially in Georgia. According to Vartan, on his return from Syria he went to winter in the plain of Mughan.† There, according to the Georgian history, he was visited by King David of Georgia, who afterwards went to his summer camp, and was thence sent to Karthli to prepare to assist in the campaign against Egypt. He traversed the territory of Avak, the son of the Atabeg Ivaneh. Avak was then dead. He had left no son, and only a daughter named Khoshak. David visited Bejni to mourn for him, and having seen his widow, Gontza, who was of the family of Kakhaber, eristhaf of Radsha, and very beautiful, he shortly after married her and gave her the title of queen. Khoshak was left behind in charge of Sadun Mankaberdel, a prudent and sagacious counsellor, fortunate in his undertakings, and famous for his bodily strength, and his skill as an archer and wrestler. Chamchean says he belonged to the princely family of the Ardzrunians, and was the grandson of Kurd of Sasun. Malakia calls the latter the Amir Kurd. Sadun visited Khulagu, and challenged any man in the Mongol army to wrestle or draw the bow with him, and no one was found who could compete with him.‡ Malakia reports a curious story of him, viz., that Mangu was visited by an adventurous character, who had a repulsive appearance, was very high, and had great shoulders, a neck like a buffalo, hands like a bear, and who devoured a sheep daily. He was a famous wrestler. He committed to him a letter and a robe of honour of great value. The letter was addressed to Khulagu, and stated that if any wrestler overcame him he was to have the robe, but if his champion proved unconquerable he was to have it, and to be sent back to Mongolia. Khulagu, on his arrival, summoned his chiefs, and asked if they knew anyone who could cope with him. The Armenians and Georgians said they knew such an one, upon which he sent for him. This was Sadun. He was of great stature and well skilled,

* Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 858. † Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 293.
‡ Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 554-555, and notes.

but was disconcerted by the invitation, as he had never wrestled before the Khan, and had heard of the prowess of his adversary. He repaired to some hermits to pray for him, went to Kak, to the Church of St. Sargis, the dispenser of justice, and received the blessing of the Vartabied Mesrop, and having made a vow and an offering at the Church of the Holy Cross then went on to Khulagu, who was delighted with his appearance. He ordered the two athletes to live together for nine days, and furnished them daily with a sheep and a skin of wine. They were at length matched, and struggled for three hours without either getting the advantage, when Sadun, in the name of God, by a sudden throw overturned his opponent. Khulagu was delighted, and gave him a yarligh freeing him and nine of his descendants from taxes.* He is mentioned in several Armenian inscriptions in the monastery of Haghbat.† One of these is on a cross, set up in 1279, and dedicated to St. Sargis, the general, to whom Sadun chiefly addressed his prayers before encountering the Mongol champion.

At this time the kingdom suffered greatly from the exactions of Arghun and his tax collectors. We read that three whites (*i.e.*, silver pieces) were levied on every 100 sathers (a derivative of the Greek σατηρον, a talent) of anything sold at Tiflis. A certain Khoja Aziz, who was a Persian by race and religion, was the tax superintendent at Tiflis, and was very exacting, and even levied the tax on every sheep and lamb for the royal kitchen. David, the Georgian king, was much annoyed at this, and determined to revolt. When he summoned his supporters and told them his views, some of the grandees joined him, but the greater part, such as Ivaneh, son of Shahinshah ; Grigol Suramel, the Orpelian ; Kakha Thorel, eristhaf of Akhal-Kalah, and the majority of the chiefs of Héreth and Kakheth remained faithful to the Mongols, and went and joined Khulagu. He nevertheless determined to prosecute his plans, and sent an invitation to Sargis, the commandant of Jak and Tzikhis Juar, who had the title of General of Samtzkhé, to join him. He agreed, and the king went to Samtzkhé, where he was royally entertained, and where he spent the summer with a few followers, while his queen, Gontza, and his son Dimitri stayed at Bejni, in the house of Avak.‡ Khulagu, on hearing of this revolt, summoned Arghun and 200 other captains, whom he placed under his command, as well as 20,000 horsemen, and also ordered the Georgians friendly to him to assist. Arghun traversed Kantzag (*i.e.*, Arran) and Somketh, and came to Tiflis, where he was joined by the chieftains above named as siding with the Tartars, and then marched towards Samtzkhé. Meanwhile the king assembled the Meskhes and the people of Khawkheth (*i.e.*, the Caucasus) and of the Clarjeth, who had remained faithful to him, and managed to

* Op. cit., 457-458. † Hist. de la Géorgie, 555. Note. ‡ *Id.*, 556-557.

collect a small army of 8,000 men, of which Sargis Jakel, whose courage, military reputation, and physique were exceptional, was in command. This army set out, and reached the valleys of the Mtsuar. Arghun crossed Karthli, and having halted at Suram, detached a body of 6,000 men as an advance guard, which proceeded to the valley of the Shola, and himself remained at Shindara. Sargis had also detached an advance guard. This was 1,500 strong, and went boldly across the bridge of Akhal Daba, unaware of the proximity of the Tartars. It was then midwinter, and there was a hard frost. Scarcely had they emerged from the defile when the Tartar advanced guard was seen and very bravely charged by the Meskhes, who broke it and pursued it for a long distance, returning to Sargis with a number of Tartar heads as trophies. Sargis determined to at once march against Arghun with the main body of the army. The latter would have retired, but his Georgian allies would not allow him. "We know how to fight these people," said Cakha Thorel, "we will defeat them for you."* A hard struggle ensued, in which the Parthian tactics of the Mongols were put in force. They professed to retreat, but presently turned round on their pursuers, who were scattered, and pitilessly slaughtered them. Few escaped, and they were pursued to the bridge of Akhal Daba, or even further. Among the prisoners were Murwan Gurcelel and others. Arghun now returned to Khulagu, and Sargis to his unfortunate patron, King David. David having spent part of the winter in Samtzkhé, went afterwards into Khawkheth (*i.e.*, the Caucasus) and Clarjeth (? Abkhazia), and entered into the valley of Nigal (probably situated near Artanuj).. When the spring grass was ready for the horses, Khulagu again dispatched Arghun with his Georgian allies, who laid waste Samtzkhé and besieged Tzikhis Juar, otherwise called Juaris Tzikhé, which he did not, however, succeed in taking. He was a Mussulman, and no doubt enjoyed the task of harrying the Christians. He was hastily summoned away by a message from Khulagu, saying that the Khan of Turan (*i.e.*, the chief of the Jagatai horde) was meditating an attack upon him in Khorasan.† Juveni, who describes these events very shortly, places them in the autumn and winter of 1259-60.‡

According to Guiragos, in the campaign just described, Arghun pursued the king, but could not overtake him, and proceeded to cruelly ravage Georgia. The famous monastery of Gelath in Imeretia (the burial-place of the Georgian kings) was razed to the ground, as was Atzghur, the residence of the Catholicos. Arghun having returned to his master incited him to imprison Gontza, the wife, and Khoshak, the daughter of King David, together with the Grand Prince Shahin Shah, Jelal ud din Hasan, lord of Khachen, and many others, under pretence that they were

* *Id.*, 557-558. † *Id.*, 558-559. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 269.

behind in paying their tribute. A large sum of money was extorted from them as the price of their lives. Jelal ud din was treated with especial cruelty. He was called upon to pay a much larger sum than he could afford, and as he could not meet the demand, he had a wooden collar, or cangue, fastened about his neck, while his feet were chained. This treatment was suggested by the fanatical Mussulmans, who knew that Jelal was a very fervid Christian, and whom they described as the greatest enemy of their faith. He was removed to Kazvin. Meanwhile his daughter Ruzukan, who had married Pora Noyan, the son of the Mongol general Charmaghan, went to entreat the good offices of Dokuz Khatun, but Arghun, having heard of this, sent some executioners, who, having in vain asked him to apostatise, put him to death during the night and dismembered his body. This took place in 1261. His son Atabeg sent furtively to collect his father's remains, which had been thrown into an empty cistern. They were removed to the monastery of Kantza Sar, the burial place of the princes of Khachen, situated on a mountain near the town of Kantzag, in the province of Artsakh. A bright effulgence is said to have surrounded the body of the prince. With the consent of Khulagu and Arghun, he was succeeded in his principality by Atabeg, who was much given to religious exercises, and harmless as an anchorite. Zakaria, son of Shahin Shah, the Lord of Ain, having been accused before Khulagu, was also put to death. He was in the Mongol service, and had won the favour of its chiefs by his bravery. He was with the army which ravaged Georgia, on which occasion, without informing Arghun, he went to pay a visit to his wife, who was living with her father, Sargis, here called Prince of Ukhthik (a town and district in the province of Daik), who had taken part in the rebellion of King David. This having been reported to Khulagu he was put to death, and his dismembered remains were thrown to the dogs. When his father, Shahin Shah, heard the news, he became so depressed that he also died. He was buried in the monastery of K'opair, some distance to the south-east of Sanahin and Otzun. Its Arabic name means a tomb.* The *Georgian Chronicle* makes out that Zakaria, understanding that he was charged with being privy to Bereke's invasion, to be mentioned presently, fled to King David, son of Rusudan, in Kuthathis, where he was well treated. Presently the Khan having sent for him, and sworn not to kill him, he trusted himself at his Court, where he was nevertheless put to death.†

Let us now return to the fugitive king, David. We are told that on the retreat of the Tartars, he returned to Samtzkhé, and summoned his friends to ask their advice. Sargis said the province was too small for him to live in, and he advised him to cross the mountains of Likh, and to go to his cousin David, son of Rusudan, for each part of the kingdom really

* Cuinagos, ed. Brosset, 150-192. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 499-503. † Op. cit., 568.

belonged jointly to the two princes, and added that he would devote himself and all his wealth to his service, and if his cousin refused to have anything to do with him he (Sargis) would at all events cling to him. He accordingly sent a messenger to his cousin, who promised to receive him. He went and was treated hospitably. There he remained a year. Feeling, however, that he was treated as a stranger, Sargis plotted with Kakhaber, Eristhaf of Raja, with the son of Kakhaber, and the Phardjainans, sons of Kwabul, to nominate him as King, and he having consented there arose a strife in Likht Imereth (*i.e.*, the country beyond the mountains of Likh). Some espoused the cause of David Lasha, and others that of his cousin. The Dadian Bedian, son of Juansher, attached himself to the latter. The Suans were also divided into parties. Meanwhile, however, the two kings, notwithstanding that their partisans were at issue, distributed no arms to them. They eventually decided to divide the kingdom and the arsenal in two, as well as Tiflis and Kuthathis. They also divided the thawads and eristhafs of Nicophsia at Derbend. The famous necklace of diamonds, the precious stone cut in the shape of an anvil, and the large pearl, which it would seem were celebrated Georgian state jewels, fell to David, son of Rusudan. This partition applied only to the part of Georgia beyond the mountains of Likh. The rest was too closely controlled by the Tartars to be the subject of such arrangements. Meanwhile Khulagu, who wished to make terms with David, ordered Arghun to send him a messenger with a guarantee for his safety. Another account reports that David's wife Gontza and his son Dimitri, having been removed as prisoners to the Ordu, and the Khan having determined to do the latter harm, the wife of a noyan who had no children sent an express to David suggesting that peace might be made. A treaty was therefore entered into. David was to be restored to his kingdom, his wife, and younger son, while his elder son Giorgi was to be detained as a hostage. Khoja Aziz, the author of his troubles, was to be surrendered to him, to pardon or kill him as he wished, while David was to go in person to Khulagu's Court. Enuk Arkun (*i.e.*, the Christian) acted as Khulagu's agent in this negotiation, and answered with his head for the safety of the king and his son. He was allowed to take the young prince with him. He took him to Tiflis, where all the mthawars and eristhafs went to meet him. Among others was an Armenian, named Badin, who had charge of Tiflis and of the throne. Arghun made Giorgi some rich presents. He then went on to Khulagu's Court. The latter sent his wife, Tonghul Khatun (the Kerait Dokuz Khatun), who was a Christian, to meet him. When she saw him, we are told, she loved him, for he was beautiful, she herself being the same. The Khan was also pleased with him. He remained at the Mongol Court for a year. David himself had not yet been to the Ordu, and excused himself through Arghun on the ground that Khoja Aziz had not yet been

surrendered to him. At this the Khan was greatly irritated, and was counselled by Arghun to put the young prince to death, and to intrust him with an army; and promised to bring him back in chains. Khulagu thereupon ordered Giorgi and his attendants to be killed. At this news Enuk Arkun at once repaired to Dokuz Khatun, who reproached her husband with his cruelty in ordering the death of a descendant of such a long race of kings, who had gone to him on the strength of his oath. She added that he and Enuk Arkun were prepared to offer their lives for the prince. She also urged that the ruler of the Khanate of Kipchak was habitually intriguing to persuade the Georgian king to open for him the passes of Darialman and of the west, which were in his power. "What was the life of a Persian merchant to the danger of having the Ulus of Batu in alliance with the King of Georgia?" We see here how it was that the Georgian kingdom survived so long. The fact is the rival policies of the Khans of Kipchak and of the Ilkhans made it easy to secure an ally against either power when it assumed a threatening attitude. Khulagu was disconcerted by these home truths. He at once handed over Giorgi to Dokuz Khatun and Enuk Arkun to do what they pleased with him, and they in turn offered to secure the attendance of David if Khoja Aziz was handed over to them to take to him. This was done. Enuk Arkun set out for Tiflis with his charges, and the king went to the extremity of Kwishkheth, and stopped between that place and Suram. As soon as Khoja Aziz was handed over to him he had him beheaded, and his head was sent to Tiflis, where it was placed on a stake. Rashid ud din mentions the death of Khoja Aziz. He calls him one of the governors of Gurgistan (*i.e.*, Georgia). This event happened, according to the Persian historian, in November, 1262.*

David now went to the Ordu, and was accompanied by his friend Sargis, lord of Tzikhis-Juar and Jak, who insisted upon going, although the safe conduct did not include him. The King was much pleased at his devotion, and conferred on him the district of Kwabulian, in Samtzkhé, and the church of Tbeth in the Khawkheth.† They presented themselves to Khulagu at Berdaa, his winter quarters, without knowing what their fate would be. He, a few days later, summoned David and the mthawars to an interview. Everyone thought they would be put to death. Khulagu, however, offered the king wine out of a gold cup with his own hand, after the fashion of the Khans. The King and the mthawars having seated themselves with their legs crossed, Khulagu then asked him why he had rebelled and disobeyed his orders, and fought against Arghun, and reminded him how, when an exile and condemned to death, he had been drawn out of the pit filled with serpents and placed on the throne. The King had nothing to say, and turned to Sargis, who had

* Quatremere, 395. † Hist. de la Géorgie, 563-564.

been the chief abettor of the attack on Arghun. Seeing that the blame was going to be put upon him, Sargis rose and advanced towards Khulagu, and said boldly, "It was I, great king, who attacked Arghun, but the only blameworthy person was Khoja Aziz. He took the king's domains, towns, and villages, and took possession of everything. He ruined the churches and fortresses, most blessed Khan, and in order that no one should suspect him he closed by corrupt means the avenues to your Court. This is why I carried off the King, in order that the Khan might cause inquiries to be made, and that his eyes might be opened as they are now. Know too, oh Khan, that from time immemorial the Persians have been the enemies of the Georgians. If I therefore fought against Arghun it was because I could no longer bear the injustice of Khoja Aziz towards the King. The King is innocent. It was I who prevented him coming to your Court." The conversation was prolonged, and diverged into various matters, Sadun Mancaberdel, who was an excellent orator, acting as interpreter. Everyone expected that the King would be punished and that Sargis would be put to death; but happily, as the interview was still in progress, one of the Khan's sentinels on the route of Derbend arrived, saying: "This is no time for disputation. The Grand Ulus of the Khan Batu is in motion, and the Khan and his son Barkai are advancing towards Derbend with an innumerable army."* The mention of Batu is an anachronism. He was then dead, and it was his brother Bereke whose march was thus announced.

I have described the struggle between Khulagu and Bereke in a previous volume.† Since writing that account I have met with fresh materials. As we have seen, Bereke had become a convert to Muhammedanism. The very orthodox and inaccurate author of the "Tabakat-i-Nasiri" gives us some characteristic details about him. He tells us he was born about the time when his father captured Khuarezm (*i.e.*, 618 HEJ., A.D. 1221), and adds that the latter from the first was determined that he should be brought up as a Mussulman, and that accordingly his nurse severed his navel string in the Mussulman fashion, that he was suckled by a Mussulman nurse, and taught the Koran by a Mussulman doctor. Some reported that he had studied the Koran at Khojend with a pious ulema of that city. On arriving at the proper age he was duly circumcised, and when he arrived at manhood was set over the Mussulmans in his father's ulus. Batu retained him in the same position, and confirmed him in his command, fiefs, vassals, and dependents.‡ The "Shajrat ul Atrak" has a similar story. It says Bereke refused to take the breast of any female except that of the Mussulman woman who brought him up. It also says his mother was a Mussulman. When he grew up, his brother ordered him to go to various parts of the

* *Id.*, 564-565 † Ante, ii. 113, &c. ‡ Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1283-1284.

empire. On one occasion he went to Bukhara, where he fell in with the Sheikh Hazrat Seif ud din Bakhurzin, a disciple of the Sheikh Nejm ud din Kobria. He remained for some time under his tuition, when he was ordered to return home, which he did by way of Chaji Turkhan (? Shash or Tashkend).* Minhaj i Saraj tells us how in the year 631 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1234) a number of envoys went from Bereke to the Indian Sultan Iyal tamsh, taking various rarities with them. The Sultan always refused, however, to have communication with the Mongol chiefs, and these envoys were sent to the fortress of Gwalior. They were Mussulmans, and used every Friday to be present in the mosque there, and, our author tells us, used to say their prayers behind his own *nawab*. Eventually the envoys were removed from Gwalior to Kinauj, where they were restricted to the limits of the city, and there died. Minhaj i Saraj tells us further that Bereke made a pilgrimage to visit the illustrious ulemas at Bukhara, and also sent envoys to the Khalif, who was said on two occasions during his brother Batu's reign to have sent him robes of honour. All his army consisted of orthodox Mussulmans, and trustworthy persons reported that every one of his horsemen had a prayer carpet, and that they refrained from intoxicating drinks. Bereke made companions of the great ulemas, consisting of commentators, traditionists, theological jurists, and disputants, and had many religious books. Most of his receptions and debates were with ulemas, and in his place of audience debates on moral science and ecclesiastical law constantly took place.† These exaggerations are very pardonable when we consider what a notable event in Mussulman history the conversion of such a potent Mongol chief as Bereke must have been. We can well believe, too, that to a recent convert the slaughter of the Khalif and his family by Khulagu must have been a great outrage. In addition to this, Bereke, as we have pointed out, had other grievances.‡ In regard to the death of his relatives the Armenian monk, Malakia, reports matters somewhat differently. He says that after the capture of Baghdad the Khan's seven sons, who were gorged with riches, gold, and pearls, would not obey each other, but each one followed his own way, and pillaged and laid waste the country. Khulagu, their senior, thereupon wrote to his brother, the Khakan Mangu, in these terms: "We seven chiefs of tumans, thanks to the grace of God and to yours, have arrived here, and have taken with us the former temashis (*i.e.*, chiefs of tumans, meaning Baichu, &c). We have advanced and captured Baghdad, the city of the Tajiks, and have returned thence laden with treasures, thanks to the grace of God and yours. Meanwhile, what are your wishes? These people are lawless, and living in anarchy; the country is devastated, and the ordinances of Chanks Khan are not carried out, for he ordered us to cherish the lands

* Op. cit., 229. † Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1283-1286. ‡ Ante, ii. 114.

subject to us or conquered by us, and not to lay them waste. If you have any other commands, give them, and we will obey." The bearers of this letter were questioned by Mangu as to what had occurred. He now ordered his arghuchis or judges to proclaim Khulagu as Khan in the countries where he was, and that anyone who disobeyed him was to be summoned to answer for it in Mangu's name. The arghuchis thereupon summoned a kuriltai, to which all the various chiefs, as also the King of Georgia with his suite, were summoned. The Khan's sons, such as Balakhain, Bora, Tegudar or Nigudar, and Mighan, son of Khuli, were summoned by special messengers. It having been announced that Khulagu was to be supreme, four of the chiefs, viz., Balakhain, Tutar, Ghataghan, and Mighan, became rebellious. Nigudar and Bora were more submissive. The arghuchis ordered Balakhain, Tegudar,* and Tutar to be strangled with a bowstring (such was the Mongol method of putting Khans to death), while Mighan, son of Khuli, on account of his youth was arrested and imprisoned on an island in the Lake of Urmia, called the White Sea by the Mongols. They also ordered the troops of Khulagu, together with the Armenians and Georgians, to march against the contingents of the guilty princes and exterminate them, which was accordingly carried out. So many were killed that the mountains and plains were infected with the Tartar corpses. Two of the chiefs, however, named Nukhakuun and Aradamur (the Ala Timur of the *Georgian Chronicle*) fled, taking with them twelve horsemen and considerable treasure. They crossed the Kur, and went with all speed to the country whence they had come (*i.e.*, the Kipchak), where they were protected by Bereke Khan, and for ten years committed great depredations. Malakia goes on to say that Mangu's arghuchis then proceeded to duly instal Khulagu (*i.e.*, to instal him as ruler of the western countries he had conquered).†

The *Georgian Chronicle* calls the Kipchak princes who were put to death Tutaré, or Khutaré, Balgha, and Kuli.‡ In regard to the families of the slaughtered princes it adds some graphic details. We there read of the wives of Tutar, Kuli, and Balgha, who were living in Greece (*i.e.*, among the Seljuki), escaping with their baggage under charge of a certain distinguished person named Ala Timur, in the direction of Samtzkhé. They were pursued by Khulagu's people, and in a struggle which followed many of the latter were killed. Ala Timur fought several successful engagements with his pursuers before he reached the mountains of Kola. He at length arrived at the village of Glinaf, in Lower Artan, where he met Murvan Gurcelel, son of Makhujag. They would have killed him, but he promised to conduct them to Imereth, whence they might escape to Bereke Khan. But instead of this he treacherously led them to the

* This is a mistake; perhaps Ghataghan is meant.
† Op. cit., 454-455. ‡ Op. cit., i. 572, and note.

forest of Gurcel, in Samtzkhé, whence he sent on couriers to Sargis Thmogwel, to Shalwa, son of Botzo, and all the Meskhes and people of Sargis Jakel, to come and seize them. Ala Timur having heard of this, took his charges across the Mtsuar (Kur) and went towards Jawakheth, passed a place called Eladi, and reached Lerdzavni, below Oshora, where Sargis barred his way; but as soon as he saw the Tartars he and the army retired. Murvan Gurcelel encountered them with a small force, but was beaten and lost many men. The enemy then traversed Jawakheth and Trialeth, and crossed the Kur at Rusthaf. A succession of fights followed, in which Ala Timur was continuously successful. He traversed Kambejian, Kakheth, and Hereth, and took the route to Belakan, entered Ghundzeth (*i.e.*, Kunzag, the country of the Avars), whose king gave him battle, but he was again victorious, and eventually reached the Court of the Khan (*i.e.*, of Bereke) covered with glory. It was certainly a marvellous march, and we are told the survivors who accompanied Ala Timur were given the style of aghnarghoms (superiors or elders).* Tutar, who is also called Kutar, was put to death, according to the authority followed by Major Raverty, for having caused Balgha's death by sorcery, on the 17th Safar, 658. The Sadr, Sauchi, he adds, was also put to death, as he was charged with having prepared a charm for Tutar.†

In addition to the various causes enumerated in a former volume for the strife between the two cousins, Guiragos tells us there was this—that Bereke supported Arikbuka, while Khulagu was a champion of Khubilai in the struggle for the Khakanship, thus confirming my conjecture.‡ Guiragos names the princes of the ulus of Juchi who were killed by Khulagu, Kuli, Balakha, Tutar, Méghan, son of Kuli, Ghatakan, and many others, who he says were exterminated with many of their followers; old and young all securing the same fate. Some escaped to Bereke.§ He also adds the interesting statement that Alghui, the son of Jagatai, had a feud with Bereke, because the latter had incited Mangu to destroy his family,‖ and that he accordingly wrote to Khulagu offering him his alliance against the common enemy.¶ On the other hand, Makrizi tells us that Bibars, the Sultan of Egypt, having heard that Bereke had become a Mussulman, sent to ask him to march against Khulagu.**

The envoys of Bibars and Bereke were welcomed at Constantinople, where the Greeks had recently driven out Baldwin and his supporters, who were allied with the Crusaders, the friends of Khulagu. The Emperor asked Bibars to send a patriarch to take charge of the Melkits,†† while he received the Sultan's envoy, who presently escorted the patriarch, very graciously, and allowed an old mosque which had formerly been

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* Op. cit., 570-571. † Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1286. Note.
‡ Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 192. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 504. Ante, ii. 113.
§ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 504. ‖ Brosset has misread the passage.
¶ *Id.* ** Op. cit., i. 170.
†† *i.e.*, the Greek Christians who acknowledged the Patriarch of Antioch as their head.

occupied by the Mussulmans, and which was said to have been built in the year 96 of the HEJ., to be restored. Bibars also allied himself with Manfred, the famous King of Naples, who was styled Imperator by the Arabs, and who was at deadly issue with the Pope.*

To revert to Bereke. We are told he assembled an army of 30,000 men to revenge his various wrongs. On his part Khulagu also collected his forces, and divided them into three sections. He confided the first to his son Abaka, associating with him the experienced Arghun, and sent them to Khorasan, to join hands with Alghui, the ruler of the Khanate of Jagatai. He posted a second division at the gate of the Alans (*i.e.*, the pass of Dariel); while he himself, with the third division, went towards Derbend.† Bereke's army, under Nogai, who was a near relative of Tutar, or Kutar, and therefore appropriately helped to avenge him, had already crossed the mountains and was in the neighbourhood of Shirvan.‡ It attacked the advanced guard of Khulagu, commanded by Shiramun, the son of Charmaghan Noyan, and Semagher, or Shamaghu, and defeated it with great carnage near Shamakhi, a chief named Sultan-juk being drowned. This was on the 11th of November, 1262,§ and the reverse was apparently attributed to the flight of the troops of the Kipchak princes Khuli and Bukan (? Mighan).‖ This defeat was avenged by Abatai, who arrived shortly after, and Nogai was in turn badly defeated. Thereupon Khulagu set out in person from Shamakhi for Derbend Some of the Inaks, we are told, denounced the vizier, Seif ud din bitkichi, as well as Khoja Azis, one of the governors of Georgia, and Khoja Mejd ud din Kerman. They were all put to death, as well as Hosam ud din, the astrologer, who was also denounced. Malik Sadr ud din, of Tebriz, and Ali Malik, governor of Irak Ajem, escaped the last penalty and were bastinadoed. We are not told what the offence of these officials was, but it was probably some conspiracy on behalf of the Mussulman princes who were at this time opposing Khulagu. The latter approached Derbend, where some of the enemy showed themselves, but were driven away by a flight of arrows, and the place was stormed. A fight took place with a Kipchak army outside the walls, which lasted till nightfall. It ended in the defeat of the latter.¶ It would seem that when Shiramun was beaten Khulagu sent his son Abaka with a force to the rescue. I have already described what followed.** I would only add here that among the victims in the battle on the Terek was Biurthel, nephew of the Orpelian prince, Sempad.††

The *Georgian Chronicle* in describing this campaign, in which the Georgians took part, makes them as usual fight in the advance guard. Sargis, after his recent revolt, was evidently put upon his mettle to prove

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* Weil, iv. 43-44. † Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 193. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 505.
‡ Ante, ii. 116. § Quatremere, 393. ‖ St. Martin, ii. 285.
¶ Quatremere, 395. ** Ante, ii. 116. †† Hist. de la Siounie, 233.

himself a hero. When he had ranged his men, a so-called shweli, or wild goat of the Caucasus, ran along the lines, and was killed by Sargis, who was armed *cap à pie*. Presently he killed a fox, and last of all a hare. Khulagu, having seen this, complimented him greatly. When the two armies were close to one another a tall archer left the ranks of Bereke and approached King David. The King put an arrow to his bow, and struck this man's horse in the chest. The Georgians thereupon raised a cry of joy, and charged. When Bereke's men were defeated and being pursued, Khulagu was left with but four men on a small eminence. The fugitives noticing this, seven of them rushed upon him. Sargis, who was passing at the time with three other warriors, went to the rescue and killed four of the assailants, the rest escaping. On his return to Bardaa, Khulagu, we are told, covered the Georgian king with honours, and gave Sargis Sarnukalak, with all the surrounding district, and also Erak (? Irak).* This addition to his importance aroused the jealousy of some of the Georgians, who urged on the king that Sargis would now be so powerful that he would not obey him. He listened to them, went to consult the Noyan Elgon (called Engin by Wakhusht), and told him that if the Khan gave Sarnukalak to Sargis he might as well make him king. Elgon was surprised, and said the Khan had thus rewarded him because he had defended him, but if it displeased the King he would no doubt withdraw his gift. "You Georgians," he added, "do not know how to reward those who behave bravely in battle. Don't you know that Sargis saved the Khan's life, and fought most gloriously?" On Elgon's report to the Khan, Sarnukalak was taken away from Sargis, who was much irritated. The King was detained at Bardaa during the winter by the Khan, while Sargis, who was disaffected, went to Samtzkhé.†

Meanwhile, it would seem that Guantsa, or Gontsa, the widow of Avak, and wife of the Georgian King David, remained among the Tartars, among whom she was killed. According to the *Georgian Chronicle*, her death was instigated by her daughter, Khoshak, who was married to the Seviphaddar Khoja Shems ud din. Chamitch says it was Stephen the Orpelian who ordered her death, seized her goods, and gave her daughter in marriage to the Sahib divan of Khulagu. Stephen the Orpelian himself tells us Sempad, by order of Khulagu, caused her to be drowned, and appropriated the inheritance of Avak, of which he had been trustee. It is probable that her death really occurred in 1262-3.‡ The *Georgian Chronicle* says that the King, having thus lost his wife, married Esukan, daughter of the great noyan, Charmaghan, and sister of Shiramun, and left for Tiflis, where he celebrated his wedding with great rejoicings.

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* Op. cit., 565-566. † Hist. de la Géorgie, 567-568.
‡ Hist. de la Géorgie, 568-569. Note 4. Hist. de la Siounie, 234.

At this time there arrived at the Georgian Court, as fugitives from the country of Bereke, two wonderful women named Limachav. They had some young children with them of the race of Akhasarphasaian, the elder called Pharejn and the younger Bakathar;* there also went several chiefs, who were sent on to Khulagu. He remitted them again to David, who assigned them lands at Tiflis, Dmanis, and Jinwan.† Khulagu himself, on the approach of October, went to Shirwan, to a place called Chalan Ussuri, or White Water, where he formed the entrenchment of a camp, which was called Siba (an Arabic word, meaning an entrenchment). He went there as he expected an attack on the part of Bereke Khan. From this time, we are told, the Tartars and Georgians began to live at Siba from October till the spring.‡ Guiragos says that the war lingered on from the year 1261 to 1265, the two sides coming to blows every winter, but remaining quiet in the summer on account of the great heats and the swollen rivers.§

Rashid ud din says that Khulagu, having heard that Nogai was meditating another attack, ordered the Sheikh Sherif Tebrizi to cross the mountains of Lesghistan and to spy out what he was doing. The Sheikh having ventured into Nogai's camp, was made prisoner. Nogai asked him if it was true that Khulagu in his fury had slaughtered his sherifs, his grandees, his holy men, anchorites, and merchants. "It is true," said the Sheikh, "that he was much irritated, and has burnt the green with the dry; but now," he added, diverting into poetry, "by his justice the fire no longer burns the silk, and the kid sucks the lioness. Quite recently envoys have arrived from Khitai with the news that Khubilai has mounted the throne, that Arikbuka has recognised his authority, and that Alghui is dead. A yarligh, addressed to Khulagu, gives him authority over all the lands from the Oxus to the borders of Syria and Egypt, and 30,000 young Mongols, picked men, are marching to his assistance." On hearing this Nogai was much disturbed, and the Sheikh returned again to his master, who rewarded him handsomely.‖

At this time Jelal ud din, the son of the Little Devatdar, of whom we heard much in the account of the overthrow of the Khalifate, who had been much patronised by Khulagu, was nevertheless treacherous. He urged that there dwelt in the territory of the Khalif many Kipchak Turks, who knew perfectly the laws and customs of their country, and requested permission to collect them together, so that they might form the advance guard in the contemplated campaign against Bereke. Khulagu approved of the notion, and sent a yarligh and a paizah ordering the governors of Baghdad to make over to Jelal ud din what he should require in the shape of arms and war engines, and that he was to be free

* Like Brosset, I am at a loss to explain this sentence.
† Hist. de la Géorgie, 569. ‡ Op. cit., 569. § Op. cit., ed. Brosset, 193.
‖ Quatremere, 399-401.

to do as he pleased. He accordingly went to Baghdad, and having assembled those whom he deemed suited for military service, told them that Khulagu was enrolling them so that they might form a buckler and shield from the blows of the enemy. He said that death was their probable portion in the campaign, and if they survived it, it would only be to be dragged to another elsewhere. "You know," he said, "my origin, my family, and the ties which bind me to you. Although Khulagu has shown me very great favour, I cannot permit you to be slaughtered. I mean, with your help, to break the Mongol yoke. We must act together." They agreed to follow him. Thereupon, crossing the bridge of Baghdad, he fell on some Arabs of the tribe Khafajah, and captured a number of buffaloes and camels, and took from the treasury at Baghdad the horses, arms, and money necessary for the equipment of his men. Soon after, having told them to hold themselves in readiness, with their wives, children, slaves, servants, and goods, he again beat the drum for departure, and crossing the bridge of Baghdad, said to them, "Let us take our wives and families to visit the sacred places, for otherwise they will have no other dwelling-places than Derbend, Shirvan, and Shamakhi. As for the rest of us, let us provision ourselves from the Arabs of Khafajah, who are our enemies." After crossing the Euphrates, he said to them, "I mean to go to Syria and Egypt; those who care may follow me, while the rest may return." They were all afraid to speak, and went on together by way of Anah and Hadithah towards Syria and Egypt. Khulagu was naturally very much irritated when he heard of this treacherous act.*

Let us turn once more to Egypt, where a new Khalif was at this time inaugurated. This was the Amir Abdul Abbas Ahmed, who had escaped from the combat at A'nbar, as I have described. His inauguration took place on the 8th Moharrem, 661, and he took the title of the Imam Hakim bi Amr Allah, and when he had stated his genealogy, which was attested by the Kadhi Mohai ud din, the Sultan swore allegiance to him, and to his duty as a faithful Mussulman, whereupon the Khalif in turn invested him with the empire "over kingdoms and men" (*i.e.*, with universal empire). His example was followed by the various grandees, all in turn doing homage to the new head of the faith. At the grand audience when this ceremony took place the subjects of Bereke who had fled to Egypt, as I have described,† were present. After dispatching the envoys whom he sent to Bereke, and nominating Jemal ud din Akush as his viceroy at Damascus, Bibars set out for Gaza, in Syria, where he regulated the affairs of the Turkomans, and wrote to the ruler of Shiraz (*i.e.*, of Fars) and the Arabs of Khafajah, urging them to make war upon Khulagu, and encouraged them by telling them how he had heard of Bereke's recent victories over him.‡ From Gaza Bibars went on to Tur (*i.e.*, Mount Tabor),

* Quatremere, 405-415. † Ante, ii. 114-115. ‡ Makrizi, i. 189-190.

where he received a visit from Malik Ashraf, Prince of Hims, whom he treated with great courtesy. Not so Moguith, Prince of Karak, who was charged before the great officials, the judges, the ambassadors of the Franks, &c., with having carried on a correspondence with the Mongols, inciting them to invade Syria. From an intercepted letter of Khulagu it would seem the latter had offered him the government of Gaza. He was sent off prisoner to Egypt, where he was afterwards put to death.* Karak was soon after conquered, while on another side Bibars laid a heavy hand on the Crusaders, the allies of the Mongols, and returned home again after what was really a triumphal progress. I have described the embassies that passed at this time between Egypt and Kipchak at some length, and how, in the autumn of 1263, a large body of Bereke's people arrived in Egypt.† In the following spring there also went thither for shelter several officers of the army of Fars, some chiefs of the Arab tribe Khafajah, and the Amir of Irak Arab. They were rewarded with fiefs.

While Bereke and Bibars were united in their alliance, Khulagu was befriended by Haithon, the King of Little Armenia, who made an incursion upon the Egyptian territory, and advanced upon Aintab (Makrizi says upon Sarfand). He had previously formed an alliance with Rokn ud din, the Sultan of Rum. Bibars, who was kept well informed of the doings of his neighbours, ordered the troops belonging to the principalities of Hamath and Hims to advance upon Aleppo. The Egyptian troops followed them. This was in 1262-3. The Armenians were surprised and defeated, whereupon Haithon summoned to his help 700 Mongols who were encamped in Rum. With them he advanced into Syria, and was joined by 150 horsemen from Antioch. This little army encamped near Harim, but was obliged to withdraw by the severity of the weather. Haithon tried to deceive the Egyptians into believing that he had received a reinforcement, by dressing 1,000 of his men in Mongol capes and caps, but it availed him nothing, and the Egyptians revenged themselves by ravaging his borders and those of Antioch.‡

The rivalry of Khulagu and Bibars extended to the realms of diplomacy, and each one sought diligently for allies against the other. While Bibars drew the ties with Kipchak closer, and offered a ready asylum in Egypt to fugitives from the Ilkhan's dominions, the latter tried to win over some of Bibars' dependents, and allied himself with the various Christian communities, including the Crusaders, and with the rulers of Asia Minor. About the same time Bibars heard from his secret emissaries in Irak that Khulagu had dispatched two agents to try and tamper with his officers, and that they had set off by way of Sis, the capital of Little Armenia. He afterwards heard of their departure from Acre for Damascus, and ordered them to be arrested there. They were sent on to Cairo, where they

* Makrizi, 191-193, 242. D'Ohsson, iii. 395. Abulfeda, v. 3-9.
† Ante, ii. 117-122. ‡ Makrizi, i. 234-236. D'Ohsson, iii. 393-394.

were interrogated, and not being able to clear themselves were duly hanged.*

Khulagu had, as we have seen, put his vizier to death in the spring of 1263, when he marched to Shamakhi, and appointed Shems ud din Muhammed, of Juveni, in his place. He was given entire charge of the affairs of the empire, while his brother, Alai ud din Atta Mulk, the historian, was appointed governor of Baghdad.† The same year, Zain ud din Abul Muayid Suliman, son of the Amir El A'sarbani, better known as El Hafidi, was charged with embezzling some of the revenues of Damascus when he was governor there. Khulagu also accused him of an attempt to betray him, as he had betrayed his former masters, the Princes Nasir and Hafiz, and still earlier the Prince of Baalbek. He was executed, with all his family—his brothers, sons, relatives, and dependents, to the number of fifty; only one of his sons and one of his nephews escaped.‡

Khulagu's attention was now turned to Fars. We have seen how its ruler, Muzir ud din Abubekr, sent his brother Tahamtan with rich presents to the Khakan Ogotai,§ with his submission. Ogotai granted him a diploma of investiture, with the title of Kutlugh Khan. Fars, by this submission, was saved from Mongol attack. Its ruler paid an annual tribute of 30,000 gold dinars, which was not much, considering the revenues of the province. In addition, the prince generally sent a member of his family every year with presents to the Court of the Grand Khan. When Khulagu marched west he was met on the Oxus by Seljuk Shah, the nephew of Abubekr, who was well received by him. Abubekr died in 1260, and was succeeded by his son Said, who died twelve days later, leaving a young son in the care of his widow, Turkhan Khatun, sister of Alai ud daulat, Atabeg of Yezd. This infant, named Muhammed, died two years later, whereupon one of his uncles, named Muhammed Shah, who had commanded the contingent of Fars in Khulagu's campaign against Baghdad, succeeded. He was brave, but cruel, and his tyranny caused discontent. He had married Turkhan Khatun (Von Hammer says he married her daughter, Selgham). The Khatun, who disliked him, had him arrested as he was passing her harem, and conducted to Khulagu, with a message to the effect that he was not fit to reign. She then, with Khulagu's consent, released Seljuk Shah, brother of Muhammed (so named because he was descended from the Seljuki on the mother's side), from his imprisonment in the citadel of Istakhr, married him, and put him on the throne. He had a vile temper, and one day, when drunk, having been taunted with what he owed to Turkhan Khatun, he ordered a eunuch to go and decapitate her. Presently, the negro returned with the head of the beautiful princess in a golden basin, whereupon her brutal husband tore two pearls from her ears, and threw them to the musicians.

* D'Ohsson, iii. 394. † Quatremere, 403-405. ‡ Novairi, in D'Ohsson, iii. 397.
§ Ante, 36.

He then fell upon the two Mongol commissaries at his Court—Ogul Beg, or Oghlubeg, and Kutlugh Bitikji—killed one with his own hand, and had the other put to death, as well as all their people. Thereupon Khulagu ordered Muhammed Shah, whom he was about to release, to be put to death, and sent his generals, Altaju and Timur, together with the contingents of Ispahan, Luristan, Yezd, Kerman, and Ij,* to march upon Fars. They sent a messenger to call upon Seljuk to submit, and offering him pardon. The latter was cruelly maltreated. The Mongols accordingly entered Fars, with the ruler of Kerman, the Atabeg of Yezd, who was brother to Turkhan Khatun, and the Prince Ilk Nizam ud din Hasneviyeh, who ruled a small mountain district of Fars. Seljuk Shah retired with his troops to the borders of the Persian Gulf. The magistrates of Shiraz went out with banners, korans, and provisions to meet Altaju, who, having promised them safety, forbade his people to plunder and marched on. They met Seljuk Shah at Kazerun, or Kiarsun. He fought desperately, but had to give way, and took shelter in the mausoleum of a holy sheikh, named Morshed, where he was duly beleaguered. Going up to the saint's tomb, he struck its cover with his mace and broke it, saying, "O, sheikh, come to my help," for it was known there that the sheikh had bidden those who were menaced by any danger to let him know it at his tomb. The Mongols soon forced their way in and captured the Atabeg, who was put to death at the foot of the castle of Sifid. This was in 1264.† There only remained of the Salgar dynasty two daughters of Said, son of Abubekr. One of these, named Abish Khatun,‡ who was the daughter of Turkhan Khatun, was placed by Khulagu on the throne of Fars. Timur, one of the Mongol generals, wished to exterminate the people of Shiraz, as an example, but was restrained by his colleague, who declared its citizens were innocent, and that the army could not do this without an order from their master. He contented himself with carrying off some of the notables to Khulagu's Court.

Meanwhile, the grand judge of Fars, Sherif ud din, who was one of the chief Seyids or descendants of the Prophet in Fars, and therefore a person of much consequence, having become ambitious, called upon the people of the province to do him homage. In the various towns and villages he passed through many attached themselves to him, believing him to be the Madhi expected at the end of the world by the Shias, and that he performed miracles. Having adopted the insignia of royalty, he went from Shebankiareh to Shiraz with a crowd of followers. The Mongol prefect and Abish Khatun's chief minister sent an army of Mongols and Mussulmans against him. The rival forces met each other at Guvar. It was thought that spirits fought for the Sheikh, and that whoever struggled

* The capital of the Shebankiar princes.
† Mirkhond, quoted by D'Ohsson, iii. 397-402. Weil, iv. 131-132. Ilkhans, i. 241-243.
‡ See Ilkhans, i. 243. Note.

against him would be paralysed. At first the people of Shiraz were in consequence afraid to fight, but two soldiers having ventured to shoot their arrows others followed their example. The Mongols now charged the insurgents, who fled, and the Seyid with the greater part of his people were killed. This was in May, 1265. When Khulagu heard of the revolt he ordered Altaju to be bastinadoed for having interfered with his colleague's wish to destroy the people of Shiraz, and he sent a tuman of soldiers to wreak his vengeance on the place; but hearing that the Seyid had been killed, and that the Shiraz people had not taken his part, he revoked his order.*

After reigning for a year, Abish Khatun, who is called Uns by D'Ohsson, was summoned to the Ordu to marry Mangu Timur, son of Khulagu. From this time Fars was governed by the Mongol Divan, in the name of Abish, who brought her husband a handsome dowry, comprising a sixth of the domains of Shiraz, with an annual charge of 8,000 ducats upon them. She reigned nominally for twenty years, but the authority was really in the hands of the Mongol baskaks and maliks. On her death, in 1287, at Tebriz, the Salgarid dynasty came to an end.†

We will now turn to an obscure corner of our subject. A turbulent tribe of Kurds, named Shebankiars, occupied one of the five districts of Fars called Darabgherd. They succeeded in forming a separate principality, under Nizam ud din Mahmud, son of Yahia, grandson of Hasuieh, or Hasnuieh. In 624 the principality was ruled by Muzaffer ud din Muhammed, son of Almarz, son of Hasuieh, who increased his territory by the conquest of several towns and districts bordering on Hormuz. The district of Shebankiareh was bounded towards Fars by Hasuieh, Rabir, and Khireh. In another direction were the towns of Mishkanat, Lar, Babek or Sanek, and Guristan, seven parasangs from Hormuz.‡ The turbulent Shebankiars made raids on Fars, burnt the palm and other fruit trees, destroyed the crops, &c., and the troops of Fars sent against them made really no impression. In the year 658 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1260), Khulagu sent Tekucheneh, of the Jelair tribe, with orders to capture the fortress of Ij, the capital of the Shebankiars. He advanced with 17,000 men to attack it. Malik Muzaffer ud din Shebankiari and the garrison bravely defended it, when at length he was struck in the eye with an arrow, and died. His children and the principal inhabitants of the place thereupon determined to submit. Tekucheneh, having thus secured the capital, marced upon Esfid (the White Castle), situated to the south. This he captured, broke down its walls, and destroyed its cisterns. Ij itself, we are told, contained 17,000 houses, squeezed close together round the citadel. It was much favoured by nature, and produced the fruits both of warm and cold countries, and its purple

* Mirkhoud, in D'Ohsson, iii. 402-404. † *Id.*, 404. Ilkhans, i. 243.
‡ Quatremere, 445-446.

oranges, figs, and apricots were especially noted. Having secured the treasures in the place, Tekucheneh conferred the principality of Shebankiareh on Kutb ud din Mubarez, son of Malik Mozaffer ud din, and appointed Mongol darughas to be with him. Eleven months later, on the 10th Zulhijah, 659, Kotb ud din was assassinated by his brothers. He was succeeded by Nizam ud din Hasuieh, or Hasnujeh, son of Ghiath ud din Muhammed, and grandson of Muzaffer ud din. He fell on Zebr the 2nd, 662, in a fight with Seljuk Shah, near Kazerun, and was succeeded by his brother, Nusret ud din Ibrahim, by a special edict of Khulagu, and as his brother had been killed in fighting for the Khan he received orders, according to Mongol custom, to marry his widow. She eventually married in succession two of her husband's brothers. Nusret ud din died on Zebr the 2nd, 664, and was succeeded by Jelal ud din Taib Shah, who was on the throne for seventeen years.*

In the latter part of 1264 the Mongols laid siege to El Biret, where the Amir Jemal ud din Akush commanded on behalf of Bibars. It was deemed the key of Syria, and they proceeded to fill up its ditch with wood. The besieged mined underneath and set fire to the wood, and the battery of seventeen catapults which was brought against the walls was met by a vigorous resistance on the other side, in which even the women took part. It seems that the Franks had written to the Mongols advising them to invade Syria in the spring, when the Syrian troops were dispersed in their several fiefs and their horses were out at grass. When Bibars heard that El Biret was being assailed he sent a contingent under the Amir Iz ud din Aigan, and four days later a second body, under Jemal ud din Aidogdi, to its assistance. Bibars set out in person on the 27th of January, 1265. He arrived six days later at Gaza, and there heard of the precipitate retreat of the enemy, the fact being that on the approach of the Amir Aigan, in alliance with Mansur, Prince of Hamath, they had raised the siege and hastily retired. Bibars ordered El Biret to be supplied with arms, provisions, and everything that would enable it to sustain a siege for ten years. He sent 200,000 drachmas and 300 robes of honour to be distributed among its defenders.† Meanwhile, he proceeded to press the Crusaders once more. Abulfeda tells us that this year (*i.e.*, 1264) he captured Carkesia (*i.e.*, Circesium, one of the towns on the Euphrates) from the Tartars, which was governed in his name by Rahaba.‡

Let us return once more to Khulagu. He spent the year 1264 in reforming the administration of his dominions. He charged his eldest son, Abaka, with the government of Irak, Mazanderan, and Khorasan, as far as the Oxus. To Yashmut, his third son, he intrusted Arran and Azerbaijan, as far as the Araxes. The provinces of Diarbekr and Diar-

* Quatremere, Rashid ud din, 447-448. † D'Ohsson, iv. 404-406.
‡ Op. cit., v. 17.

rabia, from the Tigris as far as the Euphrates, were made over to the Amir Tudan. Rum was assigned to Mo'yin ud din Pervaneh, Tebriz to the Malik Sadr ud din, Kerman to Turkan Khatun, and Fars to the Amir Ankianu.* This is Rashid's statement, but in reference to Kerman it is certainly a mistake, for Kerman was subject to the family of Borak, the Kara Khitaian.

Vartan tells us how, during the year 1264, the great Ilkhan, Khulagu, summoned him by a man named Shnorhavor (*i.e.*, the gracious), who had acquired considerable influence at the Courts of Khulagu and Batu. Shnorhavor transported him and his companions, viz., the Vartabieds Sargis and Gregory and the married priest Avak, from Tiflis. They arrived at the solemn season of the Mongol new year, that is, in July, when the Tartars spent a month in feasting, and held their kuriltai or grand assembly, which was attended by the various chiefs and by the subject princes. Each day, says our author, those who attended the meeting wore a costume of a different colour.† Vartan noticed at the Court, Haithon, King of Little Armenia, David, King of Georgia, the Prince of Antioch, and a number of Sultans from Persia. When he was admitted the ceremony of prostration was excused. Khulagu caused his visitor to bless the wine which he received from his hands. "I have sent for you," said the Mongol chief, "that you might see me and make my acquaintance, and pray for me with all your heart." He caused him to be seated, and offered him wine, while the monks, his companions, chanted hymns. The Georgians, the Syrians, and the Greeks all celebrated their offices. Khulagu, noticing what a crowd of clergy had assembled, said he had summoned only him, and wanted to know why they had gone at this particular time to see and bless him—a most unusual phenomenon—and concluded that it was by the special favour of God, a view in which Vartan diplomatically concurred. On one occasion he sought a more private interview with our chronicler, making his people stand at a distance, and related to him, in the presence of two others only, the various events of his life from his childhood. He told him that his mother was a Christian, and that he felt much attached to the Christians, and, taking his hand, bade him speak frankly if he wanted him to do anything. Vartan says he answered as he was inspired: "Just as you are raised above other men, so are you more like a god. The throne of God reposes on justice. He gives to each nation the empire of the world, and puts it to the proof. Hitherto these nations have ravaged the earth and been pitiless towards the unfortunate. They now have to bear a heavy servitude themselves, and their plaints are laid before God, who has taken the power away from them and given it to others. If you are benefactors to the people and pitiful to the weak, He will not take it from

* Quatremere, Rashid ud din, 403. † Compare the statements of Rubruquis, &c.

you, but will let you keep what He gave you, for He takes away from one and gives to another as He pleases. Place about your gates men who fear God and are faithful to yourself. When the unfortunate come to you with tears in their eyes, and with nothing to offer, send them home again satisfied. Cause your realm to be inspected by honest men, who will not take bribes, and will report the truth to you." Khulagu replied that it was singular these views should have been already impressed on his heart, and asked if God had appeared to his visitor or spoken to him. Vartan said no, he was but a poor fisherman, and had merely read the books of men who had spoken on God's behalf, while kings were in the hands of God, who it was clear had spoken to him (Khulagu) personally. He went on to tell him that all the Christians who lived on land or sea were devoted to him at heart, and did not cease to pray for him. "I believe it is so," said Khulagu, "but the Christians are not in God's presence. What good will it do if they pray to Him for me? Can they secure a favourable hearing? Can the Christian priest cause God to come down on to the earth. Those alone pray to God who follow His ways. On these questions we and our brothers are at issue, for we love the Christians and their faith is favourably looked upon by us, while they favour the Mussulmans. Why don't you wear a robe of golden tissue, instead of one of sheep's skin?" Vartan replied, he was not a grandee, but a simple monk; that gold and dust were to him of equal value, and what he would prize much more would be to secure his goodwill for the people. The conversation ended by Khulagu offering him money to buy incense for his church. At a subsequent interview, where he bade him adieu, Khulagu gave him a balish and two dresses. He also gave him a yarligh or diploma, which he bade him read to see if it contained what he wished, and if not to alter it, and told him he had confided the care of his country and person to Sakhaltu and Shampandin, with orders to obey his behests.*

Abulfeda thus enumerates the provinces ruled by Khulagu: Khorasan, whose capital was Nishapur; Irak Ajem, commonly called Belad al Jibal (*i.e.*, the mountainous region), whose capital was Ispahan; Irak Arab, whose capital was Baghdad; Azerbaijan, with its capital, Tebriz; Khurestan, with its capital, Tostar (*i.e.*, Shuster); Fars, with its capital, Shiraz; Diar Bekr, with its capital, Mosul; and Rum, whose capital was Conia (*i.e.*, Iconium).† Rashid says he had been told by the Sheikh Shems ud din, of Ispahan, that Khulagu never enjoyed absolute authority. He ruled as the viceroy of his brother Mangu, and could not strike money in his own name, but the dinars and dirhems were struck in the name of Mangu Khan, a practice which was followed out by Khulagu's son, Abaka. Arghun, the son of Abaka, was the first to add his name to the coins, and

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 300-305. † Op. cit., v. 15-17.

Gazan eventually excluded the Khakan's name altogether. During the reign of Khulagu and his successors the Khakan had an amir who lived at their Courts as his representative, and who was treated with great consideration and honour,* but after the step taken by Gazan, as above mentioned, this office virtually ceased, and became of small repute. The author of the "Mesalik Alabsar" confirms the statement that Khulagu never had absolute authority. During Khulagu's reign and those of his successors the Khakan used to send an amir into Iran, who lived there as his representative, and who was treated with every honour and consideration by the reigning Ilkhan.†

The actual power of Khulagu was no doubt greatly strengthened by the struggle which took place for the supreme Khanship of the Mongols in Mongolia. I described this struggle in a former volume.‡ We are told that among those who supported Arikbuka against Khubilai was Jumkur, the son of Khulagu, who had his camp in Mongolia, in Mangu's old country, and was therefore constrained to side with Arikbuka, who represented the Nomadic Mongols against Khubilai, whose settlement in China, and adoption of Chinese habits, had probably irritated his less sedentary subjects. When, subsequently, Arikbuka declared war against Alghui, the chief of the Jagatai Horde, Jumkur accompanied him; but, feigning illness, he left him when near Samarkand and went to join his father, who all through took the side of Khubilai, as his rival, Bereke, did that of Arikbuka. Jumkur had been previously ordered by Khulagu to remain neutral.§ Khubilai rewarded Khulagu's constancy by appointing him, as we have seen, ruler of all the country from the Oxus to the borders of Egypt,‖ and he adopted the title of Ilkhan, on which see the note at the end of the chapter.

Khulagu died on the night of the 19th Rebi, 663 (*i.e.*, the 8th of February, 1265), at the age of 48. "A comet," says Rashid ud din, "appeared in the sky, in the shape of a pointed column, and showed itself for several nights. When it at length disappeared there happened the great catastrophe."¶ Makrizi also describes this comet in some detail, and from his account it must have been a very imposing object.** Malakia and Guiragos also describe it at some length. The former says that Khulagu, as soon as he saw it, knew that it referred to him. He touched the ground with his head and adored God, and his fears increased greatly as its light diminished. Khulagu survived the appearance of this comet only for a year, when he died, leaving thirty sons.†† Vartan, in referring to the great chief's death, uses the turgid phrase, "Death, with his great foot, overthrew this lofty mountain, and levelled it with the

* Quatremere, 12. Note. † Quatremere, Rashid ud din, 12-13. Notes.
‡ Ante, i. 217, &c. § Quatremere, 101. Ilkhans, i. 222.
‖ Rashid ud din, quoted by Quatremere, 12-13. Notes. ¶ Quatremere, 417.
** Op. cit., i. 241-242.
†† Malakia, 458-459. Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 194. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 508.

plain." This contrasts sharply with the terse words of Abulfeda, "In the year 683, 4th month and 9th day, there died the cursed chief of the Tartars, Hulaku, son of Tului, son of Jingis Khan, near Meragha."* It happened in his winter quarters, on the banks of the River Chagatu Nagatu, that is, says Rashid, the Zerineh rud, or golden river.† (See Note 3.) According to the Egyptian historian, Ibn Tagri berdi, Khulagu was subject to fits of epilepsy, which perhaps account for his strange cruelties at times, and the attacks became more and more frequent, until he had two and three fits in one day. He at last became worse, and after lingering for two months, died.‡ He was buried on the summit of the mountainous island of Shahu, opposite Dihkhawarkan (the Deschawakan of Von Hammer). D'Ohsson identifies it with Yala, on Lake Urmia, but Von Hammer questions this, and quotes Rashid to show it was near Mount Sehend (*i.e.*, near Kazvin).§ According to Mongol custom, they placed gold and precious stones in the tomb, while some young and beautiful damsels, in rich garments, were buried with him, and funeral meats were offered at his grave for several days.‖

Vartan tells us that on one occasion Khulagu said to him, "I have not sent for you to obtain exemption from death for me, for I know it to be inevitable, but that you will pray God that I may not die by the treason of my enemies." "God alone knows," says this chronicler, "whether this wish was gratified, for the news spread abroad that he was in fact poisoned."¶ This is not altogether unlikely, when we consider the animosity he and his wife showed to the Mussulmans. His death was quickly followed by those of two of his wives—one of them the mother of his eighth son, Ajai, eight days after his own death ; and four months and eleven days later the famous Princess Tokuz, or Dokuz Khatun, who had been his father's wife before she joined his harem.** She was a Christian, and through her influence, as Rashid ud din says, the Christians were much favoured by Khulagu, who, profiting by this patronage, built many churches in various provinces.†† Vartan says the Tartars carried about with them on their journeys a cloth tent in the form of a church, where the jamahar or rattle called the faithful to prayers, and where priests and deacons performed the services daily. There were also schools for the children. The ecclesiastics were well treated at their Court, and consequently crowded thither from all parts.‡‡ Malakia says much the same.§§

The deaths of Khulagu and his wife were naturally much regretted by the Christians. Rashid tells us how, to please her, Khulagu had loaded them with favours, that churches daily arose in various parts of the empire, and that one was always stationed at the gate of her ordu,

* Op. cit., v. 15. † Quatremere, 401. D'Ohsson, iii. 406-407. ‡ *Id.*, 406. Note 3.
§ Quatremere, 417. Ilkhans, 229. ‖ D'Ohsson, iii. 406-407. Wassaf, 97.
¶ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 308. ** Quatremere, Rashid ud din, 419-423.
†† D'Ohsson, iii. 407. ‡‡ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 290. §§ Op. cit., 455.

where bells were sounded.* Bar Hebræus writes, in 1265, "At the beginning of Easter died Khulagu, whose wisdom, magnanimity, and great deeds are not to be matched. The following year died the very faithful queen, Dokuz Khatun. The grief of Christians in all the world was very great at the departure of these great lights and protectors of the Christian religion."† Stephen Orpelian speaks in even stronger terms. "The great and pious king, the master of the world, the hope and stay of the Christians, Khulagu Khan, died in the year 1264. He was soon followed by his respected wife, Dokuz Khatun. They were both," he adds, "poisoned by the crafty Sahib Khoja. The Lord knows they were not inferior in well-doing to Constantine and his mother Helena!!!"‡ Haithon, speaking of Dokuz Khatun, says she was devoted to the Christians and very zealous in destroying the temples of the Saracens, and so illused the latter that they dared not show themselves.§

This sympathy for the Christians seems to have reached the ears of the Roman Pontiff, and Odoric Raynald has published a letter without name or date, but which he assigns to Alexander IV., and the year 1261. The Pope expresses the pleasure with which he had heard from a certain Hungarian, named John, how he had been commissioned by Khulagu to report to him his willingness to become a Catholic, and his wish that some one would go and baptise him. "O what joy," says the Pope, "fills our heart when we consider how your presence will delight your Maker and Redeemer, who gave Himself up for the salvation of mankind to the punishment of the Cross, if you present yourself on the day of judgment with the mark of baptism and the other emblems of Christianity; not only you, but all your subjects, who will no doubt follow your example, a fact which will increase your merit and your eternal recompense. Surrounded by this crowd, rescued from the very throat of the enemy, with what safety will you await this terrible judgment. Consider, my son, consider how transitory is this life—how quickly and easily the body decays. If you have any such intention, therefore, it would be well to lose no time. See how it would enlarge your power in your contests with the Saracens if the Christian soldiery were to assist you openly and strongly, as it could, with the grace of God. You would thus increase your temporal power, and inevitably also secure eternal glory. For the rest, as the aforesaid John has not produced clear proofs of his commission, we have addressed our letters to our venerable brother, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, telling him to inform himself of your Serenity's intentions, and then to write to us. This is why we request you to confide your wishes to the patriarch, so that we may make all the necessary arrangements."‖

Guiragos tells us how Khulagu was much imposed upon by the Tartar

* Quatremere, 95. † Op. cit., Chron. Syr., 567. Chron. Arab., 355.
‡ Hist. de la Siounie, 234-235. St. Martin Memoires, ii. 151-153. § Op. cit., 44.
‖ Mosheim, Hist. Eccl. Tart., Appendix, xvii. D'Ohsson, iii. 410-412.

magicians, whom they called Tuins, who he says could make horses, camels, and the idols made of felt* talk. The priests had their heads shaved, and wore yellow mantles fastened about their necks. They adored everything, but especially Sakyamuni and Madri (*i.e.*, Maitreya). The former, says Vartan, was a god, and had already lived 3,040 years; he still had 37 tumans of years (*i.e.*, 370,000), when Madri would evict him. They persuaded Khulagu that he himself would live to a great age in his present body, and would then pass into a new one.† He regulated his conduct by their decisions, and halted, marched, or mounted on horseback when they pronounced it propitious. He daily prostrated himself several times before their chief. He ate meats consecrated in the idol temples, and treated the priests with greater consideration than anyone else, and was very lavish in gifts to their temples. His wife, Dokuz Khatun, reproached him frequently, but she could not turn him aside from these magicians.‡

Malakia tells us that many kings and princes having offered him rich presents, Khulagu became so powerful and rich that his horsemen and troops were innumerable. His riches, precious stones, and pearls were like the sands of the sea, without counting all kinds of precious things, a great quantity of gold and silver, and horses and cattle without number. Personally, he says, he was a man of great intelligence and justice, that he was very cultivated, and although he shed a great quantity of blood, he only put the wicked and his enemies to death, and not good men!!! He loved the Christians more than any others. He reports that when he once levied a tax of 200,000 heads of sows§ upon Armenia, he sent 200 swine into each of the towns belonging to the Tajiks (*i.e.*, the Persians), with orders that they were to eat them, and ordered a special report to be furnished him of those who ate the pork. If any Tajik, great or small, refused to eat, he had him decapitated. He did this (*i.e.*, this outrage upon Muhammedan feelings) to please the Georgians and Armenians in his service, who, from their bravery, he named bahadurs. His body guard, who took charge of the entrance of his tent, was made up of the sons of the great Armenian and Georgian princes, whom he named kesiktoi. They were armed with bows and arrows. He began the restoration of the places which had been devastated, and selected certain artisans from each town, whom he called yam, one from each of the small ones and two from the great, and sent them in various directions to repair the ruins, exempting them from all taxes except to supply bread and soup to the Tartars who should pass that way.‖

Novairi reports some singular judgments given by Khulagu. Several people went one day to ask justice from him against a manufacturer of

* The *idola* or *imagines de filtro* of Rubruquis and Plano Carpini, and *les dieux de feutre* of Marco Polo. † Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 306.

‡ Guiragos, ed. Brosset, 193-194. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 507.

§ Brosset says the translation of the word is doubtful. ‖ Op. cit., 456-457.

files, who had killed one of their relatives, and who they demanded should be given up to them for punishment. Khulagu having inquired if there were many manufacturers of files in the country, and learning there were only few, ordered the aggrieved to avenge their relative's blood upon a manufacturer of pack saddles, for they were numerous. As they insisted that this would not do, he made over a cow to them in satisfaction. On another occasion, a gold embroiderer having thrust out the eye of a man in a quarrel, Khulagu ordered an arrow maker to be deprived of an eye, and when asked the reason for this curious decision, he said the embroiderer had need of both eyes, while the other had need of but one, since he closed the other to see if his arrow was straight.* He was very fond of architecture.† The year before his death he divided between his architectural works and the administration of the empire. He also pushed on the completion of the observatory at Meragha, which we have already named. Rashid ud din says he was also very fond of philosophy. He encouraged learned men to discuss science and history, and granted them pensions and gifts, and was especially fond of alchemy. In the pursuit of this hobby, says the matter-of-fact historian, his assistants burnt a great number of different substances and, "without any real gain, caused many large and small volumes of smoke, and made some large earthen crucibles. But all this produced nothing, and merely earned them their morning and evening meals. Nor could they produce a single piece of gold or silver which they had made, from their laboratories. The amount of money wasted in this search was so enormous that the unfortunate Karun, during all his life, and with the aid of the philosopher's stone, could not have replaced it."‡

Khulagu had six wives and twelve concubines. The first wife was Dokuz Khatun, of whom we have said so much. She had been betrothed to his father, Tului, shortly before the latter's death, but Tului had not consummated the marriage. According to Mongol custom, Khulagu married his stepmother. Her niece Tukuri, or Tukiti, became one of his concubines, and inherited her ordu.§ Dokuz was the daughter of Ittiko, or Iku, second son of Wang Khan, and was therefore niece of Khulagu's mother. They neither of them had children. He also married two wives from the Uirat tribe, viz., Kubak, Koyuk, or Kuik Khatun, and her half-sister Oljai, the former the mother of his second son, Jumkur, and the latter of his eleventh son, Mangu Timur. They were both daughters of the Uirat chief, Turalji. Kuik's mother was Jijegan, daughter of Jingis Khan. Kuik was the first wife married by Khulagu. She died in Mongolistan. He also had two wives from the Kunkurat tribe—Kutui Khatun, the mother of Tekshin (called Bikin and also Tekshi by Quatremere), his fourth, and of Ahmed Takudar, his seventh son; and

* D'Ohsson, iii. 409-410. † *Vide infra.* Note 3. ‡ Quatremere, 401-403.
§ Quatremere, 95.

Mertai Khatun, who was childless. The former had the ordu of Kuik given her when she died. Yisut, or Yisunchin (Quatremere calls her Sunjin), of the Suldus tribe, was the mother of Khulagu's eldest son and successor, Abaka, who was only a month older than Jumkur.* Yashmut and Tuzin, Khulagu's third and sixth sons, were by a Chinese concubine, named Tukaji, or Bukajin Ikaji, who was a slave in the household of his wife Kutui. Tarakai, who was killed by lightning in Persia, was the son of Burkajin, also a slave in Kutui's household; he was Khulagu's fifth son. The mother of Ajai, his eighth son, was Irtikan Ikaji (called Arikak by Quatremere), also in the household of Kutui. He remained at the head of her establishment when Khulagu marched westwards. Ajuji or Juji Ikaji, the mother of his ninth son, Kuikurtai, or Kunkurtai,† was a slave in the household of Dokuz. She was afterwards decked with the boktak or pyramidal cap, which was the symbol and privilege of a wife, as distinguished from a concubine.‡ Yesudar, the tenth son, had Uwishjin (Quatremere calls her Hesijin, sister of Akrabeighi), the Kurlas, for his mother; Hulaju, his twelfth son, had Il Kaji, a slave in the household of Dokuz, for his; while the mother of Sherbaweji, or Siauji, the thirteenth, and Taghai Timur, the fourteenth son, was also a slave in the household of Kutui. Her name is illegible in the MS. followed by Quatremere. Of Khulagu's seven daughters, Bulughan Aka was the daughter of Kobak, or Kuik. She married her uncle, Jume Kurkan, the son of the Tartar Juji, brother of Bokdan Khatun, chief wife of Abaka Khan; on her death he married Jemi, Khulagu's second daughter by his wife Oljai (Quatremere calls her Hami). His third daughter, Mengelugan, or Manglukan, also by Oljai, was married to Jaku, or Jakir, Kurkan, the son of the Uirat Buka, or Tuka, Timur, and the brother of Oljai; she therefore married her uncle. His fourth daughter, Tutukaj, or Budakaj, by a slave in the household of Dokuz, was first married to the Uirat Tengkir, or Tenker, Kurkan; she afterwards married his son Sulamish, and lastly his grandson Jijak Kurkan, so that she was married to the father, son, and grandson. The fifth, Tarakai, whose mother was the concubine Irtikan Ikaji (Quatremere here calls her Baganikaji) already named, was married to the Kunkurat Musa Kurkan, the grandson of Jingis Khan, by his daughter Tumalun. The sixth daughter, Kutlukan, or Kotlkan, whose mother was Menklikaj ikaji, was first married to Yisubuka Kurkan, of the tribe Durban, and afterwards to his son Takel. Baba, Khulagu's seventh daughter, whose mother was Oljai, was married to Legsi, or Lekzi, Kurkan, the son of the famous amir, Arghun Aka, of the Uirat tribe.§

During Khulagu's reign coins were struck both in silver and copper. They may be divided into two series—those struck during the supremacy

* Ilkhans, i. 82-83. † Quatremere, 107. ‡ *Id.*
§ Ilkhans, i. 83-86. Quatremere, 107-113.

of Mangu (spelt Mönghe on the coins) as Supreme-Khan, on which Mangu's name and title occur in full; and those struck during the reign of Khubilai, in which only the Grand Khan's title occurs, and on which the inscription reads: "The very great Kaan; the great Hulagu Ilkhan." During the former period Khulagu styles himself Khan on his coins, and during the latter Ilkhan. On his coins in the British Museum, Mosul, El Basrah, Mardin, El Mubarakiyeh, El Jezireh, Irbil, and Jorjan occur as mint places. As in the case of some of the Khans of the Golden Horde, previously referred to,* coins occur with Khulagu's name on them struck in the years 665-669, that is, after his death.† These posthumous coins are probably to be explained in the same way as those of Janibeg.‡

Note 1.—On his coins struck during the reign of Mangu, as we have seen, Khulagu styled himself Khan, but after the accession of Khubilai he called himself, as did his successors, Ilkhan. This title has received more than one explanation. Quatremere has devoted a learned note to it. *Il*, in the dialect of Jagatai-Turkish, and in Persian, means nation, tribe, or people. The word is used also as an adjective, and then means subject, dependent. As used by the Mongols, Ilkhan doubtless meant Khan of the people, or of the nation. It must be remarked, however, that in a marginal note to a passage in Wassaf *Il* is glossed as meaning "Great," Ilkhan thus meaning Great Khan. The former meaning is, however, much more probable.§ Fraehn, in a memoir on the coins of the dynasty, supposes the title conveys a notion of dependence on the Grand Khan. He also explains it as meaning the strong Khan, the energetic Khan. It has also been explained as meaning Prince of Peace. Vartan gives the title as Elghan, whence Brosset suggests the Georgians derived the forms Eldjin and Ehdjin.‖

Note 2.—The Mongols were essentially nomades, and they never ceased to be more or less nomades during their occupation of Persia. Their armies had wintering quarters and summering quarters, between which they moved to and fro. Many stories are told to show their attachment to their nomadic life. *Inter alia*, we read how the powerful amir Nuruz, wishing to seek shelter at Herat, was warned by some of his people, who said to him: "The Mongols have the immensity of the desert in lieu of fortresses and citadels. It behoves the amir, therefore, to renounce his project, and that he takes care not to confine himself between four walls."¶ The author of the "Mesalek Alabsar" says: "The town of Aujan is situated near Tebriz. It is surrounded by splendid meadows, and has capital supplies of water. There is a palace there, built by the later Mongol chiefs, and all around it the principal amirs have built themselves houses. The princes, amirs, and chiefs also form

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* Ante, ii. 204. † Poole's Catalogue of Oriental Coins, vi. 8-16. ‡ *Vide* Ante, ii. 204.
§ Quatremere, Rashid ud din, 14-15. Note. ‖ Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 539. Note.
¶ Quatremere, 69-70. Notes.

pounds or parks, inclosed with reeds and wattles, in which they keep their cattle, and in which they live during the winter season, which they pass at Aujan. They also make tents of felt and horsehair. During the winter the place looks like a vast town, with great streets and markets in it, but when they leave Aujan for their summer quarters they set fire to all the huts, for otherwise a vast number of serpents would accumulate there. The princes of Iran (*i.e.*, the Ilkhans) passed the winter either at Aujan or at Baghdad. The summer camp is at Karabagh, meaning in Turkish the black garden, and so called from the colour of the soil. In that district are many settlements. The air is pure, the water excellent, and the pasture abundant. When the ordu, or Ilkhan's camp, is fixed there, and the princesses and amirs have built their houses, jamis or mosques are also built, and bazaars, where objects of all kinds are sold, are constructed. There are also houses for courtesans. Although food, utensils, clothes, &c., are there in any quantity, they are very dear, in consequence of the cost of transport, which doubles their value. The Sultan always has with him in his journeys some of the principal wise men and doctors, who receive pensions from the treasury. Each one is accompanied by several fakihs (jurisconsults) and disciples, and they are known as itinerant doctors. The chief officers of state, commanders of troops, tax officials, scribes, and workmen of all kinds follow the ordu, so that it resembles a large town. Tents, ready made and furnished, and of various sizes, can be bought by those who need them."*

To revert to Aujan, the wintering quarters of the Mongols. Ghazan Khan gave a grand fête there, which is described in detail by Rashid ud din. Wassaf also names a general kuriltai or diet as having been held there. It was at Aujan that Uljaitu was proclaimed Ilkhan, and it was near there that Adil Shah Khatun, wife of Abu Said, died in 732 HEJ. Timur, after his expedition against Baghdad, spent eight days at Aujan, in Arghun's palace. Lastly, in 823 the famous Turkoman chief Kara Yusuf died there.† Rashid ud din refers to the Zerineh rud, or Golden River, called Chagatu Nagatu by the Mongols, as the wintering quarters of Khulagu.‡ According to the author of the "Nozhat Alkolub" this river springs in the mountains of Kurdistan, not far from a town called Siahkuh. It traverses the district of Meragha, and unites with the rivers of Safi, and Bagatu or Nagatu, and eventually falls into the salt lake of Tasuj (*i.e.*, the Lake of Urmia).§ The summer quarters of the Mongols in the time of Khulagu and his successors, according to Rashid, were in the neighbourhood of Alatagh. Khulagu halted there in his campaign against Syria, and, we are told, was so pleased with the pastures in the neighbourhood that he gave it the name of Lebnasagut.‖ According to the "Jihan Numa" the Alatagh range is that in which the Murad chai, or Euphrates, springs. Alatagh, in Turkish, means the spotted mountain.¶ Rashid ud din tells us that Khulagu built a palace there, and idol temples (*i.e.*, Buddhist temples) at Khoi.** Malakia, in referring to this palace, says it was built in the plain of Darhin Dasht, adding the odd comment, which is no

* Quatremere, 21-23. Note. † *Id.*, 23. Note. ‡ *Id.*, 400.
§ *Id.*, 103-105. Note. ‖ *Id.*, 329. ¶ D'Ohsson, iii. 380. ** Quatremere, op. cit., 411.

doubt a mis-translation, that he called it after his own name, Alatagh. He adds further that this place was formerly the residence of the kings of Armenia, of the Arkhakunian dynasty.* Chamitch identifies this plain with the famous plain of Mughan, whose pastures are so famous, and which is situated partly in Azerbaijan and partly in Arran and Shirvan.† Stephen the Orpelian, speaking of the same palace, calls the plain where it was built Darhan Dasht, and says the Tartars called it Aladagh. Sempad, we are further told, went to Basen, by order of Khulagu, to get red cedar-wood for this palace.‡ St. Martin also identifies this plain with the plain of Mughan, south of the Kur and the Araxes.§

Note 3.—The fact of Khulagu marrying his stepmother, Dokuz or Tokuz Khatun, sounds strangely in our ears, but it was quite in accordance with the Mongol law. Quatremere says that when a man died among the Mongols, and above all a prince, his wives became the property of his eldest son, who could marry which he liked, except his mother, and dispose of the rest as he pleased. Juveni says this was the custom among the Mongols and Uighurs, and he is confirmed by Abulfaraj. According to Haidar Razi, the Mongol law prescribed that the senior wife had the disposal of the others, but Quatremere suggests that the senior wife is here a mistake for the eldest son. Rubruquis says that on the death of a Mongol chief his son married his various wives, except his own mother. Similar statements are made by Carpini and Marco Polo. Among the Mongols a man's sons took rank according to the rank of their mother.‖ Khulagu only married Dokuz Khatun after he had crossed the Oxus, when he already had several other wives, but as his father's widow she retained her pre-eminent position.

Note 4.—In 1259 Khulagu was visited by an envoy from his brother Mangu, named Chang ti. The narrative of his journey has been published by Remusat and Pauthier, whence I abstracted it in the first volume of this history.¶ Since then there has appeared Dr. Bretschneider's admirable edition of the same story, which has corrected many mistakes, and is illustrated by his usual wealth of notes, and I feel bound to abstract the story again from his pages, in so far as it deals with the Ilkhan's dominions, leaving the earlier part of the journey to be illustrated in the next volume. Two days after leaving Talas, he says, he reached Bie-shi-lan (? Tashkend), where a fair was held by the Muhammedans like the fairs in China. Next day Chang ti crossed the Hukien, or Sir Daria, in a boat resembling a Chinese lady's shoe. Jade, we are told, was produced in the mountains at the sources of the Sir Daria. In the district our traveller now entered there were post stations, and inns like bathing-houses (*i.e.*, caravanserais), whose windows and doors were glazed. Ten golden dinars was the maximum poll tax paid by each individual there. Sün sze kan (*i.e.*, Samarkand) our diarist describes as large and populous, and the country round as very fertile, roses and other flowers, vines, rice, winter wheat, and many medicinal plants growing abundantly. Chang ti crossed the Anbu, (*i.e.*, the Amu Daria or Oxus) on the 14th of the 3rd month. In this district,

* Op. cit., 456. † *Id.* Note 1. ‡ Hist. de la Siounie, 233.
§ Memoires, ii. 283. Note 10. ‖ Quatremere, Rashid ud din, 92-93. Notes. ¶ i. 280.

he tells us, it did not rain in summer, only in autumn, when the ground became very moist. There were large swarms of locusts there, and of birds which ate them. Bretschneider identifies the latter with the *pastor roseus*.* Five days later he passed Lich'u (?), where mulberry trees and jujubes abounded. In this place he tells us the Mongols halted for some days in their march westward. Our traveller successively passed Ma lan (? Merv),† Na shang (? Nishapur),‡ where lucerne was the chief grass and where cypresses were used for hedges, and T'i-sao-r § Thence he went by Gi-li-r (? some place in eastern Mazanderan).‖ Here large lizards, five feet long, and with black and yellow bodies, were found;¶ and passing A-la-ding (?) and Ma-tze-t'sang-r (?), where the people wore dishevelled hair, red turbans, and black clothes, thus resembling devils, he apparently terminated his journey and reached the Court of Khulagu (who was then at Tebriz) in the latter part of April, 1259. We have no account of his further progress, or of his dealings with Khulagu.** I ought to add that the whole of the narrative of his journey, with nearly all the illustrations, I owe to Dr. Bretschneider.

* Op. cit., 77. Note 78. † *Id.* Note 81. ‡ *Id.*

§ Bretschneider suggests Sebzevar. He remarks that Conolly mentions mines of rock salt near Nishapur. *Id.*, 78. Notes 83-84. ‖ *Id.* Note 96.

¶ Dr. Bretschneider suggests they were a species of *stellio*. *Id.*, 80. Note 97. ** *Id.*, 81.

CHAPTER IV.

ABAKA KHAN.

VARTAN, who was in the confidence of Dokuz Khatun, Khulagu's Christian wife, tells us that before the Khan's death she consulted him as to whether they should say masses for his soul. He replied that this would not be proper, but that they should distribute charity and remit taxes. The Syrians on the contrary argued that such a mass was allowable. Dokuz Khatun also consulted him as to whether Abaka should be put on the throne in accordance with his father's will, or no, and he advised that he should be so.*

When Khulagu died a courier was dispatched to summon Abaka, who held the post of Governor of Khorasan, and who was then in winter quarters in Arran,† with his vizier, Arghun, and the princess Oljai Khatun. All the routes leading to the imperial residence were meanwhile closed, and travellers were stopped. Yashmut, his younger brother, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Derbend, arrived seven days after his father's death, and hastened to sound the amirs as to his own prospects, but meeting with no encouragement he left again, two days later, for his government. Abaka arrived at the ordu of Chagatu on the 9th of March, 1265,‡ and was welcomed by the amirs; the marshal of the ordu, Ilkai, offering him the funeral meat and wine usual on such occasions. Having presented their devotions to the spirit of the dead chieftain, the khatuns, princes of the blood, and generals met to elect a successor. The principal chiefs who thus came together were: Ilga or Ilkai, Sugunjak, Suntai, Abatai, Temagu (called Semaghar by Von Hammer), Singtur or Shiktur, and Arghun Aka.§ Singtur, who had received the last wishes of Khulagu, attested that he had nominated Abaka as his successor. As was usual, he professed to decline the honour, and offered it to each of his brothers, but they as regularly on their knees pressed it upon him. He then said he could not mount the throne without the concurrence of his uncle, the Khakan Khubilai. The whole assembly replied that no one had a better right to the throne than himself, who was the eldest brother and had been

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 308. † D'Ohsson says in Mazanderan.
‡ Weil, on the authority of Novairi, says the 8th of February.
§ Wassaf says Arghun Aka, Ilkan, Peder i Shiktur, Borghan Oghul, Amir Sansis, Shiramun, son of Charmaghan, &c. Op. cit., 102.

nominated by his father, and that no one knew better what the yasa prescribed. Thereupon, on the 19th of June, which the kams and astrologers declared to be a lucky day, Abaka, whose name means "maternal uncle" in Mongol, was duly inaugurated at Chaghan Nur (*i.e.*, the White Lake), in the district of Berahan.*

It is curious to read that among those who attended the obsequies of Khulagu and the inauguration of Abaka, was Mar Ignatius, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, who obtained a diploma confirming him in his post.† Vartan says a prince of the blood named Ilkhan Takudar (? Abaka's brother, so called) placed him on the throne, and all the army ratified the choice and did homage,‡ The princes of the blood each went with his girdle over the back of his neck and prostrated himself seven times before the sun. The fêtes lasted for several days, during which dissipation of various kinds was rife. Abaka did not wish to adopt his full style until the authorisation came from Khubilai, and till then abjured a throne, and would only consent to be seated on a stool, whence he dispensed justice. Having distributed gifts among the various officials, messengers were sent out in different directions to announce his accession, and that the yasa of Jingis Khan would be rigorously carried out. He then distributed the various great appointments. He was born in March, 1234, and was therefore 31 years of age. His brother Yashmut was given command of the troops on the northern frontier towards Derbend, Shirvan, the plain of Mughan and Alatagh. Tekshin, another of his brothers, had charge of the eastern frontier of Khorasan and Mazanderan. Tughu, or Tuguz, the bitikji or secretary, son of Ilkai Noyan, and Tudan, brother of the Noyan Sunjak, or Sugunjak, commanded the troops stationed in Rum, where they were afterwards relieved by the Amirs Semaghar and Kehurkai. Durtai, or Dutai Noyan, led those at Diar Bekr and Diar Rabia, on the Syrian frontier. Shiramun, son of Charmaghan, commanded those in Georgia, while those in Baghdad and Fars were confided to Sugunjak Noyan, whose deputy at the former town was Alai ud din, brother of the vizier. The management of the Crown demesnes was made over to Baltaju Aga, and that of the Imperial dues (makatir) to Arghun Aka. Shems ud din Muhammed, of Juveni, was nominated vizier and head of the divan at Tebriz, and his son Khoja Bahai ud din was put at the head of affairs at Ispahan. The administration of Khorasan was confided to the Khoja Iz ud din Tahir, and after him to his son the Khoja Weji ud din. Fars was governed in the name of the Atabeg Abish, while Tasiku was sent thither to superintend the dues claimed by the Imperial treasury. Kerman was subject to the Princess Turkan Khatun ; Nimruz

* Berahan, or Ferahan, was a town of moderate size situated near a lake 16 parasangs square, where, according to Persian tradition, Tahmuras the Div tamer built himself a palace. D'Ohsson, iii. 413-415. Ilkhans, i. 245-247. Shajrat-ul-Atrak, 248.

† Bar Hebraeus, Chron. Eccl., i. 760-762. ‡ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 308-309.

to the Malik Shems ud din Muhammed Kert; Georgia to Abd (doubtless a corruption of David) and his son Sadren; Armenia (*i.e.*, Little Armenia) to Haithon. Diar Bekr was governed by Jelal ud din Tarsi, Diar Rabia by Mozaffer Fakhr ud din Kara Arslan, Kazvin and a portion of Irak by Iftihshar ud din Kazvini, and Tebriz by Sadr ud din.

As Von Hammer says, this enumeration, which is that given by Rashid ud din, proves the administration to have been like that of the Ottomans in later times, which was in many points imitated from that of the Mongols. The military and civil administration were in different hands, as was the direction of the finances from the other functions of state. There were, as we have seen, six frontier commanders, stationed respectively in Shirvan, Khorasan, Georgia, Rum or Asia Minor, Fars, and the Arabian Irak; three viziers, heads of the divan, at Tebriz, Baghdad, and Ispahan; three superintendents of taxes and revenue, and five overseers of internal affairs. Rashid enumerates, as we see, five princes who still retained their sovereignty under Mongol suzerainty. These were the rulers of Kerman, Nimruz (*i.e.*, Herat), Georgia, Little Armenia, and Fars. To these should be added the Malik of Herat, the Atabegs of Great and Little Luristan and of Yesd, the Princes of Mardin of the Ortokid stock, and those of Hosnkief of the Ayubit family.*

Soon after his appointment as head of affairs at Baghdad Alai ud din, of Juveni, the historian, was the victim of an intrigue. The prefect of the town, Karabuka, and his deputy, the Armenian Isaac, having a grudge against him, plotted to undo him, and suborned a certain Bedouin,† who falsely accused Alai ud din of intending to escape with his family and property into Syria, and declared that he himself was to conduct them. Karabuka thereupon had him confined in his house. But the matter having been examined at the ordu, the Arab confessed under torture that he had been incited to say what he did by the Armenian Isaac, and he and Isaac were put to death. Alai ud din was restored to his honours.‡

Under the fostering care of the vizier, Shems ud din Muhammed, the empire began to revive. "The sheep," says the inflated Wassaf, "recovered the blood-tax which the wolves had so long taken, and the partridge exchanged loving looks with the falcon and hawk. Through him the good name of the Padishah was inscribed in fortunate characters on the white and black pages of the day and the night." Under his patronage Baghdad, which was immediately governed by his brother, Alai ud din, began once more to flourish. He spent a hundred thousand gold pieces in digging a canal leading from the Euphrates to Meshed, near Kufa, and the neighbourhood of Nejef. Upon this canal Taj ud din Ali, the son of the Amir Dolfendi, who was intrusted by the vizier with its

* Ilkhans, i. 248-249. D'Ohsson, iii. 416. Vassaf, 98-102.
† In the Chron. Syr. he is called a Mede.
‡ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 568. Chron. Arab., 355-356.

construction and with the cultivation of the desolate land, wrote a special treatise.* While the vizier, Shems ud din, devoted himself to restoring the country to prosperity, his eldest son, the Khoja Bahai ud din, who was over the divan at Ispahan, conducted himself very differently. He was a person of considerable attainments, especially cultivated philosophy and the *belles lettres*, and studied music under Safr ud din Abdul Mumin. As we have seen, he was given charge of the Persian and Arabian Irak, and of Yezd, and had his seat at Ispahan. He governed it with the greatest rigour; a word spoken contrary to his wishes was followed by the overwhelming of the household root and branch, many thousands were tortured or put to death, great and small all trembled for their lives, and the people of Ispahan when they went to bed at night were in mortal dread of what might befal them in the morning. Nevertheless, he put down all kinds of ruffianism. Bloodshed and outrage had been common in the city, open robberies in the bazaars, and the workpeople had had neither rest nor safety. The ill-doers now became so cowed and humble that the peasants used to leave their agricultural implements in harvest time in the fields at night. If anyone dared to remove them "the harvest of life of the delinquent was speedily cut off with the sickle of destruction."† The overseers and leaders were so carefully checked that the market folk used at night to leave the booths strewn with goods and food without anyone in charge and no one took the smallest thing. As a proof of this it is said that on one occasion at night as the watchmen were going their rounds, one of them entered the booth of a sugar baker or confectioner, took a sweet cake, and left two silver dirhems, which was double the price, in the corner of the booth. On the following morning, when the owner of the booth found a dirhem more than his due he dared not conceal it, could not rest, showed the silver piece to the treasurer, and gave information of what had happened. It was immediately ordered that the watchman who had transgressed the rigid law should be hung to a hook like meat at the butcher's.‡

Bahai ud din had a slave named Nikpei, whom he employed as a spy upon the watchmen and police. Wassaf tells a story how he reported of three men: that one was vigilant and dutiful, that another was found sleeping at his post, and the third, instead of being on duty, had wandered away. The governor ordered all three to have 71 strokes of the cudgel. The Sheikh of Islam, Jemal ud din, protested that he who had done his duty had not deserved this, and should not be treated like the two delinquents. The governor replied, "The reason for their punishment is negligence; his fault was that when Nikpei came to him furtively in the night he did not punish him as an evil doer, and did not make

inquiries into his reason for being abroad at such an hour."* On one occasion when the Khoja was riding out with his Court amidst great pomp, he was annoyed that one of the common people should stare at him, summoned him and asked him what he was looking at. "The poor man's tongue was bound in a knot," says Wassaf, meaning he was silent. The tyrant thereupon gouged his eyes out with his knife, and tore out his eyelashes. The following quatrain was written upon this lugubrious act :—

An eye in wrath was torn out since it gazed on you,
And why, since many thousands do the same?
The angel of death has removed you from office.
How many souls does death not overwhelm?

To show his passion, the same author mentions that one of his boys, a favourite child, having in play touched his beard, he swore a terrible oath, and ordered him to be put to death. As none of the grandees, the imaums, or the queens interceded for the child, he was seized by the executioner and put to death. This terrible act stirs the rhetoric of Wassaf into unwonted vigour, and seems to have made a great impression. The rigorous measures of Bahai ud din certainly produced order at Ispahan, and it is reported that after his death disorders again broke out, and Wassaf was told that after an outbreak there more dead bodies were found about the streets than all the victims of his severity put together. He was a great worker, and distributed his time in the active duties of his position and in the patronage of learning, devoting little to sleep or to his harem. He built many palaces and other buildings, and laid out pleasure grounds. His weakness seems to have been wine, in which he indulged with his brother Khoja Hasun and his intimates. At these parties the great musician, Safr ud din Abdul Mumin, already named, was generally present. On one occasion Hasun having had too much to drink, addressed the musician, and called him familiarly by his proper name, Safr ud din. This familiarity greatly displeased Bahai ud din. Hasun replied, "I am a son of the head of the Divan, and have wedded a pearl from the mussel of the Khalifate. My name is Hasun, and that of my son Mamun, and I am now Governor of Baghdad, where the khalifs ruled, and where there are innumerable excellencies. Is it strange, therefore, that I should adopt the mode of the khalifs and address him as Safr ud din?" This reply was unanswerable. Soon after this Bahai ud din died. He was only 30 years old. His death took place on the 23rd of December, 1279,† and he was much regretted by his father. His was a strange type of a Draconic nature, in which hardness and cruelty were prominent factors. He nevertheless secured a short respite of peace in a very turbulent community.‡

Abaka chose Tebriz for his capital, appointed Alatagh and Siah kuh

* Wassaf, 117-118. † *Id.*, 118-125. ‡ Wassaf, loc. cit. D'Ohsson, iv. 11-13. Note.

(*i.e.*, the Black Mountains) as his summer quarters, and Arran, Baghdad, and Chagatu for his quarters in winter. We have seen how Khulagu asked the hand of one of the daughters of Michæl Palæologus in marriage, and how he accordingly sent one of his natural daughters, named Maria. Her mother belonged to the family Diplovatatze. She was escorted by Theodosius, of Ville Hardouin, Archimandrite of the convent of Pantocrator, and brother of the Prince of Achaia and the Peloponnesus.* Her father gave her some splendid presents, including a tent of silken hangings, which was destined for a church, and containing golden figures of the saints, crosses, sacred vessels, &c.† On arriving at Cæsarea the princess heard of Khulagu's death, but she continued her journey and married Abaka.‡ Vartan says that before marrying she wished him to be baptised, and the rumour went abroad that he was so baptised.§ Guiragos expressly says that the Patriarch of Antioch and other bishops, Sargis, bishop of Ezenga, and the Vartabed Pener, baptised Abaka, and then married him to the princess.‖ The Mongols called her Despina, from her Greek title of princess, and she is so called by Rashid ud din, who makes her a daughter of the ruler of Trebizond.

The first important event in the reign of Abaka was the war he sustained on his northern frontier against Nogai, the general of Bereke Khan of the Golden Horde. This was in the spring of 1266. The Ilkhan had passed the previous winter in Mazanderan, whence he moved to Tebriz. It was while there he heard of Nogai's invasion. I have described what followed elsewhere.¶ According to Vartan, Bereke defeated Abaka and his son, and afterwards crossed the Kur and repaired to pay his respects at the tomb of a Mussulman saint. The troops who were stationed there had built a solid rampart with a ditch, which they called Shipar (*i.e.*, the Siba previously named), and employed the winter in making all kinds of preparations. Bereke, losing confidence, retired. Vartan says he was reputed to be of a pacific nature, and averse to shedding blood.** The "History of Herat" tells us how, on the invasion of the Tartars of the Golden Horde, Shems ud din, the Malik of Herat, was at Abaka's Court. The latter promised him a handsome reward if he would march with him and take command of a picked body of 200 cavalry, each man having a coat of mail, cuirass, sword, and javelin. The Malik swore to sacrifice his life if necessary to secure victory, and we are told he took off his helmet and rushed bareheaded into the fight. He was badly wounded on this occasion. Abaka was much struck by his bravery, and sent his private surgeons to attend him, and after he had beaten the enemy he conferred on Shems ud din a special diploma, and the drums and banners

* Abulfaraj and Guiragos call her conductor Euthymius, Patriarch of Antioch.
† Pachymeres, Stritter, iii. 1045. ‡ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 567-568. Chron. Arab., 355.
§ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 309.
‖ Op. cit., ed. Brosset, 194. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 508.
¶ Ante, ii. 123-124. ** Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 311.

which were the insignia of royalty, and returned to Herat with a rich booty.*

At this time the Georgian king, David, went to Abaka's Court, and was well received by him. When Bereke made his invasion David was summoned to attend Abaka with his troops. The *Georgian Chronicle* says that the Ilkhan, on discovering the strength of Bereke's army, instead of crossing the River Mtsuar (? Kur) contented himself with an inspection of all the fords, and planted garrisons at the confluence of the Mtsuar and the Araxes, and thence as far as Mtzkhetha. Bereke, when he had ravaged Shirvan, Héreth, Kakheth, and the borders of the Yor, advanced as far as Tiflis, and many Christians were killed, but he died while in the mountains of Garesja, and his people withdrew beyond Derbend with their booty. Fearing a repetition of the invasion the people of the Ilkhan repaired annually, in October, to Siba† (*i.e.*, the Shipar of Vartan). The rampart there is said by eastern writers to have been bordered by a wide ditch, and to have reached from Dalan or Valan, or Dalai Nur (? the Caspian), to the Kurdish waste. Wassaf calls it Assia. It was garrisoned by Mongol and Mussulman troops.‡ At this time David, the Georgian king, who had grown jealous of Sargis-Jakel-Tzikhis-Juarel, summoned him to his palace, and imprisoned him in the arsenal. The arsnaurs in Sargis' service repaired to the Khan, who demanded from Abathai Noyan that the king should be punished, that Abaka should be informed of what had happened, and that the captive should be released. Abaka consented to this. Sargis was sent for to Tiflis, and thenceforward, until the reign of George the Brilliant, who mounted the throne in 1318, the princes of Jak were immediately subject to the Ilkhans, and not to the Georgian kings.§

Abaka spent the winter of 1266 in Mazanderan and Jorjan, the ancient Hyrcania, and the next year went to Kebud Jameh (*i.e.*, "Blue cloth"), in Taberistan, to meet his mother Yisunchin Khatun, who arrived from Mongolia with Kutui Khatun, another widow of Khulagu, with Tekshin and Takudar, two sons of Khulagu, with Jushkaf, son of Jumkur, and Badu, son of Tarakai. Jumkur was Abaka's younger brother, and had been left in charge of his ordus as we have mentioned. He afterwards set out to join Abaka, and died *en route*, leaving two sons, Jushkaf and Kinkshu. Abaka gave the revenues of the district of Mayafarkin as an appanage to Kutui Khatun for pin money (called tonlik by the Mongols); Diarbekr and Jezireh to Oljai Khatun, another widow of Khulagu, and other domains to the sons Khulagu had left by his various concubines.‖ He spent the winter at Changanlu, near Meragha, and the summer in the meadows of Alatagh at the sources of the

* Jou-n. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 452-453. D'Ohsson iv. 180.
† Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 572-573. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 419. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 255.
§ Op. cit., 572-573. ‖ D'Ohsson, iii. 419-420.

Euphrates and Siahkuh and the following winter (*i.e.*, that of 1266-7) in Arran.

We will now revert to the progress of the Egyptian arms, whose recovery of Syria we have previously traced. After the death of Khulagu, Bibars, the Egyptian Sultan, attacked the Crusaders in Palestine vigorously, and during the years 1265-6 captured the towns of Cæsarea, Arssuf, Safad, Yafa, and Shakif, and the fortresses of Meluhat, Haifa, Jeliba, Arka, and Kaliat from them.* Bibars now turned upon Haithon, the King of Cilicia, or Little Armenia, who under the ægis of the Mongols had, as we have seen, considerably enlarged his borders at the expense of the Mussulmans. He demanded the surrender of these conquests, the payment of tribute, the opening of commercial communications with Syria, and the exportation of horses, mules, grain, and iron, from his country. Not having received a satisfactory answer he sent an army against Cilicia, commanded by Al Mansur, the Prince of Hamath, under whom were the two generals, Iz ud din Ighan and Saif ud din Kalavun.† Malakia tells us that Haithon left his army under his two sons, Leon and Toros, and himself went with a body of troops to secure the assistance of the Tartars between Ablastan and Cocosn.‡ Abulfaraj says he went to make his appeal to the Mongol commander in Rum, called Naphshi, who replied he could do nothing for him without the orders of Abaka. He thereupon dispatched a messenger to the Khan himself; but, meanwhile, his army had been attacked by the Egyptians. The same author tells us that Haithon's brother, Gondu Setbal, as well as his two sons, were with the Armenians. Leon had posted his men in the pass of Iskanderun, near the sea, which Abulfeda says he protected with catapults. The Egyptians however, forced the heights which commanded it, and which were thought safe, the forts which the king had planted there being very strong. They attacked Leon near the fortress of Serund, or Hajar Surwand. The Armenians were defeated, Toros and one of his uncles were killed, and his other uncle, the Constable, fled, leaving his sons in the hands of the Mussulmans. Leon himself was made prisoner, and the Armenian army, which comprised twelve princes, was completely dispersed.§ Malakia charges the Armenian princes with treachery, saying they gave the heirs to the throne into the hands of the infidel wolves, and themselves fled to their mountain fortresses.‖ The following day the victors reached Tel Hamdun, devastating the country on the road. They crossed the river Jihan and captured the fortress of A'mudin (called Arsaf by Weil), which belonged to the Knight Templars. Two thousand two hundred people were in the fortress at the time; the men were killed, the women and

* D'Ohsson, iii. 420. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 257-258.
† D'Ohsson, iii. 421. Vartan, in Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 311. Lebeau, xviii. 472. Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 568; Chron. Arab., 356.
‡ Malakia, op. cit., 460.
§ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 568-569; Chron. Arab., 356. D'Ohsson, iii. 421-422. Ilkhans, i. 257.
‖ Op. cit., 460.

children were carried off, and the fort was then burnt. Vartan says that the Sultan captured Sis, the Armenian capital, and discovered the royal treasure, which was contained in a storeroom, and it is said that out of one vase or cistern 6,000,000 gold tahegans were taken. He advanced as far as Adana, and eventually retired with 40,000 captives, but our chronicler chiefly laments the death of Toros, whom he greatly praises, and who, he says, on being captured, refused to give his father's name, in order that they might not spare him and use him against his country.* Abulfaraj tells us the Great church and all the others there were burnt, except the Jacobite churches of Deipara and Barsuma, and this because they were made of stone.† While the Prince of Hamath superintended the ruin of Sis, the General Ighan moved towards the frontiers of Rum, and Kalavun destroyed Ayas, Massissa (Mopsuetia), and Adana, and burnt many ships. They carried off a great number of captives. They burnt the monastery of Paximatus, but they did not molest Guiechat, since there was a monk there who could speak Arabic and parleyed with them, nor did they go to Tarsus. After wasting the country for twenty days, and advancing as far as Adana, they withdrew. Vartan says they carried off 40,000 captives, ‡ and another author that the number of cattle secured was so great, that although oxen were offered at two drachmas each they found no purchaser.§ King Haithon, who was getting an old man, did not shine in these transactions. Malakia says he repaired to the hermitage of Acants, where he remained with the monks till the withdrawal of the enemy, and afterwards gave way to exaggerated laments. Meanwhile Leon, his son, was carried off to Egypt, where Bibars, who had been jeered at as a slave by Haithon, said to him, "Thy father called me a slave, and refused to be at peace with me. Now it is thou who art my slave."‖ Abulfaraj says that a few days after the retreat of the Egyptians, Haithon returned with a body of Turks from Rum, and of Mongols, who finally destroyed what the invaders had spared.¶ Malakia says Haithon summoned his grandees, and when they were assembled asked if all were present. When they replied yes, he asked pathetically where Leon and Thoros were, whereupon the assembly broke out into lamentations in the spirit and language of Jeremiah. He afterwards consulted with them as to the best way of securing the young prince's release. He told them that he was informed by Armenians at the Court of Abaka that the bitikchis, or secretaries, there, who were doubtless chiefly Mussulmans, were secret partisans of the Egyptians, and were writing to Bibars to say they would urge Abaka to overrun Armenia and trample it under. It would seem that their method of operations was to suggest to the Khan that Haithon was carrying on a secret correspondence with the

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvi. 311-312. † Chron. Syr., 569. Chron. Arab., 556.
‡ Op. cit., 311. § D'Ohsson, iii. 423. ‖ Op. cit., 460-461.
¶ Chron. Syr., 569; Chron Arab., 356.

Egyptian ruler, a charge which the death of his two sons, one would suppose, would have saved him from.* This reported communication from the Armenian princes at Abaka's Court may have been genuine, but I confess it looks like a clever tactical move on the part of the King to assist his proposed negotiations with Bibars.

Meanwhile the Pervana, who administered Rum, desired to ally himself with the Armenian king by marriage, and suggested the matter to the monk Persig, who was Haithon's envoy at the Ilkhan's Court, who suggested that when the King passed through his territory he should approach him, pay him great honour, and make his request in person, which he thought would not be refused. When the King, therefore, was returning from the ordu, and arrived at Kertai, the Pervana went to him with his grandees and many presents, and preferred his request. The king, who was afraid he would be waylaid *en route* if he refused, promised to give him his second daughter. When he reached home and the Pervana pressed for her to be sent, he replied it was not seemly that her marriage festivities should be in progress while her brother was still a prisoner in Egypt. Meanwhile she died, and the Pervana wreaked his vengeance on Persig, the monk.† Haithon now appealed directly to Bibars as to the terms upon which he would surrender his son. He replied that if Haithon would procure the liberty of a friend of his, Shems ud din Sonkor el Ashkar, of Samarkand, called Sangolascar by Haithon, to whose good offices he owed his lucky escape from Baghdad, and who had been captured at Aleppo by Khulagu, Leon should be exchanged for him. Bibars' friend is called Sghur by Malakia, who says the Armenian King collected a great number of valuable presents, with which he repaired to Abaka at Mosul, and laid his difficulties before him, and secured the release of Sghur, who had been in confinement at Samarkand. In addition to this Bibars also insisted on the surrender of the fortresses of Bahasna, Darabsak (or Darbasak), Marzaban, Roban (called Ra'nan by D'Ohsson), Er Rub, and Sikh ul Hadid, and undertook to release Haithon's son and nephew and their dependents. A treaty to this effect was signed at Antioch, and was duly carried out. This took place in 1267.‡ The country ceded by this treaty was the district included between the River Jihan and Syria. The Jihan is a well-known river falling into the Gulf of Iskanderun. Haithon says that the King surrendered the citadel of Aleppo which the Armenians had held since the days of Khulagu. He also gave up Tempesack and dismantled two other fortresses.§ On the return of Leon from captivity, Haithon set out for Abaka's Court at Baghdad to thank his patron for the assistance he had rendered in securing his son's release, and to ask that

* Op. cit., 463-464. † Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 570; Chron. Arab., 357.
‡ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 569-572. Malakia, 464. Abulfeda, v. 23. D'Ohsson, iii. 423-425.
§ Op. cit., 50.

on account of his great age and infirmities he might be allowed to resign the Royal dignity in favour of Leon. To this Abaka consented, and Leon went to the Ilkhan's Court and was duly invested with the kingdom; Haithon himself becoming a monk under the name of Macarius. He shortly after died and was buried in the monastery of Drazark. Leon was duly consecrated at Tarsus, and devoted himself to restoring some prosperity to his country, which had been so terribly shattered by the Egyptian inroads. Haithon, according to Brosset, died on the 28th of October, 1270.*

We may well believe that the Egyptian attack on Cilicia was very distasteful to the Mongols, and we find Abaka in 1269 sending envoys to Bibars, who received them at Damascus, as well as those sent by the Greek Emperor and by Mangu Timur, Khan of the Golden Horde. In his letters Abaka reproached him with the murder of his master Kuttuz, and demanded how he, a mere slave, who had been sold at Sivas, dared to resist kings and sons of kings. He menaced him with his vengeance, and told him if he mounted to the clouds or descended into the ground he should not escape him. Bibars acknowledged that he had killed Kuttuz, but he added that he had been elected by the people. As to his threats, he was ready to receive him, and hoped to recover what the Mussulmans had lost. Abaka's envoy was sent back with this answer.†

Abaka's intentions in regard to Egypt were frustrated, for a while at least, by an invasion of his eastern borders by Borak, the ruler of the Jagatai Horde. Borak had sent Masud, the famous governor of Transoxiana, on a special mission to the Ilkhan. The professed motive of his journey was to look after the special domains belonging to Kaidu, Ogotai's grandson, and to himself within the jurisdiction of Abaka, and as the bearer of a friendly message for the latter; but he was secretly instructed to make inquiries about the armies of Irak and Azerbaijan, and also about the roads traversing those provinces. Masud crossed the Oxus, and posted onwards, leaving two horses with a trusty man at each post-station on his route. When he drew near Abaka's residence the latter's vizier, Shems ud din, went out to meet him with presents, and notwithstanding his elevated rank he dismounted and kissed Masud's stirrup. The latter asked him if he was the chief of the divan, and then rudely said that his reputation was in excess of his worth. Shems ud din, who was a proud man, dissembled his rage, for, as Khuandemir says, the place was not a suitable one for explanations, and he remained silent. At his interview with Abaka, Masud was treated with special honour. He was given a seat above the other amirs, except the Noyan Ilka, and was dressed in the tunic of Jingis Khan. He acquitted himself gracefully, using diplomatic and courtly phrases, and gained the

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 572. Malakia, 464-466. Lebeau, xviii. 474. D'Ohsson, iii. 425. Abulfeda, v. 29. Haithon, 51.

† D'Ohsson, iii. 426.

confidence of Abaka; but feeling presently that he was an object of suspicion, he asked for his *congé*. Abaka ordered that the information asked for by Masud was to be ready in eight days, whereupon he hastily set out on his return. The day after he left, news came from Khorasan that Borak was preparing for war, and that Masud was only a spy. Abaka dispatched a messenger to arrest him, but, as we have seen, he had arranged relays of fresh horses at the post stations, and retired so rapidly that, according to Wassaf, he reached the Oxus in four days and nights. Having crossed that river, he reported to Borak what he had learnt.* This journey of Masud's was apparently made in the winter of 666 (*i.e.*, 1267-8).† Von Hammer dates it a year earlier; Weil a year later. Before he set out Borak tried to secure the alliance of Nigudar, one of the princes in Abaka's service. It does not clearly appear whether he sent a special envoy for the purpose or intrusted Masud with the commission. Nigudar was the eldest son of Juchi, the eldest son of Jagatai, and had accompanied Khulagu in command of the contingent furnished by the Ulus of Jagatai. The *Georgian Chronicle* says he commanded two myriads (*i.e.*, 20,000 men); that he had his summer camp in the mountains of Ararat, and his winter one on the banks of the Araxes and at Nakhchivan. It calls him Thaguthar Khan, and makes him Borak's brother.‡ Malakia, the Armenian historian, also calls him Thagudar, and says he was very rich in men and treasures; that it required 300 camels and 160 carts to carry his riches, while his flocks and herds were innumerable. He had 40,000 horsemen under him, brave and intrepid warriors, who were accustomed to plunder the caravans. They also attacked and ravaged the villages, plundering their contents, and killing their inhabitants. They assailed the monasteries, hung the monks up by their heels, and having mixed salt and soot thrust it into their nostrils, saying, "Bring us a sea of wine and a mountain of meat." In many places they forced the monks in the monasteries who said they had no wine to hold a dog's tail in their mouth while making the statement, this being a mode of swearing with them. In consequence of these indignities the Armenian and Georgian princes went to Abaka, and putting their swords down before him, demanded either that he would deliver Nigudar and his people over to them or make them put him to death in his presence. Other Tartars also presented their complaints that the people of Nigudar plundered them and carried off their horses. Malakia makes Abaka declare to them that Nigudar was too strong for him to punish.§ This author knows nothing of the negotiations with Borak, to which we must now revert. Among the presents taken by the latter's envoy was one of the arrows, called tugané by the Mongols, which concealed a

* Khuandemir, Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xix. 252-255. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 255.
† Khuandemir, op. cit., 252. Wassaf, 132-134. D'Ohsson, iii. 432-433.
‡ Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 575-576.
§ Malakia, 465-466.

letter. On presenting it the envoy made a certain sign which Nigudar understood, and on breaking the arrow he found in it a letter from Borak announcing his intended invasion of Persia, and expressing a wish that he who, like himself, was descended from Jagatai, would not fight against his relative. Nigudar, who was at the Court, accordingly asked permission to return to his quarters in Georgia. Presently, on more alarming news arriving from Khorasan, Nigudar was summoned to Abaka's presence to take part in a council of war. He made various excuses, and presently set out for Derbend, in order to reach Borak by the north of the Caspian.*

The *Georgian Chronicle* makes the negotiations start with Nigudar, who suggested to Borak that by attacking the dominions of Abaka on either side they might secure them, and makes him send the arrow. Borak is made to answer his overtures by a similar missive, and to suggest that in the course of two months he should be ready to rise. The time was very short, but Nigudar managed to assemble his women and baggage and over 10,000 of his men, and afraid of being discovered he set out for the mountains of Ghado, Kartzkhalni, and Kars. When he reached Phijutha he urged Sargis to let him pass into Abkhazia, as he wanted to have an interview with the Georgian king, and offered to reward him handsomely if he let him pass. Sargis summoned his troops, together with the great Shahin Shah, son of Ivaneh, chief of the mandators, and Shiramun, son of Charmaghan (styled, says Malakia, the Golden Column), who was very friendly to the Christians, and who, with other Mongol chiefs, was encamped in the mountains of Artan, whom he sent in pursuit. The *Georgian Chronicle* here has one of its marvellous tales. It says that Nigudar wished to plunder a rich hermitage dedicated to John the Baptist called Opiza, and situated in the mountains of Ghado, where was preserved as a relic the saint's windpipe. It was stored with rich images, lamps, &c., and Nigudar sent 1,000 of his men to pillage it, but there came on a great storm, induced by the saint to protect his shrine, and the would-be plunderers all perished except one individual who, like Job's herald, went to announce what had happened to his master.† As Nigudar was near the mountain Arsian he was informed that his pursuers were on Mount Artan, and would arrive the following day. He accordingly posted his women and baggage on the mountain of Kars, and himself crossed the mountain Arsian. At the mountain Kuel he found himself in the presence of Shiramun and his men. The principal chiefs on the side of Nigudar were Segzi, Jolaki, Abib Khanui (the name is also given as Abibkhanokhi and Abib Akha), and Thelka Démur. After a fierce struggle Nigudar was beaten, and fled to his women at Jinal, in the mountains of Ghado. Shiramun pursued

* D'Ohsson, iii. 434. † Op. cit., 577-578.

him, and another struggle, two days long, ensued, after which Nigudar escaped secretly. Some of his people retired towards the Adshara, and others towards the valley of Nigal, which was considered almost impassable for men—much more, therefore, for horses—so rugged was it, and so incumbered with thick woods and prickly shrubs. In crossing one portion of the wood which was planted on loose soil, the whole gave way, slipping over the rocks like an avalanche, and overwhelmed a thousand men and women, who were precipitated into the valley of Adshara, "where," says the chronicler, "the people still dig for and find women's ornaments in gold and silver." Crossing the valleys of Adshara and Nigal, they reached Guria and came to Kuthathis, to King David, who, we are told, prepared a great feast for his guest, at which 500 oxen were boiled, in addition to pigs and sheep: 600 horses, 1,500 oxen, 2,000 sheep, and as many pigs were devoted to feeding the army, while wine was given without measure. We are told that the gift greatly touched Nigudar, especially as the King adopted the humble tone of a slave, while his wife, who was the natural daughter of Michael Palæologus, showed the same consideration to the wife of Nigudar, the two ladies treating each other familiarly and on equal terms, while David paid his guest several visits. Wassaf says Nigudar gave the King one of his daughters in marriage. Meanwhile Shiramun had returned to Abaka, just before a messenger arrived to say that Borak, with all the army of Turan, had crossed the Jihun. On hearing the news, Abaka summoned all his vassals, including the other King of Georgia (David, son of Lasha), who, notwithstanding the recent death of his son, set out for Khorasan with his troops, to join his suzerain.*

Let us now revert to Borak. Before setting out he asked assistance from his nominal suzerain, Kaidu, the grandson of Ogotai, who set up rival claims to the Empire of the Mongol world against Khubilai. Kaidu gladly assented, and ordered Ahmed ibn Buri, son of Moatugan, son of Jagatai; Nikbei Oghul, son of Sarban, son of Jagatai; and Balighu, or Yalgu, the son of Kaidu, son of Jagatai, to cross the Oxus by the ford at Termed; Chabad, son of Hukur, or Huku, son of Kuyuk Khakan; Mobarek Shah, the son of Kara Khulagu, the predecessor of Borak on the throne of Jagatai; and his own son Kipchak, to cross the river with Borak at the town of Amuye: that Kokaju Buzurg (called Gueuk Achui the Great by D'Ohsson) and Bainal, or Banial, were to cross the river at Khiva; and Kokaju Kuchuk (called Gueuk Achui the Little by D'Ohsson) was to cross it at Ming Kishlak, which was the most frequented fording place in Khuarezm. They were to unite together beyond the river and join Borak.† Khuandemir says that when he gave orders to these princes to march he also gave them secret instructions that they were

* *Id.*, 579-580. D'Ohsson, iii. 434-435.
† Wassaf, 134. D'Ohsson, iii. 435-436. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 262.

to return before Abaka and Borak actually came to blows.* Besides the chiefs ordered by Kaidu to join him, Borak was joined also by the two Yasaurs, the Great and Little (the former, called Besmar by Wassaf, was Borak's brother, and was also called Yesas by Rashid ud din; the latter was the son of Juchi, son of Kaidu), and by Merghaul and Jelairtai, who was the son of Hindu, son of Jagatai, son of Juchi, of the Golden Horde.† Borak forbade his soldiers to ride on horseback, the horses being needed for other purposes. Each horse was supplied with seven ménns of barley and corn per day. The cattle were all killed, and shields were made from their hides, and Borak wished to make special requisitions upon Bokhara and Samarkand, but was prevented by the entreaties of Masud.‡ Some time before Borak sent a message to Tekshin, or Tushin, called Tebshin Oghul by Khuandemir (Weil reads the name Buchin), the brother of Abaka, who had been granted the government of Badghiz, east of Herat, by his father, Khulagu, and been confirmed in that post by Abaka, to tell him that the district between Badghiz, Ghazni, and the Indus having belonged to his ancestors, he (Tekshin) must evacuate it. Tekshin said he had received it as a patrimony from his aka, or elder brother, Abaka, to whom he must first appeal. Abaka, on being appealed to by his brother, said that Badghiz belonged to the dominion of Khulagu, and that he would defend it.

Borak now crossed the Oxus, leaving his son Bey Timur, or Beg Timur, with 10,000 men, to defend his dominions during his absence. He crossed the river on a bridge of boats, and encamped near Merv.§ Malik Shems ud din Kert, of Herat, was summoned to do homage to him, in order to save his district from being ravaged. Orders were given to lay waste all the country subject to Khubilai Khakan or his nephew Abaka. Abaka's army was commanded by his eldest son, Arghun, who was intrusted with the government of Khorasan. Among his officers was a leader of 1,000 men, named Sijektu, who had been formerly a dependent of Kipchak Oghul. When he heard that the latter was in Borak's army he deserted, and sent him a present of some beautiful horses, with some others for Borak. The next day Kipchak being at the latter's quarters, was addressed by the general Jelairtai, who remarked sarcastically that it would seem the expedition had been made for his (Kipchak's) special profit. "What do you mean?" the latter replied. "Why," said Jelairtai, "if Borak had not come hither you would not have received a present of these from Sijektu." He went on to suggest that he had taken advantage of his position and received a number of horses, which ought to have been Borak's, for himself, while the inferior horses which had been passed on to Borak ought in reality to have been his. Kipchak, getting enraged at this, asked him how he, a karaju (*i.e.*, a subject), dared to use such

* Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xix. 256. † Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 263.
‡ Wassaf, 134-135. § D'Ohsson, iii. 436-437. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 264.

language to a descendant of Jingis Khan. He also went on to compare him to a dog. "If I am a dog," said Jelairtai, "I am Borak's dog, and not thine." "I would hew thee in twain," said Kipchak, "only that my aka (*i.e.*, Borak) would blame me." "If thou comest near me," said Jelairtai, laying his hand on his dagger, "I will rip thy belly open." As Borak did not speak, Kipchak fancied he approved of his adversary's conduct, took offence, returned to his quarters, two leagues off, and having consulted with his officers, withdrew during the night, and retired rapidly towards the Oxus with 2,000 horsemen. He left his family, however, behind, persuaded that Borak would do them no harm, and his wife was the first to inform Borak of his flight. The latter, fearing a surprise, collected his people, and at daybreak sent his three brothers after the runaway, to persuade him to return, or at all events to detain him till Jelairtai, whom he dispatched with 3,000 men, could overtake him. The three princes overtook Kipchak and rushed to embrace him. "Borak is troubled at your departure," they said, "and does not know how he has offended you. Justly irritated against Jelairtai, you left without hearing what he had to say. He intended punishing this insolent officer the following day. He begs that you will return, and will punish him as you may direct." "I am not a child," said Kipchak, "to be led away by your fair words. I set out originally by order of Kaidu; I return home because you do not care for me. I have left my family behind; send it on to me, or I will seize yours." The three brothers, seeing they could not persuade him, asked him to drink a glass of their wine before separating. "People drink wine," said Kipchak, "when they are going to make merry. Now is not such a time; but I see plainly that some troops are coming after me, and that you wish to detain me. Leave quickly, or I will take you with me." The three princes accordingly left, and Kipchak entered the desert of Amu. Jelairtai, who was short of provisions, was obliged to return, while Borak presently sent Kipchak's family back again. Kaidu was apparently irritated at the treatment his son received, and made friends with Abaka, the two princes styling themselves Ortak (*i.e.*, companions).* Soon after, Chabat, grandson of Kuyuk Khan, taking advantage of a journey Borak made towards Herat, also fled. Borak did not send in pursuit of him, but complained to Kaidu, and demanded the punishment of the two princes. Chabat remained for a while near Bukhara, and his presence there was made known to Beg Timur Oghul, whom Borak had left in command of Transoxiana, by an amir of the Tajiks or Persians. He asked the latter if he could not arrest him with 500 men. The Tajik replied he was a karaju (*i.e.*, a subject), and could not attack an urugh (*i.e.*, one of the royal house). Therepon Beg Timur himself went after and defeated

* D'Ohsson, iii. 436-440. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 264-265.

him. He barely escaped with ten men, after destroying the bridge of Chiramegan. After being pursued thirty leagues, he at length reached Kaidu's camp, and eventually died from the results of the terror he had suffered.*

Borak now entered Khorasan, and we are told he ravaged the whole land from Badakhshan, Kishim, Shaburghan, Talikan of Benḍa, Mervjuk (*i.e.*, Meruchak), and Merv Shajan, as far as Nishapur.† Rashid says that after some fights with Prince Tekshin he occupied the greater part of Khorasan. His cavalry horses fed in the best pastures of the province, and he forbade his soldiers to mount them, so that they might grow fat, and they accordingly went to and fro riding on bullocks and asses. The army was living in clover. Borak took up his quarters at Talikan. His troops entered and reached Nishapur, which they abandoned the following day. He would have done the same thing at Herat, but Kutlugh Timur assured him he would thereby alienate Shems ud din Kert and all the grandees of Persia. Shems ud din, who had been invested, as we have seen, by Khulagu with the districts of Herat, Sebzevar, Ghur, and Garja, had also occupied Seistan, and his dominion extended to the Indus. He lived at the fortress of Khaisar, east of Herat, whither Kutlugh Timur, with 500 men, went to him. He told him that Borak was marching into Irak, and if he would embrace his cause with zeal he should be invested with authority over all Khorasan. He consented, accompanied Kutlugh Timur on his return, and was well received by Borak, who gave him Khorasan as a fief, and promised to add to this the provinces which he should conquer. Borak's people boasted largely of what they would do, and talked of advancing to Baghdad and Tebriz. After these fair promises Borak demanded from Shems ud din the names of the richest men in Khorasan, and then dismissed him, but he sent him several Mongol commissaries, who were ordered to raise a contribution of money, arms, and cattle from the district of Herat. Shems ud din had Borak's orders carried out, and having heard of Abaka's advance he withdrew to the fort of Khaisar, to await the turn of events.‡

Borak had now secured the greater part of Khorasan. A few days after the plundering of Nishapur, viz., on the 28th of April, 1269, Abaka set out from Azerbaijan to oppose him. He ordered his brother Yashmut to leave 40,000 men, Mongols and Mussulmans, for the defence of Derbend, and to join him with 10,000 picked horsemen. The Sultan Mozaffer ud din Hajaj received orders to march with the troops of Kerman. Tekshin, who had withdrawn, waited with 10,000 men in Mazanderan for his father's arrival. The vizier, Shems ud din, supplied a body of 1,000 horsemen, and 10,000 horses in addition.§ Abaka strictly forbade his troops to touch the growing corn. When he reached Sherubaz (called Kungkur-ulang by

* D'Ohsson, iii. 440. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 266. † Wassaf, 135.
‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 440-442. § D'Ohsson, iii. 442 and adds. and corr., p. 624.

the Mongols), a district of Irak Ajem, between Zengan and Ebher, famous for its pastures, and where was afterwards built the town of Sultania,* he met Meka Bey (called Tekajhek by Von Hammer), the envoy of Khubilai, who had been waylaid by Borak, but had escaped, and who furnished information about the condition of his army. On reaching Kumis he was joined by Tekshin, who, after being beaten by Borak's advance guard, near Herat, had retired to Mazanderan. With him were his son Arghun, Arghun Aka, and Hajaj, the Sultan of Kerman. On the way to Tus (Von Hammer says in the district of Radegan) Abaka distributed largess among his soldiers. Thence he passed through Bakhers, the district lying between Nishapur and Herat, and famous as the country of the celebrated author Bakhersi. Near Faryab, he sent out flying parties and distributed his army in various sections. Yashmut was appointed to command the right wing, Abatai Noyan remained with himself and the centre, while Tekshin was sent to Beljaghran, where the yurt of Merghaul, one of Borak's commanders, was stationed, and who informed Borak of the approach of the enemy. Borak ordered him to go and stop Abaka's advance until his people were got ready. From Badghiz Abaka sent envoys to Borak with offers of peace. He offered to give up the country of Ghazni, as far as the Indus. If this offer were accepted, he might return in peace; if not, he must get ready for a struggle. The Prince Yassaur advised that they should accept these terms, rather than measure themselves against such a powerful ruler as Abaka, while Kipchak and Chabat had both fled, and their horses were weak. The astrologer Jelal also urged a delay of a month, as the stars were not propitious. Merghaul argued, on the contrary, that they must not allow themselves to be thus overcome by fear. "Where is Abaka?" he said. "Is he not occupied in Syria? It is Tekshin and Arghun Aka who have spread the false rumour of his arrival." "We came here to fight," said Jelairtai. "If we wished for peace we should have remained in Transoxiana." These speeches decided Borak, who, boiling with rage, said: "What does it matter whether the stars are or are not propitious? We must remember that the enemy is coming to destroy us in our camps." It was determined therefore, to give battle, and to send spies to Abaka's camp.†

In regard to these spies Khuandemir has a good deal to say. He tells us that Abaka, having set out for Herat, against which he was irritated because of the assistance it had given his enemies, and which he had given orders to sack (an order which he recalled), the news of his march was brought to Borak, whose men were further disconcerted by the defection of the princes who had been told by Kaidu to join him. He accordingly sent three spies to inquire if he was really with the army, or whether

* D'Ohsson, iii. 442 and 505.
† D'Ohsson, iii. 442-444. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 268-269.

he had intrusted it to one of his princes. The spies found Abaka's people encamped on a vast plain bordered by the mountains called Karasui by the Mongols, and which his general, Burgur, had chosen as a battle-field. Having been captured by some of Abaka's men, they were conducted before him, were fastened to the pillar of his yurt, and under terrible menaces one of them confessed. Abaka then caused a false rumour to be spread abroad that Azerbaijan was in a state of confusion in consequence of an attack by an army from Kipchak, or the Golden Horde,* and himself repeated publicly that the safety of the empire demanded the withdrawal of the army. He then ordered the troops to retreat, and calculated he would reach Tebriz in ten days. The camp and baggage were abandoned, and the army set out for Mazanderan. Abaka also shouted out loudly that the spies were to be put to death. He, however, gave secret orders that the one who had confessed was to be allowed to escape, and the other two alone were to be killed. The spy who thus escaped fled to Borak as quickly as he could, and reported how the plain of Hazar Jérib was dotted with tents, pavilions, stuffs, and carpets, while not a soldier belonging to the army of Azerbaijan remained there. Thereupon Jelairtai and Merghaul both entered the audience chamber in high glee. Before dawn Borak and his amirs mounted their horses, and set out for the plain of Hazar Jérib. Having found that district crowded with abandoned tents and booths they passed the day in feasting. "In the morning, when the sun, the King of the East, puts his chariots in the sky, and chases the army of the stars, Borak Khan, like an impetuous torrent, again broke forth in pursuit of Abaka," and when he reached the village of Shekendian he was surprised to find encamped there the army of Irak and Azerbaijan.† Abaka, we are told, had encamped on the plain of Jiné, five or six parasangs from Herat, and he sent to the Kadhi of Herat ordering him not to open the gates of the city to Borak. When Borak's army neared Herat, Masud Bey went ahead, and, surprised to find the gates closed, he summoned the Kadhi, Shems ud din, who cried out from the walls that Abaka had intrusted him with the defence of the place, and that he had sworn not to surrender it. Masud Bey returned after having menaced him, and Borak did not deem it prudent to delay, but, having crossed the river of Herat and pillaged the valuables abandoned by Abaka, speedily came upon the latter's forces set out in battle array. He was naturally taken aback. His courtiers, especially Merghaul and Jelairtai, offered him consolation, and devoted the night to preparations for the struggle on the following day. Abaka exhorted his men to fight bravely. He told them how he had deceived Borak, and that it was now their turn to show themselves, and that they were about to fight for their families and their sovereign, whose ancestors had conferred so many

* D'Ohsson says that he arranged that a messenger should arrive hastily with this misleading news.
† Khuandemir, Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xix. 258-260. D'Ohsson, iii. 442-445.

benefits upon them. His generals replied with a cheer, and repaired to their posts.* Ibn Farat tells us that the two armies were in presence of one another when an astrologer, skilled in foretelling events, deserted Borak, and announced to Abaka a certain victory, which he foretold after examining the fissures on the shoulder bones of sheep in the approved fashion. Abaka treated him with every honour, and promised to make a village over to him if he was successful—a promise which he afterwards carried out.†

The *Georgian Chronicle*, of course, enlarges on the great doings of its special *protégés*, the Georgians, in this campaign. We are told how their king, David, was sent ahead with the advance guard as the two armies approached each other, in the plain of Amos, near Her (*i.e.*, Herat). Other noyans also marched four or five miles ahead to report on the measures of Borak. These advanced patrols were called karauls by the Tartars. Having gone ahead in this way, the King and the Mongol karauls noticed a great dust, and were certain it proceeded from Borak's army. The King and Sikadur (Samaghar) made their preparations. The latter wished to retreat his soldiery, instinct telling him that advanced patrols have no business to fight, save when compelled. The King replied it was not the custom with the Georgians to turn their backs without fighting when they saw the enemy coming. "Ought we to fight?" At these words the Tartars, who were rigid disciplinarians, replied that they had received orders from Abaka not to fight without him against the Grand Khan. "You Georgians," they added, "are mere ignorant people, and do not know how to behave;" and they threatened in the name of Abaka to ill-use the King and his people, but without effect. They thereupon sent an express to the Khan, to tell him Borak was approaching, and that the dust raised by his army was to be seen in the plain of Amos; that they wished to withdraw in accordance with his orders, but that the Georgians, who understood nothing, would not retire, saying it was not their wont to turn their backs on the enemy, and entreating him to come to their aid or they would be lost. Abaka ordered his people to mount, and hastened forward to find the advanced patrols set out in battle array. He summoned the King, and said, "I know the bravery of the Georgians. You are unruly, like real demons. If one of my noyans had behaved thus I should have had him killed, but you do not understand our methods. Meanwhile, take the advance-post with your men." Descending from his horse, the King bent the knee, and repeated that it was not customary for the Georgians to turn their backs when they had seen the enemy, and that the Khan should see how death could be faced. He then left, and took his post with the advance guard.‡

Let us now revert shortly to the Mussulman authorities. They tell us

* Khuandemir, 257-260. D'Ohsson, iii. 444-447. Ilkhans, i. 267-268.
† Quatremere, 268. Note. ‡ Op. cit., 580-581.

that Abaka gave the command of the right wing to his brother Tekshin, or Buchin, with the Noyan Semghur or Samaghar ; the left wing to Prince Yashmut, who had under him the generals Sunatai, Mingtur Noyan, Burultai Abdulla Aka, and Arghun Aka. Arghun Aka had in his division the troops of Kerman and Fars, which were led by the Sultan Hajaj and the Atabeg Yusuf Shah ; Abatai commanded the centre. In the beginning of the battle Merghaul was killed while fighting bravely, being shot with an arrow. Meanwhile, Jelairtai asked permission to charge the left wing of Abaka's army, which he routed, and drove back with great slaughter as far as Pushenk, or Fushenj, four leagues from Herat. The centre and right of Abaka's army held their ground bravely, and he ordered Yashmut to go and rally the broken left wing. Jelairtai's men having got into disorder in the ardour of the pursuit, he could not hold them in hand, and finding his retreat cut off he was obliged to flee. His success at the beginning of the fight stirred the zeal of the aged Sunatai, who was over 90 years old, and who, seating himself on a stool in the middle of the battle-field, cried out to the officers who surrounded him : "To-day we must show what we owe to Abaka, victory or death." Abaka himself charged at the head of some of his men, and his troops gathered themselves together and made a desperate effort. At the third charge Borak's line was broken and he himself was dismounted. He cried out to his officers, who sped past him in their flight : "I am Borak, your sovereign ; give me a horse." They were too frightened to stay. At length one of them offered him his horse in exchange for some arrows, which Borak threw to him, and he thereupon hastily fled. Abaka pursued the defeated army, giving no quarter. They would nearly all have perished but for the courage and presence of mind of Jelairtai, who rallied them and led them to the desert of Amu, protecting their retreat with a body of troops like Ney so often did in the famous retreat from Moscow. He thus saved the *débris* of the Jagatai army, which recrossed the Oxus. Some men had sheltered in a kiosk. Abaka ordered this to be fired, and all perished in the flames.*

The *Georgian Chronicle* describes the battle with some detail. It says the Grand Noyan Abathan, whom it also calls Abathai, who was generalissimo, commanded the left. With him was Sirmon (*i.e.*, Shiramun), Sikadur, Tougha-Bugha-Jinilis (the same person otherwise known as Bugha Chingsang ; Chingsang being a Chinese title). Arghun Aka and Yasbugha were posted on the right, while the other noyans were distributed between the two wings. When the men were ranged in their ranks a centurion, named Alinak, of great size, courage, and of comely appearance, asked permission from the Generalissimo Abathan to be

* Khuandemir, op. cit., 260-262. D'Ohsson, iii. 446-449. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 268-270.

allowed to fight in the front rank where he should please. This was granted him. Twice with his companions he cut his way through the enemy's ranks, crying out, "Allah! Allah!" and compelled them to retire. Abathan also fought very bravely, and we are told "he dragged one of the enemy in full armour from his saddle and held him on the pommel of his own during the rest of the fight like an eagle holds a partridge." Shiramun also behaved well. Meanwhile Borak attacked Abaka's right wing, where Sikadur, Tougha-Bugha-Jinilis, and Arghun Aka found it impossible to hold their ground, and were pursued till the following day. Abaka similarly pursued the wing opposed to him for two days, and during this long interval it was not known what had happened. Presently both Borak and Abaka retraced their steps, and a fresh struggle ensued. Abathan Noyan at the head of his men charged those of Borak and made a dreadful slaughter, and captured many prisoners.*

Let us now shortly revert again to Nigudar, whom we left as the guest of David, son of Rusudan, in Guria. Wassaf says that the latter gave him his daughter in marriage,† but this is not mentioned in the *Georgian Chronicle*, which has so many details about his adventures. There we read that while Borak was invading Khorasan, Nigudar contrived to send some of his officers, viz., Segzi-Badur, Abib Akha, Tholak-Démur, and Jolak, with their wives and baggage, apparently to make a diversion. They set out, and reached the mountains of Likh (? Lesghistan), and crossed its western portion called Ghado. They stopped at a place called Lomis Thaf, and ravaged Jawakheth as far as Phanawar. The corps of Tartars which was posted in the district descended into the valley of Eser, crossed the ford of the Mtsuar (Kur) above Atskur, and having penetrated into Jawakheth, carried off a stud of horses belonging to Sakha Thorel, entitled chief of the armourers (? of the Kubechi or Sirgherans, a famous tribe of Lesghistan, whose name means armourers), and another belonging to Kurumchi, a commander of 1,000 men, and his son Aralikan, and returned with them to Lomis Thaf. Kurumchi and Sakha set off in pursuit. The two bodies met by the Kur, near the outfall of the river of Gursel. The people of Nigudar were greatly outnumbered, but Tholak Demur having crossed the Kur without being seen, and with but thirty men, mounted a hillock and unfurled another standard, and advanced with loud cries. Kurumchi, fancying this was a fresh army, and that he was being attacked in front and rear, fled hastily, and a number of his followers perished, among others the two chiefs of Sokhta. Samdzimar lost his horse, and swam over the river. Kurumchi fell by the hand of the Tartar chief, and many of his followers lost their way, and went towards the mountain of Rugeth,

* Op. cit., 581-582. † Op. cit., 137.

which is nearly impassable. The success of this raid made Nigudar more audacious, and he descended into Karthli, where he committed great excesses.

Meanwhile Abaka sent word to David, son of Rusudan, that he was no longer to protect Nigudar, making him at the same time generous promises, whereupon the King placed guards so as to prevent his sudden escape. Abaka also sent Shiramun and some other noyans to secure him. They entered Thrialeth and summoned the other Georgian King, David, son of Lasha, to go to him, but he was then ill, and sent his officers, who accompanied Shiramun to Karthli. A struggle now took place, which was prolonged into the following day, and in which Nigudar's people were utterly beaten and dispersed, and Nigudar himself, his wife, and his son were captured, stripped of their belongings, and taken before Abaka, who pardoned him and sent him to live in Irak, gave him abundance of food and raiment, falcons, &c., and a lordly establishment, with a guard to prevent him moving elsewhere. He terminated his days in peace, while King David was rewarded with numerous presents, and was given Aténi, with its appurtenances, and other villages in Karthli.* Wassaf says that Nigudar excused his conduct to Abaka on the ground that he had been invited to do what he did by Borak, that he was pardoned, but that six of his chief supporters were put to death, and his troops were incorporated with those of the Ilkhan. Nigudar himself was put under the surveillance of the Noyan Kurumchi.† Von Hammer says he was guarded by fifty Mongols and imprisoned at Deriar Kebudan, whence he was released on the defeat of Borak.‡

After his defeat Borak retired to Transoxiana. Thereupon Abaka, leaving Tekshin in command of the army of Khorasan, went homewards. On the way a party of people from Dilem tried to assassinate him. Yusufshah, the son of Shems ud din Alp Arghun, the Atabeg of Luristan, who lived at Abaka's Court and had taken part in the recent campaign (his own country being governed meanwhile by prefects appointed by himself), sprang from his horse and saved him. For this, and his brave conduct in the war with Borak, for which he had supplied a contingent, he was rewarded with the district of Khuzistan, the mountain Kiluya, and the two towns of Firuzan and Jerbadakan. The former took its name from the Sassanian monarch, Firuz, who built it; it was famous for its cotton, corn, and fruit, and was situated in the Persian Irak. The latter was also called Derbayekan, or Güljadkian, and was situated between Kerj and Hamadan. Yusufshah repaired to the mountain Kiluya, where he defeated the Shuls, a Kurdish tribe, the victory costing the life of his brother, Nejm ud din.§ Abaka reached Meragha on the 18th of October, 1270, and twenty days later

* Op. cit., 582-583. † Wassaf, 137-138. D'Ohsson, iii. 433-435.
‡ Ilkhans, i. 261. § *Id.*, i. 274. D'Ohsson, iii. 454-455.

arrived at his ordu at Chagatu, where he received from the envoys of his uncle, the Khakan Khubilai, a crown, a mantle of investiture, and letters-patent conferring on him the government of Iran, which his father had held. The ceremony of investiture was accompanied by the usual rejoicings. He also received envoys from Mangu Timur, of the Golden Horde, congratulating him on his victory, and taking him presents of falcons.

When Abaka was hunting on one occasion outside Meragha, he was wounded in the neck by the horn of a wild ox. To stop the flow of blood one of the aidajis or cooks made a light ligature about the wound with a bowstring, which caused it to become cicatrised. A tumour having supervened, which caused him much pain, none of his doctors dared to open it until the famous astronomer, Nasir ud din, offered to answer with his head if any harm came of the operation, whereupon it was cut open and he was relieved.* This was shortly followed by the death of the two princes, Yashmut and Tekshin, who had so distinguished themselves in the war against Borak; and six months later Yisunchin, the mother of Abaka, also died. Her household was made over to his wife, Padishah Khatun, the daughter of Kutb ud din, Sultan of Kerman. It was in this year also that Girdkuh, the fortress of the Assassins, identified by Von Hammer with the Gilgerd of the Byzantines (a veritable castle of Lethe or oblivion), is said to have been finally captured.† The next event of any moment in Abaka's reign was the expedition he sent to ravage Trans-oxiana, which did its work very effectually. Its issue I shall relate in the next volume. The Turcoman, Akbeg, who took an active part in this campaign, would have gone with the booty he had secured to Kaidu, but one of his brothers disclosed his intentions to Arghun. He was arrested and sent on to Abaka. He was executed, *en route*, at Kökje denis, or the Blue Sea (*i.e.*, the Sea of Aral); the intendant, Malik Sadr ud din, was also put to death at Rai. Jenglaun Bakhshi, Khulagu's and Abaka's secretary, and the Amir Arghun Aka, son of Charmaghan, died a natural death at this time. There was also an earthquake at Tebriz which caused much destruction there. The same year there died at Iconium the famous mystic sheikh, Sadr ud din of Konia.‡

The *Georgian Chronicle* tells us how, after his return from the campaign against Borak, Abaka went to Siba with King David (the son of Lasha), who spent the winter there, where the king fell ill and died. He was succeeded by his young son Dimitri. The date of his death has been discussed by Brosset.§ He fixes it in 1269, but it would seem that Malakia's authority must be right, and he tells us David died the same year and the same month as Haithon, King of Armenia (*i.e.*, October, 1270). The youth of the young king, Dimitri, caused many of the eristhafs

* Ilkhans, i. 272-273. D'Ohsson, iii. 456-457. Quatremere, 13. Note.
† Ilkhans, i. 273-274. ‡ *Id.*, i. 275. § Hist. de la Géorgie, 584. Notes.

to join the Mongol ranks. About this time also Aghalar and Sakhaoer, eristhaf of Raja, determined to break the yoke of David, son of Rusudan, and to go over to Abaka. They discussed matters with Alikan Behadur, who lived in the mountains of Jawakheth. He informed the monarch, who made them large promises. The Khan complained of the way in which David had given shelter to his enemies, such as Nigudar and Yalkhur, and it was necessary to punish him. Thereupon Sakhaber said he and his companions knew the country well, and would willingly act as his guides. Abaka thereupon ordered Shiramun, Alikan, Taicho, and Abchi to march against the King. They collected a force of 30,000 men, traversed Trialeth, crossed the mountain Likh, and fell on David, who was then bathing at Kuthathis. He had barely time to mount, covered with a single garment. Meanwhile the Tartars pillaged the churches, killed or made prisoners a large number of Christians, and returned without any loss to Abaka. Two years later, Shiramun and Alikan, called Alinakh by Stephen the Orpelian, and no doubt the Alinak already named, were again ordered to invade Georgia. David at once withdrew, and allowed them to plunder at their will. Presently, having heard that he was collecting a force to attack them, they withdrew hastily with their prisoners and booty. At this time Sadun Mankaberdel had become the first of the mthawars. Abaka attached him to his person, and gave him the surveillance of Georgia, and also confided to him the daughter of the atabeg Avak, who appointed him her chamberlain. Meanwhile the Georgian thawads conveyed the young king Dimitri, son of David Lasha, to the ordu, and were accompanied by Ivané, son of Shahinshah, the chief of the Mandators. Abaka invested Dimitri with the whole kingdom, except the territory belonging to Sargis Jakel, and caused him to be escorted home by Sadun, whom he appointed atabeg, and on reaching Tiflis he was duly consecrated there.*

We will now turn to Abaka's intercourse with Egypt. The Mamluk Sultan Bibars, who, as we have seen, now ruled there, was a terrible foe to the Crusaders, whom he had determined to drive out of Syria. In 1268 he captured Antioch, which belonged to Bohemond, Prince of Tripoli. After the capture the citizens were killed or reduced to slavery, while other districts subject to the Crusaders were devastated, and Bibars' intentions were strengthened by the result of the ill-starred expedition of Louis IX. to Tunis. Driven to desperation, the Crusaders appealed to Abaka to go to their rescue.† By his orders a division of 10,000 men under Samaghar, the commander of the Mongols in Asia Minor, with a body of Turks from Rum, under the Pervana, first minister of the Sultan of Rum, advanced into Syria. Their advance guard, consisting of 1,500 Mongols, commanded by Amal, son of Baichu, which went

* Op. cit., 585-586. † D'Ohsson, iii., 458-459.

by way of Amk, in the district of Aintab, surprised and cut to pieces a tribe of Turkomans encamped between Harem and Antioch, ravaged the districts of Harem and Al Muruj, and advanced as far as Apamia. Abulfeda says they attacked Aintab, Rug, and Camit, near Famia. The garrison of Aleppo retired upon Hamath. A thousand pieces of silver was asked for a camel, while to hire one for a journey to Egypt cost 200. Bibars, who was at Damascus, sent orders to Baisari to march at once with 3,000 men from Cairo. That officer duly arrived at Damascus on the 12th of November, 1271. The Sultan, with his troops, set out for Aleppo, but the Mongols had already retired. He, however, dispatched the Amir Ak Sonkor Farekani, with a large number of Arabs for Merash (the Germanicia of the ancients), while another division was sent to Harran and Roha (*i.e.*, Edessa), which opened its gates to them. At Harran they put to death the Mongols who were in the town, and caused the rest to take to flight.* The Egyptians did not permanently occupy Harran, and on their withdrawal the principal inhabitants, afraid of the vengeance of the Mongols for having surrendered the place, left it, and scattered themselves in various parts of Syria. A Mongol division re-entered it on the 26th of April, 1272, razed the walls, destroyed the buildings, carried off the greater part of the citizens, and the town was thus ruined.†

Meanwhile, supported by the Crusaders, the Mongols attacked the fortress of Kakun, not far from Cæsarea, which its governor, Bejka Alai, abandoned. Bibars secretly left Aleppo, and arrived at Damascus with a large number of Mongols captured at Harran. He dispatched Akush Shemsi with the troops of Ain Jalut to relieve Kakun, whereupon the Crusaders fled. They were pursued and severely punished. While Bibars was at Damascus envoys came from the Mongol general Samaghar and the Pervana to negotiate for peace, and asking that some one should be sent to treat. He accordingly sent Mobariz ud din Tuzi, the amir tabardar, and Fakhr ud din Mukri, the hajib. They found Samaghar encamped in the province of Sivas, and presented him with nine bows and nine maces, excusing the poverty of their present on the ground that they had had to ride post haste. On the following day they were received by the Pervana, and gave him the costly stuffs with which they had been intrusted by Bibars. With him they went on to Abaka, to whom they presented a cuirass, a helmet made of hedgehog's skin, a sword, a bow, and nine arrows, and reported that their master had received several envoys from Mangu Timur, of the Golden Horde, asking him to make a joint attack upon himself. This news naturally distressed the Mongol ruler, and two days later he sent back the envoys. The fact is that the bitter feud which separated the Khans of the Golden Horde and the

* Makrizi, i. (part ii.) 100-101. D'Ohsson, iii. 459-460. Weil, iv. 73-74.
† D'Ohsson, iii. 461.

Ilkhans caused the former to seek the assistance of their co-religionist, the Sultan of Egypt, while the Ilkhans as naturally clung to the Crusaders, and the Emperors of Byzantium.

In September, 1272, some fresh envoys went to Damascus from Abaka, and others from Rum. Makrizi says the former were told to go through the Juk or Kow-tow (*i.e.*, the well-known Mongol form of prostration) before the two naibs of Aleppo and Hamath. They had been charged to ask that Sonkor Ashkar should be sent to the Imperial Court, but they now changed this message into a summons to Bibars either to go himself or to send his first subject. The Sultan replied that as it was Abaka who desired peace he had better go in person, or send one of his brothers to go to him. He also ordered his troops, in complete equipment, to perform their evolutions in the Meidan, outside Damascus, before the envoys. Soon after, news arrived that the Mongols were attacking the fortresses of El Biret and Er Rahbet, and had seized the fords of the Euphrates. The people at Biret sent messengers to Hamath and Hims by pigeon post, asking for help. The Sultan dispatched Fakhr ud din, of Hims, from Harim, with one division, while Alai ud din Alhaj Taibars Waziri went in another direction with a second one. He himself set out from Damascus and Hims, taking with him some boats which were mounted on carts. On reaching the Euphrates, he was deceived by the Mongols, who had moved from the ford where they had previously been posted, and had intrenched themselves opposite a deep part of the river. Bibars launched his boats, filled with soldiers, and a sharp hail of arrows followed from each side. Presently, Kelavun crossed the river by a ford, and defeated the Mongols. The rest of the troops then swam over the river, the horsemen being close to each other, holding their horses' bridles with one hand, and using their lances as oars. The Sultan was one of the first over. The enemy's camp was captured, and he thanked heaven for his victory in a prayer, accompanied by two rik'ats. The enemy were 3,000 or, according to Novairi, 5,000 strong, and lost their commander, Haifar (read Chabakar by D'Ohsson), and many of their number. The Euphrates was crossed at Menbej, after which troops were dispatched up and down the river, who captured and killed many others. Meanwhile Derbai, with the Mongol army that was besieging El Biret, hastily withdrew, abandoning their catapults, baggage, and provisions. Having waited to see if they would return, Bibars once more recrossed the Euphrates and repaired to El Biret, which he entered by a bridge of boats that had been prepared by the Mongols. He rewarded the governor with a robe of honour and a thousand gold pieces, while he distributed 100,000 dirhems and other marks of favour on the inhabitants; and having strengthened the garrison returned to Damascus, which he entered in triumph, preceded by his amirs.* D'Ohsson

* Makrizi, i. (part ii.) 110-111. D'Ohsson, iii. 463-464. Weil, iv. 76.

says the Egyptian army numbered 12,000, and that to enable him to cross the Euphrates Bibars threw 35,000 camels into the river, whose bodies formed a bridge over which his men advanced ;* but this is corrected by Von Hammer. What Wassaf says is that the camels were linked together by their bridles.

The Egyptians now once more assailed Little Armenia, of which Leon III. was ruler. They complained that the citizens of Kinuk molested the Mussulman merchants and travellers. They accordingly crossed the frontier and suddenly appeared before the town. The inhabitants fled to the citadel, which was taken in July, 1273. The men were killed, and the women reduced to slavery.† Tarsus was also sacked. Leon himself, who suspected the fidelity of his vassals, withdrew to the mountains, whence he, according to Chamitch, inflicted a defeat on a second Syrian army which invaded the district. These events took place in the latter part of 1273.‡

While his troops were ravaging Cilicia, Bibars learnt that Abaka was making preparations to attack him, and prepared in turn to repel him. He set out from Cairo on August 12th, 1273, and heard at Askalon that the Ilkhan had left Baghdad on a hunting excursion towards the Zab, and he sent to Egypt to summon his troops. A division of 4,000 accordingly set out under his general, Taibars, and as the news from Persia became daily more alarming, the Sultan ordered all the Egyptian forces, including the Arabs, to march, and whoever had a horse was instructed to obey the sacred call and set out. Bibars reached Damascus on the 2nd of September, but no enemy appeared.§ A few months later Sherif ud din Issa, son of Mohanna, the chief of the Bedouins of Syria, made a raid by his orders into Irak Arab, and advanced as far as Anbar. The Mongols, who fancied it was the Sultan in person, retired fighting, and rejoined Abaka.‖

The Malik Shems ud din Behadur, Prince of Semsat, son of the Malik Ferej, chief cupbearer of the last Khuarezm Shah, after the death of that prince, had occupied the strong fortress of Kirat and six others in the district of Nakhchivan, and had then gone to Rum, where he received the town of Akserai as an appanage. He had begun a secret correspondence with Bibars, to inform the latter of what was going on among the Mongols. He had also joined in a plot with the Sultan for the destruction of the Catholicos of the Christians (*i.e.*, of the Nestorians) at Baghdad. The latter lived in the palace of the Khalif, and had treated the Mussulmans with contumely. The Sultan wrote him a letter, saying he had heard how much he had at heart the wellbeing of the Christians in his states, and that it was in consideration for him that he (Bibars) treated him so kindly, and went on to say, "Thanks to you, we are well

* D'Ohsson, iii. 464. Wassaf, 167. † D'Ohsson, iii. 465. ‡ *Id.*, 466-467.
§ *Id.*, 467. ‖ *Id.*, 466-467. Makrizi, i. (part ii.) 117.

acquainted with the most secret affairs of the Mongols." The letter then went on to make some imaginary statement, as: "We grant what you have asked for such an one. We promise to promote the person you name. We shall know how to treat the person you have in view. You ask us for some balm, and some relics of the Messiah. We send them to you, as well as a portion of the Cross. We have sent these things to Rahbet, and we have communicated to the naib there the secret sign between us; send a confidential person who knows the sign to fetch them." The Sultan gave this letter to the naib of El Biret, with orders to hand it to an Armenian, who was to pass it on to the Catholicos. He then informed Shems ud din Behadur of what he had done. The latter had the messenger arrested and sent to Abaka, who ordered the Catholicos to be put to death. Shems ud din did several other services for the Sultan, but the Mongols having discovered his intrigues, arrested and conveyed him to the ordu. His mamluks and attendants, to the number of 200, fled to Egypt, where they were well received by the Sultan. Shems ud din himself managed to escape, and went to El Biret, where the people went out to meet him. Thence he passed into Egypt, where he and his followers had appanages granted to them.* This story is a good example of the diabolical ingenuity of the eastern princes in intrigue. It also shows a curious phase of relic-dealing, when ingenuous bishops were ready to buy Christian relics and pieces of the true Cross from the Sultan of Egypt, the great antagonist of the Crusaders, and who would no doubt have gladly supplied such articles *ad libitum*. The story above told is preserved for us by Novairi, but, as D'Ohsson says, there was at this time no Catholicos living at Baghdad, nor did any Catholicos perish by order of Abaka. Abulfaraj tells us that in 1268 Henan Yishua, bishop of Jeziret, was put to death by his orders, his skull being broken with a stone when he was asleep, and his head then exposed at the gate of Jeziret. He was accused of unnatural crimes, and of interfering in matters of state. Perhaps he is the person mistaken by Novairi for the Catholicos.† Although no Catholicos was actually killed, the Christians seem to have had rather a bad time of it at this period, in consequence of the intrigues of the Muhammedans. The Catholicos of the Nestorians left Baghdad in 1268, after an outbreak there. He was called Mar Denha, and was the successor of Makisa. He had seized a Nestorian from Takrit, who some years before had turned Mussulman, and had threatened to drown him in the Tigris. The people appealed to Alai ud din, the civil governor of the town, who demanded the release of the apostate, and on the refusal of the Catholicos they attacked his house, burnt the entrance, and tried to get in and kill him. Mar Denha escaped by some tortuous streets to the house of Alai ud din. He laid his complaints

* Makrizi, i. (part ii.) 116-117, and note 143. D'Ohsson, iii. 467-469.
† Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 571-572.

before the Mongol Court, but no one there supporting him, he retired to Irbil. In 1271 some Ismaelites (*i.e.*, Bedouins) tried to assassinate Alai ud din. They failed, and were cut in pieces. The Muhammedans declared the attempt had been made by some Christians, emissaries of Mar Denha. This sufficed to cause a general imprisonment of the bishops and the heads of the regular and secular clergy at Baghdad. At the same time Kutbuka, the governor of Irbil, imprisoned the Catholicos and his bishops, and they were only released after some weeks, and by order of the court. Thereupon the Nestorian patriarchs fixed their residence at Ashnu, in Azerbaijan.*

Sempad, whose journeys to the Mongol Court we have described, apparently died about 1273.† We are told that he built many churches, monasteries, &c., and that having repaired to Tebriz, to visit Arghun Aka and the Sahib Divan, he fell ill and died. He was succeeded by his brother Tarsaij, with the permission of Arghun and the Sahib Divan.‡ In 1273 Abaka sent an army to invade Khuarezm, which was then subject to the Khans of the Golden Horde. It laid waste the towns of Khiva, Urgenj, and Karakush.§

Abulfaraj describes how, in 1274, a Nestorian monk from St. Michael's monastery, near Mosul, having had an intrigue with an Arab woman, became a Mussulman, much to the distress of the Christians. His fellow monks, including his uncle, repaired to Tepash, the leader of the Mongol soldiery, who at their instance went to Mosul, where they seized the renegade. Thereupon a tumult arose, and a crowd of Mussulmans went to the palace armed with clubs and torches, and threatened to kill the Mongol leaders unless they released their co-religionist. He was accordingly released, and was taken in triumph on horseback round the city, which was a greater grief to the Christians than his apostacy.‖ We are further told that at this time the Christians of Irbil, intending to celebrate the festival of palms, and afraid they would be molested by the Arabs (*i.e.*, the Mussulmans), asked a number of Christian Mongols who were encamped not far off to escort them. They did so, and they marched out, the Mongols carrying crosses on the points of their spears. The crowd marched headed by the Nestorian metropolitan, and accompanied by Mongol horsemen. They were assailed with stones and dispersed, however, by the Mussulmans, and for some time after dared not come out of their houses.¶ During the same year (*i.e.*, 1274) some of Bibars' officers having been found corresponding with the Mongols were arrested, and twelve of them were put to death.**

In 1273 we read in Abulfaraj that Intab and Birha, from Syria, made a raid into the district of Claudia. They marched continuously, without

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 571-573.
† Hist. de la Siounie, 235. Note 4. St. Martin, ii. 291. Note 38.
‡ Hist. de la Siounie, 235. St. Martin, ii. 153. § Weil, iv. 135.
‖ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 574-575. ¶ *Id.*, 575-576. ** D'Ohsson, iii. 471.

bivouacking, for fear the Mongols might attack them, and carried off many prisoners.* Two years later some fakirs went to visit the tomb of the Khalif Mamun, at Tarsus. It was suspected that the Egyptian Sultan, in person, was among them, having gone to explore the country, and they were accordingly arrested and imprisoned by order of the Armenian king. Several people were sent from Egypt to inquire why they were imprisoned, which only increased Leon's suspicions. This was not the only grievance which Bibars had. He plausibly charged the Armenian king with several offences—that he had not sent him the presents agreed upon; that he had built some new fortresses and added to the old ones; that, contrary to his promise, he had not furnished him with useful intelligence; and, lastly, that Armenians, invested with Mongol sarakuchis, had assailed his caravans, falsely pretending to be Mongols—acts which had led to the destruction of Kinuk, as we have mentioned. Bibars left Cairo on the 1st of February, 1275, and Damascus on the 6th of March. At Hamath he was joined by Mansur, prince of that country, and later by the Arab Sherif ud din Issa, son of Mohanna. He had kept his purpose secret. When his army reached the country between Derbessak and Bagras he divided it into bodies of 1,000 men, which forced the mountains at various points. The soldiers carried torches, and thirty boats followed the army, with which to cross the rivers. The Sultan encamped beyond the defile of Iskanderun, behind a wall which Haithon, father of Leon, had built, whence he advanced to Merkes (not Mankab, as D'Ohsson has it), which takes its name from the river, the ancient Kersos. His people captured and burnt Massissa, the ancient Mopsuetia, on the Jihan (the Pyramus of the classics). There they secured a large booty, and caused much slaughter. We are told that some clans of Arabs and Turkomans, who were owners of great herds here, submitted to Bibars, who moved them into Syria. Once more advancing, he crossed the defile separating Cilicia from Rum, where he captured the families of some Mongols. Thence on to Sis, which was burnt, the palace of the king, with its pavilions and gardens, being destroyed; the citizens had abandoned the city and sought shelter in the citadel. He dispatched the prisoners and cattle he had captured homewards, and sent detachments to the maritime towns of Tarsus (where they recited the Mussulman prayers on the Friday), Adana, Barin, and Ayas. Ayas, situated two days' journey from Baghras and one from Tel Hamdun, was in the hands of the Crusaders. They transported their wealth on to ships which were anchored in the harbour. The Egyptians burnt the town and killed many of the citizens. Two thousand Franks and Armenians who tried to escape by sea were drowned. Some of its citizens fled to the Lesser Jeziret, which was not far off; others who

* Chron. Syr., 574.

escaped were pillaged even of their coats by the Franks; "they did not kill any of them, however," says the considerate Abulfaraj. At Adana the men were killed and the women carried off. Abulfaraj says the invaders advanced, plundering, burning, and murdering, to Cyric. They killed twenty-one monks in the monastery of Paximiatus, with an illustrious old monk named Salomon, and the prætor of the patriarch Mar Ignatius. They burnt the monastery, as well as the one at Gujekhat, and the rest of the monasteries of the Armenians and Greeks, except the small one belonging to the Jacobite patriarch at Sis. That dignitary had fled to Behga, where he hid till the invaders withdrew.* On returning to Massissa the Sultan set fire to the two parts of that town on the banks of the Jihan, and when all his men had assembled again, and the Turkomans and Arabs who were subject to him had passed the defiles on the Syrian frontier, he continued his retreat. He stayed awhile on the plains of Antioch, which were covered with immense numbers of cattle, and proceeded to distribute the booty, every functionary, both of sword and pen, participating; he did not retain any for himself. He there learnt that the division which he had sent to Biret had advanced as far as Rees Ain, driving before it the Mongols it met *en route*, and had returned loaded with booty. This terrible raid is said to have cost the lives of 60,000 people, while a larger number were made captive.†

The next year the Mongols made an attack upon El Biret. They invested the fortress on the 29th of November, 1275, and bombarded it with catapults. They were led by the noyan Abatai (called Antai by Abulfeda). They had to withdraw, however, on account of the scarcity of provisions and the severity of the weather, which caused the death of many horses; and Bibars, who had already set out from Damascus and distributed largess to the troops, again returned.‡ Abulfaraj tells us the invaders on this occasion numbered 70,000, and that after his failure Abatai returned to Assyria, where he became very ill. The withdrawal of the Mongols, as here described, was followed by a raid upon Cilicia by a number of Turkomans, in which Sempad, Leon's uncle, and several grandees were killed.§ The Pervana, who governed Rum, had a critical part to play. His Mussulman inclinations inclined him to be friendly towards the Sultan of Egypt, whereas the way in which he had been virtually cheated out of his wife by her father, King Haithon, made him ill disposed towards the Armenians, although Haithon's son, Leon, had tried to appease him by a marriage between his natural daughter and the Pervana's son.‖ To keep himself in good odour with the Mongols, he repaired to their ordu with the daughter of Rokn ud din, Sultan of Rum, to save her, as he alleged, from being taken off to Egypt.

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* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 578. Ilkhans, i. 290-293.
† Makrizi, i. (part ii.) 123-124. D'Ohsson, iii. 471-474. ‡ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 574.
‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 474-475. § Chron. Syr., 580.

He also warned the Mongols that a certain amir, called Mar Khetir, had got possession of the young Sultan Ghiath ud din, and was conveying him to Egypt. He asked for some troops with whom to rescue him. These were given him, under the command of Kongurtai, Abaka's brother. They overtook Mar Khetir, with the young Sultan, at Ablestin, killed the former, and rescued the latter, whom they made over to the Pervana, who thus acquired great credit among them.* The young Seljukian Sultan, Ghiath ud din, had been taken to Nakidah (now called Nigdeh), between Marash and Konia, for safety, by the Amir Sherif ud din Masud Ibn Alkhatir, a strong opponent of the Pervana. Bibars, who had gone to Aleppo, sent a division under Seif ud din Bilban Azzeini, with orders to march upon Nakidah; but when he reached the Koksu, or Blue River (probably an affluent of the Jihan, falling into it south-east of Marash), he was attacked by a Mongol contingent and forced to retire upon Aintab. The result of this expedition was that the Pervana once more secured the custody of Ghiath ud din.†

About the year 1276, Alem ud din Yakub, a great merchant, who was a Christian, and a native of Berkut, in the district of Irbil, and had been on a visit to Khubilai Khan's Court, died on his way home in Khorasan. Yashmut, an envoy of the Khakan's, who was his companion, and also a man of great consequence and illustrious birth, of Uighur origin, and who had been a monk, took charge of his sons, and went with them to Abaka's Court. Abaka received them well, and appointed the eldest of them, Masud, governor of Mosul and Irbil, while Yashmut became his chief minister.‡ According to St. Martin, Arghun Aka, the famous Mongol official, died in 1275. In the "Shajrat ul Atrak" we are told he died in 673 HEJ., at Tus.§ Another important personage died at this time, viz., Shems ud din Kert, the Malik of Herat. His enemies at Abaka's Court had intrigued against him, and the latter, grown suspicious, determined to secure his person. He had to set about it diplomatically, since the malik's fortress of Khaisar was impregnable. Accordingly, in 1275, he sent him a khilat or state robe, a paizah or official tablet, and a yarligh or diploma. This last was thus phrased: "The Malik Shems ud din Muhammed Kert knows that we are very fond of him; that his words and acts have always won our approbation and praise; that all which he has sent to the foot of our throne has been very welcome; that the statements of his detractors and those envious of him have not been listened to; and that we have several times told our brother, Tekshin Oghul,‖ to send him some of his most distinguished officers to invite him to quit his inaccessible home, this abode of lions and tigers, this nest of eagles and vultures (*i.e.*, Khaisar), and to take up his residence at Herat.

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 582. † Weil, iv. 81.
‡ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 582-583. D'Ohsson, iv. 24. § Op. cit. 254. See Ante, p. 241.
His name is otherwise read Tebsin and Bishin.—See Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 454. Note.

He must, on the receipt of this order, repair at once to Herat and rule there firmly, and make the frontier provinces, as far as Afghanistan on the one hand, and of Shiburghan and the Amu (*i.e.*, the Oxus) on the other, flourish; he must reside in the flourishing city of Herat, and there punish those who have been oppressive and tyrannical." Abaka finished his letter with numerous expressions of his goodwill, and swore never to injure him. Shems ud din thereupon assured him of his obedience, and sent rich presents to him, as well as to Tekshin Oghul and the great amirs and chiefs of the administration, and he went to Herat, where the maliks and grandees of the surrounding district went to meet him. Shortly after, there arrived letters from his namesake, the vizier, and from the vizier's son, the Khoja Bahai ud din, the governor of Ispahan, inviting him to go to Irak. He accordingly set out. Bahai ud din, with a crowd of grandees, went to the borders of his province to meet him, and conducted him to the ordu, but Abaka gave him a very cold welcome, and his suspicions having been aroused, determined that he should not return again to Herat. He was detained at the ordu, while his son, Rokn ud din, was sent to join the army at Derbend.* Von Hammer has translated a number of epigrams and poems which he and his namesake, the vizier, wrote in answer to one another at this time.† Abaka himself refused him an audience. He was detained at Ispahan, and his two sons were enrolled among the troops stationed at Baku. The amir Bahai ud din, supported by Tikneh, one of the chief dignitaries of the Court, in vain recalled the services of the family of Kert. Abaka refused to see him, and the following year (*i.e.*, 1277), while he was in a bath at Tebriz, he ate a water melon which Abaka had sent him, and which was poisoned, and died. This was in January, 1278. The Ilkhan's suspicion of him was so great that, fearing a trick and that he was not really dead, he ordered one of his courtiers to superintend the laying out of the corpse, and to fasten the coffin with iron chains. He was buried at Jani, in a turbeh, or funereal chapel.‡ The death of the malik caused matters at Herat to fall into disorder, and we are told that the following year (*i.e.*, 1278) Prince Tekshin, on his return from Ghazni, reported the state of things to his brother Abaka, and persuaded him to nominate Shems ud din's son, Rokn ud din, who as we have seen had been sent to Derbend, in his father's place, and ordered him to bear, like his father, the title of Shems ud din, adding to it that of "the Little," to distinguish him from his predecessor. He reigned without dispute for three years, and received the homage of the chiefs of Khorasan, except of the governor of Kandahar, against whom he marched in 680 (1281), Khuandemir says in 677 (*i.e.*, 1278). The inhabitants defended themselves bravely, but after thirteen days' attack, finding that the gates

* D'Ohsson, iv. 180-182. † Ilkhans, i. 278-284.
‡ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 453-454. D'Ohsson, iv. 182-183.

of their fortress had been fired, they agreed to submit and to pay a money fine.*

Let us now turn our attention to the other end of the empire. We have seen how Iz ud din, the joint ruler of Rum, fled to Constantinople, leaving his brother Rokn ud din in complete possession of that empire.† We have also traced his subsequent fortunes until his death.‡ Rokn ud din was only nominally ruler. The real ruler was the Pervana, who, fearing that his nominal master meant to assert himself, charged him at the Mongol Court with intending to revolt, and having received due authority, he had him strangled with a bowstring, after he had corrupted the Mongol generals with large presents. This took place in 666 HEJ. (1267-8), at a banquet to which he had invited the Sultan and the Mongol generals. Rokn ud din's son, Ghiath ud din, who was only four years old, was put on the throne. Nine years later, troubles broke out in Rum. Some of the amirs there, who had combined with the Pervana to secure an Egyptian alliance, having been betrayed by that treacherous person, fled to Egypt, and incited the Sultan to invade Rum; among them Seif ud din Jenderbek (the Haidarbek of D'Ohsson), Prince of Ablestin, an old amir called Bishar, and others. Bibars remitted the matter for discussion to some of his own amirs, and ordered two of them, Baisari and Anes (D'Ohsson calls him Akush), to report to him the result. Bibars himself repaired to Egypt, where we are told great exertions were made, and the artisans were fully employed in preparing arms, &c. Bibars presented splendid equipments to his mamluks, and held a grand review, a sham fight, and a feast, which are described in picturesque detail by Makrizi.§ The "Shajrat ul Atrak" reports how, before he set out against the Mongols, Bibars went as a spy to Rum. On his return to Egypt he sent a message to Abaka to tell him he had been to Rum for his amusement, and had left a ring in pledge with a certain cook or confectioner for provisions supplied to him, and he coolly asked Abaka to return it. The latter, who was astonished at his rashness, ordered the Pervana to send Bibars a friendly answer.‖ When the Armenian king heard of the Egyptian preparations he warned the Mongols, but the effect of his messages was discounted by the Pervana, who disliked him, and had a crooked policy of his own to carry out, and who suggested that Leon had some corrupt motive in what he was doing, whence they distrusted him. Bibars, on setting out, left the amir Ak Sonkor Farekani as his deputy in Egypt, with the title of naib algaibah, and left in his charge his son Said Bereke Khan, whom he had nominated as his successor. When he reached Aleppo he ordered its governor to march to Sajur, on the Euphrates, to guard the fords and prevent the Mongols from invading

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 454-455. † Ante, 184.
‡ Ante, part ii. 122-123. I ought to say here that Abulfeda attributes his rescue rightly to Mangu Timur, and not to Bereke Khan. Op. cit., v. 27.
§ Op. cit., i. (part ii.) 135-138. D'Ohsson, iii. 480-481. ‖ Op. cit., 253-254. Wassaf, 164.

Syria. In conjunction with the Arab amir, Sherif ud din Issa Ibn Mohanna, this general defeated a body of Khafajah Arabs sent against him by the Mongols, and captured 1,200 camels.* Bibars himself went by way of Heilan, Aintab, Dulek, Merj Dibaj, and Kinuk (*i.e.*, by the pass in the Taurus mountains, still followed by the caravans of pilgrims). He passed the defile of Akcha, where he stationed guards, and thence sent on an advance guard, under the general Soukor, which met and defeated a contingent of 3,000 Mongols, and captured many prisoners.† Bibars advanced to the Jihan, where the Mongols and Seljuki were assembled, and when he had crossed a mountain range he found the enemy ranged in the plain of Ablestia. The Mongols were divided into eleven divisions, each having more than 1,000 men in it. The Seljuki cavalry formed a division apart; the Mongols probably deemed them uncertain allies in a struggle with their co-religionists. They were under the command of Tukuz (called Tanaun by Abulfeda), son of the noyan Ilka, his brother Urugtu, and Tudun (the Behadur Thudan of Abulfaraj), brother of Sugunjak, or Sughurjak (called Thonda, of the family Saldukh Bahadur, governor of Gartha, in the *Georgian Chronicle*), who were encamped on the frontiers of Rum; Wassaf says of Temghur Noyan and Tudaun Behadur.‡ The battle took place on Friday, the 16th of April, 1277, on a very cold day. The impetuous charge of the Mongols gained an advantage at first, but Bibars in person urged his men that this was a holy war. He thrust himself into the thick of the fight. The fierce struggle ended in the victory of the Egyptians. Tukuz and Tudun, two of the Mongol commanders, were killed, as well as 6,770 Mongols. According to Abulfaraj, out of 3,000 Georgians who fought with them, 2,000 perished, and the rest were dispersed. One of their champions, named Morghul, is specially named as having thrown himself alone on the enemy's ranks and cut his way through. He escaped, his horse carrying him for three days, after being mutilated by being cut above the pastern of the hind leg.§ Bibars occupied the enemy's camp, where the Mongol prisoners were taken and put to death, except some of the superior officers. He also spared the Seljukian officers, whom he, however, reproached with having fought on the side of the infidels. Among the prisoners were a son and nephew, and the mother of the Pervana. In regard to the latter, we are told that before the fight he supplied the Mongols freely with meat and drink, especially with drink, so that when the Egyptians arrived they were so drunk they could hardly guide their horses; but inasmuch as their laws forbade them to fly until they had attacked the enemy, they rushed against the Egyptians and were defeated.‖ The *Georgian Chronicle* tells

* D'Ohsson, iii. 481. † Makrizi, i. (part ii.) 140. D'Ohsson, iii. 481-482.
‡ Op. cit., 169. § Georgian Chronicle, 588.
‖ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 583-584. Chron. Arab., 358-359.

us how in the struggle the Georgians surprised the Tartars by their valour.

Abulfaraj tells us that after the great battle in Rum, Bibars sent his younger brother, whom he calls Bar Khetir, to examine the dead bodies of the Mongols to see which of them of any distinction had been killed. A Mongol who lay concealed among the dead, and hoped to escape at night, fearing he would be discovered, shot the prince in the back. Those who were with him thought the weapon had come from heaven. He was taken to his brother, and shortly afterwards died.* The next winter (*i.e.*, that of 1278) the weather was again terribly severe, and many cattle, &c., perished. This was followed by great scarcity. The Pervana himself, with his *protégé*, the young Sultan, Ghiath ud din, fled first to Cæsarea, and then towards Tokat. Bibars dispatched Sonkor in pursuit of the fugitives, and intrusted him with a missive to the inhabitants of Cæsarea bidding them submit, and ordering them to hold markets outside the town. Sonkor met and dispersed a body of Mongols who were travelling with their kibitkas. He was followed by Bibars in person, who marched along a route which had been much devastated. He received the submission of the fortresses of Semendu, Darenda, and Devalua. The people of Cæsarea came out to meet him and *fêted* him in some royal tents belonging to the ruler of Rum, and when he entered the Seljukian capital in triumph on the 23rd of April, a canopy was held over his head like the one used by the Seljuks. He sat himself on the royal throne in the palace with a crown on his head, and sent a respectful message to the princesses who were in the harem. He then again seated himself on the throne, when the great religious and civil functionaries were admitted, and ranged according to their rank by an officer of the Seljuki, who wore the largest robe and the biggest turban. The royal air, only played in the residence of the ruler of the Seljuks, was played; pieces from the Koran were read, and verses in Arabic and Persian in praise of Bibars were recited. After a feast he repaired to the mosques. His name was inserted in the Friday prayer in the various mosques of the town, and his name was stamped on the coin. The vast wealth which the Pervana and his wife, Gurji Khatun (who was the daughter of the Prince of Erzerum, Ghiath ud din Kai Khosru, and his Georgian wife, Thamar),† and the other fugitives had left at Cæsarea was divided among the victors. The Pervana himself, with his usual versatile loyalty, sent to congratulate Bibars on mounting the throne of the Seljuki. When he withdrew to Tokat, his wife, Gurji Khatun, who had also set out for Cæsarea with a following of 400 female slaves, died at four days' journey from that town. In his reply to the Pervana, Bibars invited him to go to Cæsarea, intending to give him control of Rum during his

* Chron. Syr., 586. † Georgian Chron., 587. Note.

absence. He asked for a delay of fifteen days, while he urged the Ilkhan to march at once to the rescue, hoping that in the meantime Bibars, informed of the approach of Abaka, would withdraw. He did, in fact, retire, setting out from Cæsarea on the 28th of April. He had expected that the grandees of the country would have hastened to him to escape from the Mongol yoke, but they held aloof, fearing the vengeance of Abaka, and he therefore deemed it prudent to return. He put to death many Christians before doing so, but his troops did not otherwise maltreat the inhabitants, paying for everything they took, even straw for their horses, as he said he had gone to Rum not to devastate the country, but to rescue it from the Mongol yoke. On leaving Kai Kobad, he sent Taibars to punish the Armenians who lived in the town of Roman, which had sheltered a body of Mongols. It was burnt, and its inhabitants killed or made captive. At this time one of his officers, Iz ud din Eibeg, of whose prowess he was jealous, and whom he had struck a blow, deserted to the Mongols. On passing the battle-field of Ablestin, which was still encumbered with the slain, he asked how many there were. The Mongol dead numbered 6,770. He ordered most of his own people to be buried, to make it appear his loss had been much less than that of the enemy.

At Cæsarea he was visited by Shems ud din Muhammed, the chief of Karamania (the founder of the Turkoman dynasty of Karamania), at the head of 3,000 Turkomans. He received standards and letters of investiture for himself and his brothers. He had recently rebelled against the Seljuki and the Mongols.* The district ruled by him was in the south of Asia Minor, and it is now known as Ich il. On leaving Bibars he marched upon Conia, or Iconium, which he obtained possession of, as well as the citadel and the town, where he set up a Pretender, who he made out was Iz ud din Kai Kobad, who, as we have seen, had gone to the Krim, where he had died. Shems ud din only remained in the place, however, for thirty-seven days, for having heard that Abaka was advancing against him he withdrew to the mountains with his Turkomans. Bibars, to avoid pursuit, gave it out on leaving Cæsarea that he was going towards Sivas, and went across the river Kizil Irmak (*i.e.*, the Red River), which Weil identifies with the upper Sihun.† When he reached Harim, he received a letter from the Turkoman chief just named, saying he was going to him with 20,000 cavalry and 30,000 foot soldiers, but he was too late. Bibars had already set out for Damascus (taking with him the Pervana's aged mother and his eldest son), where he died on the 30th of June at the age of fifty-five. Haithon says he was poisoned ; Abulfaraj that he was struck in the leg with a weapon, the head of which remained in the wound, and was extracted by the doctor when he died. He adds another report, that the treasurer mixed some poison with mare's milk, and gave it

* D'Ohsson, iii. 486-489. Makrizi i. (part ii.) 144-145. Weil, iv. 83-84.
† Op. cit., 83. Note.

him to drink. When he felt a pain he ordered that the treasurer should drink also, and they both accordingly died. He was a brave soldier of fortune, tall, with blue eyes. He was full of energy, and frequently passed from Egypt to Syria, and *vice versa*, on post horses or swift dromedaries, to see for himself what his subordinates were doing. He had 12,000 Mamluks divided into three bodies, stationed respectively in Egypt and in the districts of Damascus and Aleppo. The Egyptian Mamluks were his own private property, whom he had himself bought. They formed his bodyguard, and their officers occupied the chief positions in the State. His entire army was about forty thousand strong. His death was concealed till the army reached Cairo, the news being given out that he was sick, and had therefore to be carried in a litter. Meanwhile, his body had been buried at Damascus. He was succeeded by his son Said who was nineteen years old.*

Bibars had few scruples when anyone stood in his way. Thus Almalik Almuvahid, son of a former ruler of Egypt, Almalik Assalih Nedjm ud din Ayub, having some claims to the succession, was an object of great jealousy to him. Inasmuch, however, as he had submitted to the Mongols, and been appointed by them governor of Hosn Keif, he could only ruin him by creating a dislike against him on the part of the Mongols. He accordingly incited some of the amirs to commence a correspondence with some of his friends, suggesting that it was worth his while to make an attempt upon Egypt, where the Ayubits still had many supporters. One of the answers being somewhat compromising, was dexterously conveyed to Abaka, who ordered the writer of the letter to be put to death. Malik Muvahid himself was imprisoned, and remained in confinement for seven years, when he was restored to his principality, which he retained till his death in 682 HEJ. Another of his victims was the amir Shems ud din Sallar, a Turkish mamluk of the former Khalif Zahir, who had been nominated by him governor of Kufa, Vasith, and Hillah, which post he filled during the reigns of his two successors. When Khulagu attacked Baghdad he fought against him, in alliance with the princes of Khuzistan, and fled eventually to the Arabian desert. Presently Khulagu invited him to return, and reinstated him in his former position. When Bibars became the ruler of Egypt and Syria he invited him to go to him. He accepted the invitation, but delayed setting out, as he wished to put his treasures in safety. He now dispatched a messenger with a letter, bidding him go, and followed this up with a second one, ordering the bearer of the second letter to overtake the first, to kill him, and leave his body, with all that was upon him, near the frontier guards of the Mongols. As he expected, the body was duly found, and the letter upon it. Khulagu ordered him to be sent for, but he heard of this, and fled to Egypt, where

* D'Ohsson, iii. 489-495.

Bibars treated him in a very friendly manner. Again, Zain ud din Alhafiz, who had been sent by Nasir, the Prince of Syria, to Khulagu, with his son, Almalik Alaziz, and who afterwards induced the surrender of Damascus, had gone after the battle of Ain Jalut to Khulagu, who treated him in a very friendly manner. In order to undo him, Bibars ordered his brother Imad ud din, who was in his service, to write and ask him to go to Egypt, and to betray Khulagu. He suspected the letter, and showed it to Khulagu. Bibars, not to be beaten, wrote a second one in person, in which he commended him for showing the former one to Khulagu, as a good means of gaining his confidence, and thus more easily betraying him. He ordered the bearer to drop his coat off, with this letter in it, as he crossed the Euphrates. The coat was duly found by a Mongol, and the letter having reached Khulagu, Zain ud din and all his family were put to death.*

We can hardly realise the misery and destruction caused by the internecine struggle of the two great rivals, the Ilkhan and the Egyptian Sultan. Thus, in the year 660 HEJ., Bibars, dreading a fresh invasion, caused all the women and children to be removed from Northern Syria, while the country was laid waste from Aleppo as far as Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, and the bushes and trees were burnt, so that the Mongols should find no food for themselves or forage for their cattle. The results of such policy are quite obvious, and we read that in 1271 the famine was so pressing that the people of Hamath had to seek shelter at Damascus, and among others the parents of the prince-historian, Abulfeda, who was born that very year at Damascus.

Let us revert again to Abaka. The slaughter of his men by the Egyptians was a heavy blow for him, and he set out from Tebriz to revenge it. At Ablestin, the site of the battle, he was met by the Seljuk chief, Ghiath ud din, who went to him with his vizier, Fakr ud din, of Ispahan. He shed tears on the battle-field, and was surprised at the discrepancy between the number of his own people who were dead and those of the army of Rum, not knowing the trick which had been played on him. In his rage he put to death several Seljuki officers, to whom he ascribed the disaster. He caused the Egyptian camp to be measured with the handle of a mace to test what numbers the enemy had mustered, and he reproached the Pervana for not having given him due warning of the force of the Egyptians. The latter tried to excuse himself on the ground that they had arrived suddenly, and he had not, therefore, had means of informing himself. The amir, Iz ud din Eibeg, who had deserted Bibars and gone over to Abaka, pointed out to him, by thrusting his lance into the ground, where the centre and wings of the Egyptian army had been posted. Abaka remarked that it must have outnumbered

* Weil, iv. 37-40.

the army which he then had with him, which was, nevertheless, 30,000 strong. Abaka's troops now, by his orders, spread themselves over the country between Cæsarea and Erzerum, which they wasted with fire and sword over a distance of seven days' journey, so that there perished more than 200,000 souls, or, according to some accounts, 500,000. The kadhis, fakirs, &c., perished in the common slaughter, which lasted for seventeen days. This punishment was limited to the Mussulmans, however, and we are expressly told by Makrizi that no Christians were killed.* Many captives were also redeemed by the vizier, Shems ud din Juveni. Half the town of Sivas was destroyed, the other half being spared on his representation that it was wrong to punish a whole people for the faults of a few.† Nur ud din Khasneyi and Sahir ud din Ibn Hush were executed.‡ Bar Hebræus contradicts the statement made by Makrizi. He tells us that although Abaka had issued orders that the Christians having sheltered and otherwise served the Mongols, were not to be molested, yet the latter through their cupidity killed some and reduced others to slavery. He accordingly supplied a priest and a monk with a yarligh or order, and told them to traverse his camp and release the Christians who were of Rumean origin (*i.e.*, from Asia Minor).§ Haithon says that the Mongols pursuing the Egyptians overtook a body of them at a place called Pasblank, and captured 2,000 prisoners and much booty, and also secured 5,000 Kurdish families who encamped in that district.‖

Abaka wished to follow Bibars into Syria, but his amirs urged him that this was imprudent in the heat of the summer, and that it was better to postpone the campaign till the spring. He contented himself, therefore, with sending him a menacing message, "You pounced like a robber on the advance guard of our army, and have defeated it, and when we drew near you fled like a thief." He also bade him come and meet him like a man, and not slink away like a fox. This letter reached Bibars at Damascus shortly before his death.¶ Having advanced as far as Aksha Derbend, in the mountains of Cappadocia, he left his brother Konghuratai in command of the troops in Rum, ordered Tokat and the castle of the Pervana to be destroyed, and then returned to his head-quarters at Alatagh.** As he passed the fortress of Baiburt, in Armenia, famed for the beauty of its women, it was reported that a sheikh asked permission to speak frankly to him, a permission which was freely granted. "Sire, your enemy entered your borders, but did no harm to your people, nor did he shed any of their blood. You marched against this enemy, and because he has escaped you you have slaughtered your own subjects and ravaged this land. Which Khan among your ancestors behaved

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 584. Makrizi, i. (part ii.) 145. Weil, iv. 84. D'Ohsson, iii. 495-496.
† Ilkhans, i. 298. D'Ohsson, loc. cit. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 298.
§ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 584. ‖ Op. cit., 52. ¶ Ilkhans, i. 298. ** *Id.*, i. 298.

thus?" These words, we are told, had a great effect upon Abaka, who ordered 40,000 Mussulman captives to be released.*

On reaching Alatagh the Pervana was tried by a council of generals, and was found guilty upon three charges: (1) of having fled before the enemy; (2) of not having warned Abaka of the invasion of the Egyptians; and (3) of not having, immediately after the battle of Ablestin, repaired to the Ilkhan. Meanwhile, the messengers whom the latter had sent with the above-mentioned menace to Bibars, returned and reported that they had been told at Cairo that the expedition of Bibars had been instigated by the Pervana, who had nevertheless treated him falsely, and fled on his approach, instead of handing over the kingdom to him. He was accordingly strangled with a bowstring. This was on the 23rd of July, 1278.† Novairi says that Abaka intended sending the Pervana to Egypt, but that the widows of the Mongols who had perished in the recent fight went to the royal palace in tears, imploring that the manes of their relatives might be avenged upon him, whereupon he determined upon his death. He ordered one of his officers, named Gunkji Behadur, to carry out his wish. The latter told his victim that the Khan wished to go out riding, and wanted him and his companions to accompany him. The Pervana, with thirty-six of his people, were accordingly escorted by Gunkji and a body of 200 horsemen, and on arriving at the place appointed were surrounded. The Pervana, conscious of his fate, asked for a momentary respite, which he employed in praying a namaz of two rek'ats, after which he was put to death, and with him all his companions.‡ Abulfaraj says he was invited to a feast by the Mongols, and liberally supplied with mare's milk, and that while he went out for an interval some Mongols, on a signal from the Khan, dismembered him. He did not give way to lamentations when he knew his fate, but poured imprecations on his murderers.§ The Armenian historian, Haithon, makes out that his body was cut in pieces, and a portion of his flesh was mingled with the food which Abaka and his chief officers ate.‖

He was a native of Dilem, whence his father, Mohazzab ud din Ali, had gone to seek his fortune in Rum, where he was patronised by Said ud din, finance minister of the Seljuk Sultan, Alai ud din Kai Kobad, who gave him his daughter in marriage. He afterwards became vizier, and left the post to his son Suliman, known as the Pervana. Having conquered Sinope, it was granted him as an hereditary fief by the Sultan Rokn ud din Kilij Arslan. After his execution this fief, in fact, passed to his son, Moyin ud din Muhammed, who, dying in 1297, left it to his son, Mohazzab ud din Musud, who also took possession of Janik and Samsun. In 1299 two European ships arrived at Sinope with

* Novairi, quoted by D'Ohsson, iii. 497-498. † D'Ohsson, iii. 498. Ilkhans, i. 299.
‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 498-499. Note. § Chron. Syr., 585. ‖ Op. cit., 52.

merchandise. One day those who manned them fell suddenly on the Bey's palace, and captured and carried him off. He redeemed himself for 900,000 aspres, and returned home, where he died in 1300. The territory of Sinope then passed into the possession of the Beys of Castiamuni.*

Haithon tells us that Abaka now summoned the Armenian King and offered to make him ruler of Rum as a reward for the faithful services of himself and his father to the Mongols. The King was very grateful for the offer, but prudently declined it, urging that he could not easily govern two kingdoms, and that in view of the ill-will of the Egyptian Sultan he must devote himself to protecting the Armenian frontiers. He urged Abaka, however, that before he withdrew from Rum he should pacify that province, and not hand it over to a Muhammedan administrator. He also urged him to rescue the Holy Land from the Mussulman yoke, an appeal which was not ungrateful to Abaka, who told him to write to the Pope and the Christian princes to ask for their aid in such a campaign.†

The *Georgian Chronicle* tells us that the post filled by Pervana was conferred on Erinj, a distinguished person descended from Onk Khan (*i.e.*, Wang Khan, of the Keraits), and related to the earlier Khans. From this charge there was excepted Atskur, in Samtzkhe, which the Pervana had held in right of his wife, it having been made over as a dowry to her mother Thamar. This was given to Sargis Jakel and his son Beka.‡

Six weeks after the execution of the Pervana, Abaka sent his vizier, Shems ud din, to Rum, to restore prosperity to that desolated land. He rebuilt the ruined towns, and also introduced a stamp duty which was previously not known there. The predatory prince of Karaman having concealed himself in pathless woods, they were fired, and he was burnt in them. Iz ud din Ibek, the Syrian, was nominated governor of Malatiya. Having settled matters in Rum, Shems ud din went home by the Caucasus, Derbend, Elburz, and the country of the Lesghians, whom he subjected to the Mongol yoke.§ These good offices of the vizier, which marked his character as a statesman, were coincident with the beginning of his collapse. This was brought about by Majd ul Mulk, son of Safr ul Mulk, the former vizier of the Atabegs of Yezd. At first in the service of the Khoja Bahai ud din, Governor of Ispahan, he afterwards was employed by the Khoja's father, the vizier, Shems ud din, in various important commissions. He superintended a census of the inhabitants of Georgia, and afterwards, by the influence of Bahai ud din, he was employed in Rum. The vizier was not, however, very fond of him, and he therefore determined to ruin him, and began accordingly to tamper with the Mongol amirs. He

* D'Ohsson, iii. 499-500. Notes. † Op. cit., 52-53. ‡ Hist. de la Géorgie, 588-589.
§ Ilkhans, i. 300. D'Ohsson, iii. 500-501.

suggested to Yisubuka Kurkan, the husband of Abaka's sister, Kutlukan, that Majd ud din Athir, the deputy of Alai ud din Juveni (the vizier's brother), was carrying on a treacherous correspondence on behalf of the two brothers with the Egyptians, and meditated handing Baghdad over to them. Informed by his brother-in-law, Abaka had the deputy arrested, but, although he received 500 strokes with a stick, no confession fell from him. Hoping to disarm his enemy, the vizier nominated Majd ul Mulk Governor of Sivas, and gave him a golden balish, and a charge of 10,000 dinars on the revenues of Rum; but this did not appease him, and he intrigued still more against the two brothers.

Abaka having left Tebriz for Khorasan, in March, 1279, his son Arghun went to meet him at Kazvin, where Majd ul Mulk got an introduction to him. He assured him that he had a secret which he had wished to convey to the Khan for more than twelve months, but the mouths of the grandees of the Court had been closed by the gold which the vizier had liberally given them out of the treasury. "If they sell their sovereign's rights you won't sell yours," he added. He then went on to accuse him of appropriating immense sums from the treasury; of being in correspondence with Bibars; of having incited the Pervana to invite him to his recent raid on Rum; and of being the real cause of the death of so many of his people. He also accused the vizier's brother, Alai ud din, of seizing absolute power at Baghdad, and that he had had made for himself a crown, garnished with precious stones fit for a royal head. He accused the vizier of having appropriated 400 tumans (*i.e.*, 4,000,000) worth of the public domains, and of being possessed in addition of 2,900 tumans in money, jewels, and cattle; while the whole treasures belonging to the Ilkhan, including the booty from Baghdad and the Ismaelites, only amounted to 1,000 tumans. "It is for this reason," he added craftily, "that the vizier wishes to close my mouth, by offering me a sum of money and the government of Sivas."* Arghun reported this to his father, who recommended secrecy, so that effective measures might be taken. While Abaka was at Sheruyaz, a fertile district in the north of Irak Ajem, between Zenjan and Ebher, where Soltania was afterwards built, Majd ul Mulk, through the intervention of the general Togachar and of Sadr ud din of Zenjan, secret enemies of the vizier, obtained an audience with him while he was having his bath. He repeated his accusations with the insinuating diplomacy of an eastern courtier, charged the vizier with never having furnished an account of the revenue, and of treating the State as his private property; while he accused his son, Bahai ud din, the governor of Irak, with appropriating 600 tumans, without devoting a dinar to the public service. Abaka listened to these complaints, and rewarded their author with the present of a cup and a state robe. He also replied

* Wassaf, 173-176. D'Ohsson, iii. 502-505. Ilkhans, i. 300-301.

so ably to his questions about the administration that he was made superintendent of the finances, and ordered to make an examination into the receipts and expenditure of the previous few years. He was given a patent marked with a lion's head, a favour never before conferred on a Mussulman, not even a sovereign prince. In it everybody, including military commanders, khatuns, and princes of the blood, were forbidden to put any obstacle in the way of the complete accomplishment of the commission. The naibs, or lieutenants of the vizier, were summoned to Tebriz with their registers. Meanwhile the informer basked in the sunshine of royal favour. He surrounded himself with pages with golden girdles, mounted on Arab horses, and built himself a tent of satin of Shuster, supported by forty pillars.* The vizier, growing alarmed, repaired to his patron and protector, the Khatun Oljai, who spoke in his behalf, and he sought an audience with Abaka. The latter said to him: "You served my father for a long time. I retained you in your old position. Majd ul Mulk has made these accusations against you. How could you be so ungrateful?" He saw that Abaka's prejudices were too much aroused to make it prudent to accuse his enemy of calumniating him, and he was most submissive. "My life and goods," he said, "are my master's. Without doubt, with my brother and sons, I have shared his munificence, and have dispensed it to others. Part of it has been expended upon the royal princes, the khatuns, and grandees; another part has been spent in alms, to secure a long reign for your majesty. What I possess now in land, in goods, in slaves and herds, I owe to your favour. At your command I will surrender it all, and only ask that I may be allowed to serve my master to the end of my days." These words appeased Abaka, who took him again into favour, and ordered the release of his naibs. But Majd ul Mulk was not satisfied. Professing himself in danger, he asked for Abaka's protection from the vizier, who was now in power again, and requested to be put under the protection of one of the great amirs. Abaka accordingly ordered him to live with the Amir Togachar. He continued his intrigues, and at length, through the support of Sadr ud din of Zenjan, he was, in the spring of 1280, appointed joint vizier with Shems ud din. Abaka ordered the ordinance appointing him to be read aloud in the idol temple at Meragha (not Mekka, as Von Hammer says), in presence of the various princes and princesses, and the grandees, and it was remarked that never had a Mongol prince treated a Persian thus. He was given control of the finances of the treasury and the administration, and was told to remain near his sovereign, and that if anyone attempted his life, Abaka said he would have to answer for it to himself.†

Majd ul Mulk was now the object of general respect, and had his agents everywhere, while the various decrees issued from the royal divan

* Wassaf, 178-179. D'Ohsson, iii. 505-507. Ilkhans, i. 301.
† D'Ohsson, iii. 507-509. Ilkhans, i. 302-303.

bore the vizier's name on the right and his own on the left. It was at this time he sent the vizier a waspish verse, which may be thus translated :—

I wish to dive into the ocean of thy spleen,
And there to drown, or bring with me a pearl;
It is not safe to strike thee, but I will dare,
And my face or breast shall crimson o'er.

A blushing face means a happy issue, while a red breast means a violent death.* To this the vizier replied :—

As we may not lay our grief before the Shah,
We must endure the kicks of fortune;
But mark that in the task you are engaged in
Both neck and face will redden o'er.†

The vizier saw his influence gradually decline, and some anecdotes are preserved showing the indignities which, under such circumstances, the Mongol officials had to submit to. Abaka having summoned him one day to answer a charge made by Majd ul Mulk, the two appeared as usual before the throne, and knelt down opposite one another. Abaka ordered the vizier to kneel further away. On another occasion, at a feast, Shems ud din three times offered his master the cup without his deigning to notice it, and without his losing his composure. On his offering it a fourth time, Abaka presented him in return with a morsel of swine's flesh at the tip of his knife. The vizier, after kissing the ground, ate this (to a Muhammedan) most unclean food, upon which the Khan took the cup and pointed him out to his courtiers. "He was not offended when I refused the cup, and if he had in turn refused the meat I should have thrust his eye out with my knife." Such was the subservience demanded by these autocratic masters, and such the incense his subjects were willing to offer him, rather than lose their positions.

In July, 1281, the vizier's brother, Alai ud din, arrived from Baghdad to pay his court to Abaka. He offered a large sum of gold as the regular proceeds of the taxes for the year, and a second sum representing the increase these taxes had made during the year. Majd ul Mulk accused him of having annually received twenty gold tumans more than he had accounted for during the twelve years he had been governor of Irak Arab and Khuzistan, and several naibs who were under deep obligations to the vizier for various favours nevertheless ungratefully joined in the denunciation of his brother. In vain he protested that it was impossible to save such a sum, considering the expenses of his government, and that the revenue was invaded by the assignations made to the royal princes, the khatuns, &c., and by the profuseness of the sovereign. That notwithstanding he had had an actual deficit the year before, yet he had presented the full amount of royalty due from him as the farmer of the tax. This year he had done even more, for the excess which he presented was imaginary, and had to be paid for by himself, while the revenue of

* Ilkhans, i. 303. Note. † Wassaf, 182. D'Ohsson, iii. 510. Note. Ilkhans, i. 303-304.

the last two years had been curtailed by extraordinary expenses. His enemies, afraid that he would prove his case, changed their mode of attack. They declared that in the year 669 (1270-1) the officials charged with receiving the revenue of the different provinces had found a deficit of 250 tumans in that of Alai ud din, which was still unpaid; but they forgot to remind Abaka that this matter had already been before him, when he had been convinced that the deficit could not be made up without ruining the inhabitants, that he had remitted it, and had sent Alai ud din back to his government with honour.*

The immediate cause of this pressure put upon Alai ud din was the need of money for a campaign against Egypt. Abaka sent a division under his brother Mangu Timur in that direction. He also reinforced the command of his son Arghun, in Khorasan, and sent assistance to the garrisons about Derbend. In the middle of September he set out by way of Irbil and Mosul for Baghdad, where he intended to winter, and sent on Alai ud din to prepare relays of horses and provisions. The very day the latter set out, and when Abaka was having a great hunt at Deviasir, in the district of Rahbet, Majd ul Mulk laid before his master the charge about the deficit above named. Officers were sent after him to inquire into the matter, who sequestered all his property. The vizier obtained permission to set out at once for Baghdad, and to appease Abaka's wrath he brought together all the precious stones, the gold and silver vases which he had in his house and those of his children, precious carpets and rich hangings, slave girls and palfreys, horses, mules, and camels, oxen and sheep, drums and trumpets, and obtained from his naibs all the money and precious objects they could furnish. He repaired to Abaka, who was at Dojeil, with them as a present. The Ilkhan was expecting a much larger sum, and was by no means satisfied, and it was suggested that it was because the vizier had been in collusion with his brother that he now sacrificed his private fortune to save him. Abaka was still more embittered, and Togachar, the grand judge, was sent to Baghdad, where the trial commenced. All conditions of people were interrogated about the supposed secret hoards of the governor. A visit was then paid to his pious foundations, and to the tomb where his family was buried. The most minute search was made, but in vain. He was nevertheless carried off from his house. Instead of being manacled, as was ordered, his enemies had him fastened with a cangue, or wooden collar, a Chinese punishment, introduced into the West, no doubt, under Mongol patronage. His life was spared on his acknowledging himself debtor to the treasury to the extent of 300 golden tumans. His brother had advised him, in order to avoid being put to torture, not to dispute any of the sums claimed from him.†

* Wassaf, 182-186. D'Ohsson, iii. 510-514.
† Wassaf, 186-194. D'Ohsson, iii. 510-516. Ilkhans, i. 304-305.

This was not a solitary instance of the same kind. Abulfaraj tells us how Masud, the governor of Mosul, having contemplated the death of a certain Persian, named Papa, he accused him in turn of wasting the province of Mosul and maladministering its affairs. Abaka ordered the charges against Masud and his minister, the Uighur Yashmut, to be investigated. Papa suborned some false witnesses and corrupted the judges. The two Christian governors were accordingly displaced, and Papa put in their post. Masud is also called the son of Kota by Bar Hebræus.* This went on till 1280, when the two displaced grandees succeeded in obtaining a new inquiry. Abaka sent two of his relatives to investigate matters, and the result was that the former judges confessed they had been bribed, Papa was beheaded, and Yashmut and Masud were reinstated at Mosul and Irbil.† We are told that at this time the Christians not daring to go out at Epiphany-tide to bless the waters, on account of the Mussulmans, the Khatun Kotai went to the town of Meragha, and ordered that the Christians were as usual to bear crosses at the ends of their spears. When they went out, our chronicler tells us that the wintry cold subsided and the weather became genial again, much to the delight of the Mongols, on account of feeding their horses, while the Christians rejoiced in the victory of their faith.‡

At this time troubles broke out in Fars, caused by an incursion of the Nigudars. These were the followers of Nigudar, grandson of Jagatai, who had gone with Khulagu, as we have described, and on the disgrace of their leader had escaped and settled in Seistan. They now invaded Fars, and defeated a combined army of Mongols, Shuls, Turkomans, and Kurds, at Tenk Shikem, on the frontiers of Kerman, and caused them a loss of 700 men, and having pillaged the town of Kerbal, retired again loaded with booty. Three months later they again invaded Fars, and advanced as far as the Persian Gulf, whence they retreated loaded with booty.§ Abulfaraj, speaking of this campaign, says that 5,000 fugitive Tartars, who had gone to the borders of India, invaded the district of Shiraz and made a great slaughter there, but could not enter the town. The garrison made a sortie, but was overwhelmed and almost destroyed. They also assailed the lion hunters of Shiraz, who were men of wealth, and despoiled them. Abaka's son (*i.e.*, no doubt, Arghun) went against and killed many of them.‖ In the spring of 1279 a certain informer or spy, who was in the employment of the prefect of Baghdad (? of Alai ud din) committed great excesses, corrupted the women, and mocked at the prætor (*i.e.*, the mayor of the town). The latter took the opportunity of the prefect's absence on a hunting expedition, had him seized and bound hand and foot, and paraded in a waggon round the streets of Baghdad, with a jeering crowd as an escort, two large pins being driven through

* Chron. Syr., 586-587. † *Id.*, 590-591. ‡ *Id.*, 587. § D'Ohsson, iii. 516-517.
‖ Chron. Syr., 587.

his tongue. Behind him in the waggon stood a boy, who with a shoe brushed away the flies from his face. He buffeted him, saying: "Thus are punished those who make sport of the grandees." They then took him to the Tigris, where they decapitated him, put his head on the bridge, and burnt his body.*

We now read of the Egyptians making an attack upon Kelat ur Rum (*i.e.*, the Roman fortress), which occupied the site of the ancient Zeugma, and guarded one of the fords of the Euphrates. They had 9,000 cavalry and 500 foot soldiers with them, and were led by Basar and Hosm ud din, the latter of whom commanded the Syrian contingent. They sent two messengers, an Armenian and an Arab, to the Catholicos, and said to him: "The Sultan orders you to surrender the castle, and to take your monks and remove them to Jerusalem. He will give you lands where you may live. If you prefer to go to Cilicia, he will provide you with horses and mules. If you refuse, the blood of all these Christians God will demand at your hands." The Catholicos replied: "I will die then, and will fight, for I will not be faithless to God and the King." They thereupon occupied the surrounding gardens, and cut down the trees, from which they made scaling ladders. They attacked the city on the Sabbath, and drove away the Armenians from the lower walls. They then stormed the place, which they pillaged and burnt. The citizens had meanwhile taken shelter in the citadel, which they failed to take. They retired after a delay of five days, having destroyed what they could, laid waste the the vineyards and orchards, and carried off the baths to Beroea.†

Meanwhile, affairs in Egypt were very unsettled. Bibars, as we have seen, had been succeeded by his son Said, over whom the chiefs of the Mamluks acquired considerable influence; and the feudal military chiefs, who filled such an important part in Egyptian polity, growing jealous, determined to depose the young prince, who received the fortress of Karak as an appanage, where he died in April, 1280. He was replaced by another son of Bibars, who was only seven years old, and over whom Kelavun exercised complete control as the young prince's atabeg. He was given command of the army, and his name was read out in the public prayer after that of Selamish. The latter only reigned 100 days, until Kelavun had put his own creatures in the various places of trust, and put under arrest the partisans of the family of Bibars. The young prince was then deposed and sent to Karak. This was on the 27th of November, 1279. Kelavun was a Kipchak Turk of the tribe Burj Oghli. He had been sold to a Mamluk when a child for 1,000 dinars, whence his name of Elfi (*i.e.*, the millenarian). The Ayubit Sultan, Salih, placed him among the Bahrit Mamluks, and in honour of that patron he added to his name, on mounting the throne, that of Es Salihi. Kelavun had appointed

* Abulfaraj. Chron. Syr., 587-588. † *Id.*, 588-589.

Sonkor Ashkar (or the Red) governor of Syria. When the latter heard of his patron's mounting the throne, he himself rebelled in Syria, but he was beaten in two fights, in which his troops abandoned him, and Damascus opened its gates to the new Sultan. The amir Bektut was appointed its governor, and Sinjar governor of Aleppo.* Sonkor fled to the fortress of Rahbet, on the Euphrates (to the Bedouin amir, Issa, son of Mohanna), which he seized, together with Borzaia, Blatanusa, Shogr, Bakas, Akkar, Shaizar, and Famia, and then wrote to Abaka, offering his submission,† and asking him to seize Syria. After his revolt, Alai ud din, the civil governor of Baghdad, had, in concert with the military authorities there, sent him and his fellow rebel, Issa, an invitation to submit to the Mongols, but before the messenger arrived Sonkor had repented and withdrawn. Issa sent the envoy back with his brother, who was given a robe of honour, with a charge on the revenues of Baghdad, by Abaka. Sonkor meanwhile shut himself up with his family and treasures at Sihiun, which was one of the strong fortresses belonging to the Assassins.

Deeming this a favourable opportunity for attacking Syria, and recovering the former Mongol possessions there, and hoping much from the partisans of Sonkor, Abaka ordered his people to march. This was in the autumn of 1280. One body of them, under the generals Sagaruni and Turunji, went towards Rum; another came from the east, under Baidu, son of Targai, son of Khulagu, accompanied also by the Prince of Mardin; while the main body was commanded by Abaka's brother (Abulfaraj calls him Konghuratai; other authorities say it was Mangu Timur). Meanwhile the Egyptian troops in Syria, together with a contingent from Cairo, united together at Hamath, and sent an invitation to Sonkor to co-operate. He sent a division of troops, but remained himself near Sihiun. The Mongols were accompanied by Dimitri, the Georgian king, with a contingent of his people. Mangu Timur also sent a summons to Beka, who complained of Arghun Aka's inroad into his country, but who offered to join him if his safety was guaranteed. Mangu Timur swore to protect him in the usual method, viz., by drinking water in which gold was mingled, and gave him the ring on his finger, which was deemed the most solemn engagement. Beka then assembled his Meskhes, and set out. Mangu Timur covered him with honours, and he was warmly received by the Khan. The Mongols entered the province of Aleppo on the 18th of October, 1280. They speedily captured Aintab and Derbessak, where Beka and his Meskhes greatly distinguished themselves, being the first to enter the place, and being duly rewarded with robes, &c., by Mangu Timur. They then went on to Bagras, and advanced as far as the town of Aleppo itself, which was defenceless, and which they entered, burning mosques and colleges, the Sultan's palace, and the

* D'Ohsson, 519-521. † Abulfeda, v. 53.

houses of his generals. They killed many men there, and reduced the women and children to slavery. The sack lasted for two days. Many of the inhabitants of the province had previously, however, escaped to Damascus, and thence to Egypt.* After this exploit the Mongols withdrew again from the city. Abul Mahasin tells us that the cause of their sudden withdrawal was that a native of Aleppo, who had remained in the place, mounted a minaret in despair, and shouted out, "God is great, and has sent us aid." Thereupon he began to wave a cloth as a signal of approaching succour, and entered the houses as if he were a woman. The Mongols now took their departure.† Kelavun set out from Egypt to meet the invaders, leaving his son Salih as his deputy there, and after distributing a gratuity of 1,000 dinars to each of his officers, and 500 drachmas to each of his soldiers; but having heard at Gaza that the Mongols had withdrawn, he returned to Cairo. The next spring he set out to deal with his vassals who had rebelled. Issa, the son of Mohanna, who had gone from Irak to Egypt to implore his pardon, was treated generously, while Sonkor, who demanded that Shogr and Bakas, Famiat (Apamia), Kaffartab, Antioch, Sahiun, Blattanus (the ancient Banias), Berziyet, and Ladakiya (Laodicea) should be made over to him, and that he should also be given command of 600 cavalry, whose officers he was to choose himself, was granted the conditions he asked for. Abulfeda says he received Shogr and Bakas.‡

Let us now turn again shortly to Georgia. Its young king, Dimitri, ruled there under the superintendence of Sadun, the famous wrestler, of whom we have already spoken, and who had the confidence of the Tartars, by whom he was invested with Thélaf, Belakan, and other districts; and during his rule the Tartars abstained from doing violence in Georgia, which began once more to become prosperous. Dimitri himself visited the Ordu, where he was constrained to pay some large sums to the ever-craving Tartars. Sadun himself became constantly more powerful. He asked for the district of Dmanis, which Dimitri was constrained to make over to him, and he was surrounded with wealth. He won the favour of the monks by his benevolence to the monasteries, and we are told that during his rule he paid the two Mongol taxes of kalan and mal for the twelve monasteries of Garesja. He married Khoshak, the daughter of the atabeg Avak, and also apparently a daughter of Sargis Jakel, and bore the title of grand Sahib divan of Avak. He resided at Kars, which had been made over to him, and had control of all the Georgians, except the grandees of the Court, of Karthli, Somkheth, Hereth, and Kakheth, who were subject to the King.§ Dimitri was married about the year 1277, to a daughter of the Emperor of Trebizond.‖ We now find

* Makrizi, ii. 25-26. D'Ohsson, iii. 522-523. † Weil, iv. 122. Note.
‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 523-524. Ilkhans, i. 311. Abulfeda, v. 55.
§ Hist. de la Géorgie, 589-590. ‖ *Id.*, 590-591.

Arghun Aka, who had made the former census of Georgia, as we saw, sent to repeat his work, and he found that the previous calculations had been greatly marred by the desolation caused by Bereke's invasion, especially in Hereth, Kakheth, and the plains of Kambej. While he was at Tiflis he asked for the hand of Dimitri's sister, Thamar, for his son, a union which had been consented to by his father, David. Dimitri strongly objected to this union of a Christian princess to an infidel, but he was too weak to resist, and the wedding having been celebrated with due rejoicings, Arghun returned to the ordu, leaving his son in Georgia.*

Ghilan was still independent of Abaka, and did not pay him the kharaj. Shiramun was accordingly sent with a force of Mongols and Georgians into this difficult country, protected on one side by the sea, and on the other by difficult mountains. A fierce fight ensued, and we are told when the Ghilanians fired their arrows, Shiramun dismounted and sat on the ground with his back to the enemy. His men also dismounted. When the arrows were exhausted they remounted, and he charged "like a tiger." He lost two fingers of his right hand in the struggle, but otherwise the Tartars and Georgians suffered no loss. Seeing the country was too strong and difficult to be conquered, he returned again to Abaka.†

We now read of Arghun Aka going with an army of 20,000 men to visit Sargis Jakel, in the country of Samtzkhé. The latter was old and very decrepit. The Mongols traversed Somkheth, Tiflis, and Karthli, committing excesses on the way. This, we are told, was not by Arghun's wish, but was caused by the necessity of providing for such a large force. Having reached Atskur, Sargis and his son Beka visited him. The former was taken to the ordu, while Beka was left in Samtzkhé.‡ This rueful visit of Arghun was followed by a terrible series of earthquakes in those parts. Arghun himself, having returned to Abaka, fell ill and died.§ His death, according to St. Martin, took place at Radekan, near Tus, on the 21st of June, 1275.‖ Arghun's son was now deserted by his wife, Thamar, who professed to detest him as an infidel, and more probably as a Turanian of not very gainly appearance. She fled to Mthiuleth. As she did not wish to return to her husband, Sadun negotiated for her purchase *(sic)* from Abaka, who approved of the negotiations, and the King thereupon gave over his sister to Sadun, who, notwithstanding that he was a Christian, and in spite of being anathematised by the Catholicos Nicholas, thus became the husband of three wives, the other two being the daughters of the atabeg Avak and of Sargis. About this time we are told that Sargis and his son, for some unknown reason, revolted against the Mongols. Sargis was then old, and his feet were bad (? with gout). Buka Noyan (called "The Eye") sent his brother Arukha, with 20,000 men, to ravage Samtzkhé. Beka withdrew to the mountains between

* *Id.*, 591. † *Id.*, 592-593. ‡ *Id.*, 593. § *Id.*, 594.
‖ Memoires sur l'Armeine, ii. 282.

Ajara and Guria, and the Meskhes took refuge in the fortresses, caverns, and woods. The enemy traversed the country, and remained there for twenty days, doing no harm.*

In the year 1280, Masud, who had been reinstated at Mosul, as I have described, was accused by Jelal ud din Turan, a native of Khoten, who was connected with the treasury there, with having appropriated a large quantity of gold and precious stones. Being put to the torture, he promised to refund 500,000 darics. His cousin Suidat was condemned as an accomplice, and put to death, while a Kurdish leader, named Abubekr, who had for some years been rebellious in the mountains of Assyria, and had been pacified by Masud, was also put to death, as was his son, Sheikh Ali, who had fled to Syria, and then returned to the ordu to excuse his flight. Masud himself was taken to Mosul, so that he might pay over the money which he had promised to do. When he had been there a few days, however, he escaped at night.† Scarcely was this matter settled, when news arrived that the Mongols were again advancing on Syria in two bodies. One, 30,000 strong, under Abaka himself and the Prince of Mardin, was marching on Rahbet, while the other, commanded by his brother, Mangu Timur, was advancing by another route, and had encamped between Cæsarea and Ablestin. Abaka was joined by Leon, the King of Little Armenia. Wassaf says that Abaka and Mangu Timur had with them the amirs Ayaji, Arghasun, and Alinak, and three tumans of troops.‡ An Egyptian detachment, sent in advance from Aintab, captured an equerry of Abaka's, who had been sent on to report on the state of the pastures. He was taken before the Sultan, and reported that the Mongols intended to invade Syria, 50,000 strong, towards the middle of October. Thereupon the people of Aleppo emigrated in large numbers towards Hims and Hamath, so that the place was deserted.§ Mangu Timur advanced leisurely and by short stages, contrary to the usual Mongol tactics, by way of Aintab, Bagras, and Harim, and reached the environs of Hamath, where he plundered the palace and gardens of Malik Mansur. Kelavun, who was at Hims, was there joined by Sonkor, who had recently rebelled, and who had consented to join him on condition that after the fight he might be allowed to go back to his fortress of Sahiun. He arrived with seven amirs who followed his fortunes, each of whom headed a contingent of troops, and whose arrival greatly raised the spirits of the Egyptians. The two armies faced one another on the 30th of October, 1280, in a plain situated between Hamath and Hims, near the tomb of Khalid, son of Valid, known as "the Sword of God," who ravaged Syria in the time of the Khalif Omar, and who died at Hims in the year 642 A.D. The army of Mangu Timur comprised 25,000 Mongols, 5,000 Georgians, a

* Hist. de la Géorgie, 594. † Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 591-592. ‡ Op. cit., 170.
§ D'Ohsson, iii. 524-525. Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 592. Haithon, 54.

contingent under the King of Armenia, and another of Turkomans from Rum. Makrizi also mentions Franks among his allies. Abulfeda says the Mongol army was 80,000 strong, 50,000 being Mongols, and the rest Armenians, Georgians, people from Irak Ajem, &c.,* and says that a Mamluk deserter pointed out to Mangu Timur the most vulnerable points in the array of the Egyptians. The latter, whose numbers were about the same as their opponents', passed the night on horseback, and the following day were reviewed by Kelavun. He put the Prince of Hamath, with the generals Baisari, Alai ud din Taibars, Iz ud din Ibak al Afram, and Keshtagdi, with their troops, and also the governor of Damascus, in the right wing; while in front of them were those admirable skirmishers, the Syrian Bedouins, of the tribes Al Fazel and Al Mora, under the orders of Issa, son of Mohanna. To the left wing were attached Sonkor, Bedr ud din Bilik, Bedr ud din Bektash, Salah, Sinjar, Bekjha, Bektuk, and Cherek or Khabrek; while its front was protected by the Turkomans and the troops of the Castle of the Kurds. In the jalish, or advance guard of the centre, were placed Tarantai, viceroy of Egypt, the generals Ayaji and Bektash, son of Keremun, with the Sultan's mamluks to the number of 800. Kelavun himself remained with the royal standards, surrounded by his guards, the officers of his household, and the civil functionaries. This body, the *élite* of the army, consisted of 4,000 troops. There were with him many Kurdish and Turkoman chiefs not belonging to the army of Egypt and Syria. His entire force was also estimated at 50,000 men. Kelavun, we are further told, wanted to await the enemy's attack near Damascus, but his amirs insisted on advancing to Hims, and threatened, if he did not go, to kill him on their return. He therefore went to that town, and planted himself on a hill, whence he could survey and somewhat control the battle.† The battle began by the Mongol left wing making a furious charge which was well met by the Egyptian right, which charged in turn, and forced it back upon the centre. Meanwhile the left of the Egyptians and the left of the centre were utterly broken by the onslaught of the Mongol right, which Abulfaraj says was composed of avarithei (*i.e.*, Uirads), in which the Armenian king and his army were incorporated, and also of 5,000 Georgians. They pursued them to the gates of Hims. These were closed, and the wretched camp followers and other non-combatants who crowded there were mercilessly slaughtered. This Mongol wing, Rashid ud din says, was commanded by Mazuk Aka, Hindukur, and Alinak, and secured a vast booty in darics, mules, &c. Haithon says a division of the Egyptian army was routed by the Mongol chief Almack (? Alinak), and fled to a town called Tara.‡ The victories of the Mongols at these points caused a panic in various parts of Syria, as

* Op. cit., v. 59.
† Makrizi, ii. 34-36. D'Ohsson, iii. 525-527. Abulfeda, v. 57-59. Weil, iv. 126.
‡ Op. cit., 54.

some of the fugitives made their way to Safad, others to Gaza, and others again to Damascus. The victors dismounted under the walls of Hims, and proceeded to pillage the baggage of the Egyptians, and then to refresh themselves, awaiting the arrival of Mangu Timur. As he did not arrive, they sent to inquire, and found to their natural surprise that he had fled. They accordingly remounted, and retired precipitately.*

The cause of Mangu Timur's rout is variously assigned. The courtly Rashid ud din, who naturally glosses over the ill fortune of his patrons, says merely that the centre of the Mongol army, commanded by Mangu Timur, a young prince who had no experience of war, was broken, that the Mongols fled disgracefully, and many were killed. Ibn Tagri Berdi tells us that Iz ud din Aitimur Alhaj, one of the first of the Egyptian generals, made his way into the midst of the Mongol army, pretending he was a deserter, and asking to see Mangu Timur, he rushed at, wounded, and unhorsed him. The Mongols, seeing their prince fall, dismounted. The Egyptians took advantage of this position and charged, whereupon Mangu Timur fled and his people followed his example. The Arab amir, Issa, son of Mohanna, contributed to the final defeat by falling upon the Mongols suddenly with his 300 Bedouins, and proceeding, *more suo*, to pillage the baggage.† Wassaf says that Prince Bakurmishi and Kumishi having fled were followed by Mangu Timur. Some one shot an arrow after the latter which killed him.‡ Abulfaraj assigns to the Bedouin attack the panic and rout of the Mongol centre.§ Haithon makes the Armenian king command the Mongol right wing, which had been victorious. He adds that Mangu Timur, who was inexperienced in war, seeing the Bedouins, became frightened, recalled the Armenian king and Almack, and fled. These two chiefs returned; the former, finding Mangu Timur had retired, followed his example, Almack did the same after a delay of two days.‖ Meanwhile Kelavun remained where he had planted himself, as we have seen, on a hill, one half of his army being dispersed and the other in pursuit of the Mongols. There only remained with him 1,000 Egyptians (Haithon says but four armed men). When the victorious Mongols returned from Hims he ordered the tymbals to be struck and the royal standards to be raised, but they were in no mood to stay. They hastened past him, and were in turn pursued by the Egyptians. The Mongols lost a considerable number of men, among them the noted general Samaghar, who had made several attacks upon Syria. The Egyptians also lost twelve noted officers, among others Ai Timur, who had wounded and unhorsed Mangu Timur.¶ The victory was a very complete and a very fortunate one. For the second time, the Egyptians gave a heavy blow to the Mongols, and again prevented their desolating influence from overwhelming the only refuge left for Mussulman

* D'Ohsson, iii. 527-528. † *Id.*, 528-529. Weil, iv. 127.
‡ Op. cit., 172. § Op. cit., 592. ‖ Op. cit., 53-54. ¶ D'Ohsson, iii. 530.

art and culture. But it was pure good fortune. No doubt that but for the panic of which Mangu Timur was the victim the victory would have been on the other side. As Makrizi frankly says, "It was a wonderful proof of the divine protection afforded to the Mussulmans, for if it had pleased Him that the enemy should return, the troops of Islam were not in a position to resist."* Kelavun himself expected their return, and ranged his men in order to meet them, until the troops which had pursued the Mongols returned.

The Mongols had retired in two bodies, one towards Salamiyet and the Syrian desert, the other towards Aleppo and the Euphrates. Of the former, who were 4,000 in number, we are told their retreat was cut off by the commandant of Rahbet, and taking to the desert they perished of thirst and want, except 600 horsemen, who were attacked by the garrison of Rahbet, and partly killed and partly made prisoners. The prisoners were decapitated at Rahbet. That town had been besieged, as we said, by a division under Abaka himself, but the day after the battle a pigeon with the news reached the place, when the commandant caused victorious strains to be played, and the besiegers withdrew.† Of those who fled towards the Euphrates, we are told many sought shelter in the caverns bordering that river, and were burnt out, as the Kabyles were in Algeria by Pelissier.‡ A body of Mongols that was laying siege to Biret was also attacked by the garrison there; 500 of them were killed, and all the rest were made prisoners. Mangu Timur himself crossed the Euphrates, and went to Jeziret, his mother's appanage.§ These incidents prove how very disastrous one defeat is to armies constituted like those of the Mongols, even when possessed of long prestige and discipline.

Notwithstanding their victory, the Egyptians had lost the greater part of their baggage, which had been pillaged after the rout of their left wing by its custodians, but none of the coin Kelavun had taken with him was lost, as he had taken the precaution of distributing it among his mamluks, who carried it in their girdles.

The *Georgian Chronicle* limits its account of the battle mainly to the doings of the Georgians, who, there can be small doubt, distinguished themselves by their usual bravery. Their young king, Dimitri, fought in the advance guard, and was attacked by the *élite* of the Egyptian army, 12,000 strong, under Kara Songhul (*i.e.*, Sonkor) and Yakub Aphrash. A terrible struggle and slaughter followed. Dimitri's body guard of 200 men was cut in pieces, his own horse being killed by a lance thrust from Kara Songhul, but he was speedily remounted by one of his followers, and the Georgians about him fought so desperately that the 12,000 Egyptians who had charged them were thrown back. Meanwhile Mangu Timur, with his Mongols, had retreated, and the Georgians had to do the same.

* Op. cit., ii. 38. † D'Ohsson, iii. 531. ‡ Makrizi, ii. 39.
§ *Id.*, 41-42. D'Ohsson, iii. 531-532.

Their king escaped almost miraculously, although most of their number were killed.* The Armenians also suffered greatly in the retreat, their horses having been quite worn out by the bad roads and scant forage. Many of their soldiers were thus separately overtaken and killed by their pursuers; and thus the greater part of the Armenian army, and especially of its chiefs, perished.

During the period of uncertainty before the victory was known, the people of Damascus had passed an anxious time. Prayers were fervently offered up in the Great Mosque, and in the oratory outside the town, for the victory of the Mussulmans, while the Koran of the Khalif Osman was borne on the head of one of the clergy. In the midst of the excitement a pigeon alighted, after the Friday prayer, on the day after the fight, bearing news of the victory. Music at once resounded in the citadel, and both it and the town were decorated, and the crowd loudly expressed their joy. Presently there arrived some fugitives, who related not a victory, but the defeat of which they had been witness. The wave of excitement now collapsed, and a rush was made for the open gates, to try and escape elsewhere, but a few hours later a special courier brought the true account. It was publicly read in the principal mosque. A similarly fitful mood had passed over Egypt. There also people read the Koran diligently, recited the Salih of Bokhari, &c., when a pigeon from Kakun, a town situated between Lejun and Ramla, brought news of the arrival of the fugitives there. The agitation was very great. Prince Salih sent some Turkish and Arab troops to Kattiya to drive back the runaways and prevent any of them from entering Cairo. A second pigeon post speedily relieved the public mind. Great rejoicings took place in Egypt, and Salih wrote to his father asking him to pardon the fugitives, and urging Baisari to intercede for them.

Among the captives made by Tarentai, the viceroy of Egypt, in his pursuit of the Mongols, was a man who had charge of Mangu Timur's portfolio, or valise. In this were found letters from Sonkor and some of his amirs, urging the Mongols to invade Syria, and promising them their help. Kelavun magnanimously ordered the writing to be erased, renewed his pact with Sonkor at Hims, and sent him back to his fief of Sihiun. He then set out for Damascus, into which he made a triumphal entry, headed by the prisoners, of whom several carried the tymbals and standards which had been captured, while the poets poured out a deluge of compliments.†

When Mangu Timur invaded Syria, Abaka, as we have seen, advanced hunting towards Rahbet. He did not, however, cross the Euphrates, but after destroying some forts returned to Sinjar on the 25th of September, and in the beginning of November rejoined his ordus at

* Hist. de la Géorgie, 595-596. † Makrizi, ii. 39-41. D'Ohsson, iii. 532-535.

Mahlibiya, near Mosul. There he learnt of the defeat of his army. He was greatly irritated, and announced that at the next kuriltai, to be held in the spring, those who were found blameworthy for the recent disaster would be punished. He also announced his intention of marching in person upon Egypt.* The *Georgian Chronicle* tells us the news of the disaster to his army was disclosed to Abaka by a Tartar, who addressed him in verse in his own tongue, describing how each of the chiefs had behaved. He said Alikan had attacked like a falcon pouncing from the clouds, and compared Mangu Timur to a ram ; Abagan, son of Shiramun, to a tiger, which bounds ; Yasbugha to a young bull ; Buka to a buffalo, while as to the Georgian king he expressed himself thus in the Tartar tongue: "Thengari methu kaurkurbai, bughar methu buirlaji" (*i.e.*, "They growled like God; they bit like the camel"). Abaka received the Georgian king with honour and sent him home.

When the defeated Mongols retired from Syria, a body of Mussulmans Turkomans, Kurds, &c., made a raid upon Cilicia. They advanced as far as Aias, which they plundered and burnt. It had been deserted by its inhabitants, who had taken refuge in a fortress they had built on a neighbouring island. The Muhammedans withdrew with their booty, but returned again three times, the last time advancing as far as Tel Hamdun. On this occasion they were attacked, while retiring with their gains, by the Armenians, who had occupied the defiles. They captured their arms and stripped them of their scalps, and sent Abaka several loads of arms, lances, swords, and scalps. A few days later the governor of Biret, named Haidar, having collected 2,000 horsemen, captured the castle of Saida. Many Christians who had sought refuge in a large mosque were released. Others had fortified themselves in a place called Alastona, which the invaders had not been able to capture, as the approach to it was like a cavern. They nevertheless carried off 4,000 women and children, with whom they safely crossed the Euphrates, and went towards Malatia, where they laid waste the country, and carried off many Christians from the town of Erka, with whom they again withdrew to Syria.†

We described the machinations of Majd ul Mulk against the vizier and his brother, the governor of Baghdad. The latter, to save his position, had promised to restore 300 golden tumans to the treasury, which his enemy went to Baghdad to receive. He sold his wives and children, and undertook to pay with his head for the least prevarication proved against him. Abaka pitied him and released him from prison, but soon after his relentless enemy again went to Baghdad, with the generals Togachar and Ordukaya, to drag from him, by torment, if necessary, the hundred tumans he charged him with appropriating. Alai ud din could not pay, and was tortured and promenaded naked about the

* D'Ohsson, iii. 535. † Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 594.

town.* His enemies were relentless in their attacks. His correspondence with Sonkor and Issa ibn Mohanna, the Egyptian refugees, whom he had tried to persuade to submit to the Mongols, was turned into a charge of treasonable correspondence with the Sultan, and employed as an instrument of their plots, the Arab messengers whom he had employed being corrupted into making false charges against him. An unknown Jew having written several times with saffron and cinnabar on a piece of paper, as if it were a talisman, this was hidden away among his clothes while his house was being searched. During all his troubles the famous historian and administrator consoled himself by composing verses, satirical and elegiac, many of which became famous. Several are contained in "The Consolations of the Brothers," a kind of Arabic Boethius. One of his poems was glossed by many poets. As Alai ud din was being led off by his enemies from Baghdad to Hamadan, accompanied by his faithful friends, his nephew, Khoja Bahai ud din; Ali ibn Issa of Irbil, and Nuruddin Abdur Rahman of Shuster, and when he had reached the heights of Asadabad, he learnt of the death of Abaka, which brought him and his brother considerable respite, and proved, for a while at least, a new turn in his fortunes.†

Abaka set out for Baghdad on the 13th of February, 1282. He arrived at Hamadan on the 18th, where he put up at the palace of Fakr ud din Minochéer. There he fell ill. According to the Persian historians he was habitually given to drinking to excess, and having one night got very drunk went out, and believed he saw a raven sitting on the branch of a tree. He ordered one of his guards to shoot it with an arrow. The bystanders looked attentively, but could see no such bird. Suddenly Abaka closed his eyes and died. This was, Wassaf says, on the 20 Selhije (*i.e.*, the first of April). Abulfaraj reports that Abaka had passed the previous Easter Sunday with the Christians, and taken part in the service in the church at Hamadan; that on the Monday he dined with a Persian gentleman named Behna, and the night following he saw visions in the air, and died on Tuesday morning, the 1st of April. The "Shajrat ul Atrak" says he died of excessive drinking, after a feast at the house of the vizier, Shems ud din.‡ Novairi says that according to some, Abaka, after his defeat, fell into a state of melancholy, which was increased when news arrived that the famous treasure house which his father had built on Lake Urmia had collapsed, and that the various treasures it contained had sunk into the lake. When he heard this he was going to his bath. As he came out he heard a raven croak, and declared that it presaged his death, while his favourite hunting dog barked at him, which he accepted as another ill omen, and he died shortly after.§ Abulfeda says it was reported he had been

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 595. D'Ohsson, iii. 536-537.
† Wassaf, 195-199. Ilkhans, i. 309. D'Ohsson, iii. 534-536. ‡ Op. cit., 255-256.
§ Weil, iv. 129. Note.

poisoned.* Other accounts say that Mangu Timur died fifteen days after his brother, at Jeziret.† Haithon says both brothers were poisoned, that Abaka, having determined to avenge his recent disasters in Syria, was about to set out, when a Mussulman arrived at his Court with rich presents, and in conjunction with some of Abaka's courtiers arranged his death.‡ Abulfaraj says that a certain informer, named Al Saphi Karbuki, accused some of the grandees of Jeziret to Mangu Timur. He accordingly punished them, and they plotted with his butler, who, when he one day came out of his bath, mixed poison with his cup. He set out ill from Nisibin for Jeziret, and died on the way. The informer was duly put to death.§ Rashid ud din and Wassaf say nothing of this, but it must be remembered they were good Muhammedans, and that Abaka was an infidel. We, at all events, learn from Novairi that Mumin Aga, the commander of Jeziret, was accused of poisoning Mangu Timur, and fled to Egypt with his two sons, where he was rewarded with some fiefs. His wife and children were put to death by the prince's relatives. It was said that the poisoning was arranged by Alai ud din Juveni, who had ample reasons for wishing Abaka's death.‖ Abaka and his brother were buried with their father in the fortress of Tela, or Teke, on the Lake of Meragha.¶ Soon after this the Georgian chief, Sadun, died. The *Georgian Chronicle* says that his son, Kutluk Shah, succeeded to his father's domains, and was raised to the rank of a generalissimo.**

The Christian writers speak of Abaka in terms of considerable praise. The *Georgian Chronicle* calls him good, generous, and clement, soft and modest, a lover of justice, charitable to the poor, and so forgiving that whatever a man's faults he would not sacrifice his life. "God has given me the empire of the world," he said, "I must not take away that which I cannot give." He urged that theft was an effect of poverty, and several times refused to punish with death those who had stolen from him. As he was surrounded by people who plundered the treasury by securing immense sums, he chose a man who was charitable, just, attentive to his religious duties, and a patron of pious people, named Aghubagha, and charged him to protect the weak and the poor.†† Haithon speaks of Abaka as a prudent and prosperous ruler, fortunate in all things save two: first, that he failed to become a Christian as his father had been, but was devoted to idols and their priests, and secondly that he was continually at strife with his neighbours, and did not in consequence molest the Egyptian Sultan as he might have done, whose power consequently greatly increased. His people were so weighed down with exactions that many of them fled to the Sultan, who showed his sagacity by

* Op. cit., v. 63. † Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 595. ‡ Op. cit., 55.
§ Chron. Syr., 594. Chron. Arab., 361. ‖ D'Ohsson, iii. 538. ¶ *Id.* Ilkhans, i. 313.
** Op. cit., 597. †† Op. cit., 572.

his close alliance with the Tartars in Cumania and Russia (*i.e.*, in the Kipchak), which prevented Abaka from attacking the Egyptians as he might have done, and thus the Christians lost Antioch and several other fortresses which they had possessed in Syria.*

Abaka had eleven wives and three concubines. These were (1) Oljai, who came out of his father's harem; (2) Durji Khatun; (3) Tokini, the cousin of Khulagu's wife, Dokuz, who on the death of Durji was given the baghtak, or wife's head-dress, and made his head wife; (4) the Tartar Nukdan, the mother of Gaikhatu; (5) Iltirmish, the daughter of Timur Kurkan, and belonging to the Konkurat tribe; (6) Padishah Khatun, daughter of Kutb ud din Muhammed, the Khan of Kerman; (7) Mertai and (8) Kuti, both Konkurats and both widows of Khulagu: they were sisters of Musa Kurkan, and their mother was a daughter of Jingis Khan; (9) Tudai, also a Konkurat; (10) Bulaghan, a relative of the chief judge, Nokar (? a mistake for Buka); and (11) Maria, styled Despina, the daughter of Michael Palæologus.† Abaka left two sons, Arghun, by a concubine named Katmish Ikaji,‡ and Gaikhatu, by Nukdan.

Abaka, like his father, had considerable intercourse with the Christians. In fact, it was necessary the Mongols should begin to look out for allies. The world of Islam was naturally incited against them, and it had received great encouragement by the Mongol defeat at Ain Jalut. Although nominally their subjects, it was hardly likely that the Seljuks of Rum, that the Prince of Mosul, the chiefs of the Kurdish mountains, or the Ortokids of Mardin and Hosnkeif, should have felt any great loyalty for the Mongols, who were infidels and strangers. The latter naturally leaned more and more on the Christians. The princes of Georgia and Great and Little Armenia clung to them as their natural allies, in the face of the hereditary enemies of their faith. So did the Crusaders, who probably, as Remusat says, expected to become their deputies in Syria, where the climate was so ungrateful to them, and expected also to be relieved from taxation, as the Christians of Armenia and Georgia were.§ We must also remember that Abaka was married to Maria, the daughter of Michael Palæologus, who doubtless used her influence to draw the Christians of the West and the Mongols nearer together. We find the Ilkhan engaged in a correspondence with the supreme Pontiff. In a letter dated 1267, at Viterbo, Clement IV. says he had received his letter, but as it was written in Mongol no one at his Court could read it, and he expresses his regret that it was not written, as previous letters had been, in Latin, and that he had therefore been constrained to employ his messenger as an interpreter, who apparently somewhat sophisticated in his report his master's religious views, for the Pope begins his reply by thanking God that Abaka recognised the Eternal God, and humbly

* Op. cit., 49. † Ilkhans, i. 252-253.
‡ *Id.*, 360. Erdmann Temudjin, 243. § Acad. des Inscript. vii. 335-337.

adored His crucified Son. He continues: "You rejoice, you say, in the victory we have gained in Sicily, where the presumptuous usurper, Manfred, natural son of Frederick, Emperor of Rome, fell on the field of battle, with a great number of perfidious Christians and of Saracens, deprived of his life and throne by the same blow, by our very dear son in Jesus Christ, Charles, to whom we have given the kingdom. The kings of France and Navarre, followed by a great number of counts and barons, a multitude of soldiers, and others, taking to heart the condition of the Holy Land, are preparing valiantly and powerfully to attack the enemies of the faith. Many others, lords and commons, in other countries are wishful to follow his example, to exalt with all their power the name of Christ, and to destroy the power and sect and even the name of the Saracens. You have written to say you intend to join your father-in-law to help the Latins. We shall do everything to help you, but we cannot say, until we have made inquiry from these princes, what route our people propose to take. We will communicate to them your intentions and those of your father-in-law, so that they may develop their plans, and we will instruct your magnificence by a trusty messenger. Persevere, therefore, in your admirable plans. If you trust in God, he will strengthen your throne. His is the power and the dominion. He holds in His hands the hearts of kings, and humiliates and raises whom He wishes; no one can resist Him."* D'Ohsson doubts, very naturally, whether a letter was ever written by Abaka himself to which this was a reply. The clause about the fate of Manfred and the statement about his conversion are hardly consonant with Mongol ways of thought, and it is more likely that the letter was either composed or sophisticated by the hand of some Eastern Christian, not improbably by some dependent of the Greek Emperor of Byzantium.

In 1269 the envoys of Michael Palæologus and of Abaka visited James, King of Arragon, at Valencia. Surita says that James had not previously heard of either of the two princes, and that it was suspected that the real object of the mission was far from being a pious one, and was merely to rid themselves of some domestic foe. Mariana, on the other hand, says James had already received some Tartar envoys, and had sent in return a certain John Alaric, a native of Perpignan, with whom the new envoys came. They promised, on behalf of their master, his help if he would join his forces to those of the other princes. The envoys stayed at Barcelona, but Alaric went to Toledo, where he laid before the Junta a full account of his doings. James, although so old, determined to go to the war, and would not be dissuaded by the prayers of his relative, Don Alphonso, and the Queen of Castile, who pointed out the treachery of the Greeks and the ferocity of the Tartars. Alphonso promised

* D'Ohsson, iii. 539-542. Remusat, Acad. des Ins., vii. 339-340.

to send subsidies. Michael Palæologus had offered, by his envoys, ships and provisions. The expedition was wrecked, however, by a storm at "Aigues mortes" (?), and obliged to return. The fatal expedition to Tunis, in 1270, postponed any active alliance between Western Europe and Abaka. After his return from his campaign against Borak, Abaka seems to have again made overtures to the Western princes. To this, it is said he was urged by the King of Little Armenia, who wished him to relieve the Holy Land. His envoys, according to Remusat sixteen in number (one having died *en route*), arrived at Lyons in 1274, where Gregory X. had called a council. They were admitted to the council at its fourth session, on the 6th of July, 1274. The Pope made them sit opposite to himself, and at the feet of the patriarchs, and their letters, or rather the version they chose to give, were read out at the succeeding session on the 16th of July. The chief envoy, with two distinguished Tartars, was baptised by Peter of Tarantaise, cardinal of Ostia, afterwards Innocent V., and they were presented with precious garments. This was the sole result of the embassy, for the continued advance of the Mussulmans and the decay of the crusading spirit made a great effort at this time impossible.* Abaka's letter was sent to Edward I. by David, chaplain and familiar of Thomas, patriarch of Jerusalem and legate of the Holy See. Edward's answer, dated the 26th of January, 1274 (? 1275), at Bellus locus (? Beauchamp), is given by Rymer. It runs as follows: "Brother David, of the order of preachers, chaplain and familiar of brother Thomas, patriarch of Jerusalem, legate of the Apostolic See, has arrived at our Court, and presented letters sent through your envoys to the Holy Father and other Christian kings. We note in them the love you bear to the Christian faith, and the resolution you have taken to relieve the Christians and the Holy Land from the enemies of Christianity. This is most grateful to us, and we thank you. We pray your magnificence to carry out this holy project. But we cannot at present send you any certain news about the time of our arrival in the Holy Land, and of the march of the Christians, since at this moment nothing has been settled by the Sovereign Pontiff, but we will inform your excellence as soon as we learn. We commend to your puissance both this matter of the Holy Land and of all the Eastern Christians."†

Two years later, under the pontificate of John XXI., two fresh envoys, named John and James Vasalli (? Vasili), went to Rome from Abaka, and were admitted to audience in an assembly of the cardinals. These envoys invited the Christians to invade Palestine, and promised them aid if they went. They were sent on to the Courts of France and England. To Philip III., king of France, they promised that if he would go to Acre, with a view of invading Palestine, their master would help him. William

* Remusat, op. cit., 341-345. † D'Ohsson, iii. 543-544.

of Nangis, speaking of them, says: "Were they really envoys or spies God knows. At least they were not Tartars, either by birth or manners, but Christians of the sect of the Georgians."* They were taken to St. Denis for Easter, and then passed on to the Court of Edward, the English king. What befel them in England we have apparently no record of. The two envoys reported that their master, as well as his uncle the Khakan Khubilai, wished to be instructed in the Christian faith. This persistent report was partially due, perhaps, to the welcome sound it naturally had at Rome, but more, as Remusat suggests, to the open patronage which the Mongol Khans, as we have seen, extended to the Christians, according to their cosmopolitan notion that there is only one religion, the forms of which have been varied according to time and place by the wise men of each country.† The Pope determined to verify this report, and five Franciscans, viz., Gerhard of Prato, Anthony of Parma, John of St. Agatha, Andrew of Florence, and Matthew of Arezzo, were selected to go and preach the faith in the East. John XXI. having, however, died during the year 1277, the mission was delayed, and only set out the following year with letters from Nicholas III. to Abaka and Khubilai. The former expressed the joy felt by the Roman see at the news brought by the two brothers Vasalli, and acknowledged gratefully the Ilkhan's offers of assistance to any Christian army that might land in Syria. The Pope went on to say that to secure the salvation of Abaka and of the Khakan, of his sons and of his people, he had sent the friars mentioned to administer baptism to those who wished for it, or who had not had it duly administered before, and had ordered them, if he thought right, to go on to the Khakan's Court and do the same there. By letters patent special powers were conferred on the friars. They were authorised to preach the Word of God in all the land of the Tartars; to baptise Abaka and those of his sons and his people who should wish to become Christians; to absolve those excommunicated who wished to return to obedience; to confess and exact penance; to absolve the murderers of clerics and monks, if they gave due satisfaction to the churches, monasteries, or persons injured by their crimes; to found new churches in extra-diocesan places, and to confide them to meritorious men; to allow converts already married to people within the prohibited degrees to continue to cohabit; to decide matrimonial cases brought before them; to perform mass and other divine offices, where there was neither church nor oratory; to consecrate cemeteries, grant indulgences, dissolve vows, bless the sacred vestments, altars, &c., where there was no Catholic bishop, and, in fact, to do singly or collectively everything that could contribute to the glory of God's name and the furtherance of the faith.‡

* The Chronicle of St. Denis says Grégeois, or Greeks. † Remusat, op. cit. 350.
‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 545-549.

Abaka's reign was coincident with a very flourishing epoch in Eastern literature. The most famous among his *protégés* was the great astronomer, Nasir ud din, of Tus, of whom we have already spoken. Nasir ud din died at Baghdad, on the 25th of June, 1274. As Bar Hebræus says, he excelled in all sciences, especially in mathematics. He refers to the famous astronomical instruments which he constructed, and which have already occupied us, and Meragha, the seat of his observatory, became the goal of a great number of learned men. As he had been assigned the revenues from the temples, *i.e.*, mosques, and schools (the so-called vakfs) of all Baghdad and Assyria, he distributed with a free hand assistance to indigent scholars. He wrote works on many subjects—on logic and natural science—as well as commentaries on Euclid and the Almagest of Ptolemy, and on the ethics of Plato and Aristotle, besides his famous ephemerides, dedicated to the Mongol Khan, and entitled "Zij Ilkhani." It was reported that he died by poison.* Next to him were the two brothers Shems ud din and Alai ud din Juveni, whose ill fortune during the latter years of Abaka I have described. Wassaf has preserved a number of poetical compositions which were exchanged between the former of these, the Vizier Shems ud din, and Shems ud din Kert, the ruler of Herat.† In Rum there lived the poets and philosophers, Sadr ud din, of Konia, and Jelal ud din, of Rum. At Shiraz there still flourished the famous and now very aged Persian poet Saadi, in close friendship with Mejd ud din Semeki, known as the king of the poets, with Imami, of Herat, and with Khoja Hemam ud din, who was clerk to Nasir ud din, of Tus, and was well known for his prodigality, having on one occasion given a splendid feast to the son of the vizier, Shems ud din, at Tebriz, in which 400 porcelain bowls were used. There also flourished the following poets: Purbeha Jami, whose verses were composed in a mixture of Persian and Mongol; Abulmadhi Raigani, so called from the village of Raigan, near Kazvin; Jemal ud din, of Kashan; Jemal ud din Rastak ol kotu, who lived to the age of ninety, in the reign of Abaka, and was so called from Rastak, one of the quarters of Kazvin; the judge, Bahai ud din Senjani, the panegyrist of the vizier, Shems ud din, who also, like Purbeha, mingled Mongol and Turkish words with his Persian; Rasig ud din Bela, who had charge of the revenues of Diarbekr, of whom Von Hammer quotes a verse, complaining of Abaka having deprived him of his post in favour of the amir, Jelal ud din; Nejm ud din Serkub (*i.e.*, the goldsmith), who flourished also in the reign of Arghun; and, lastly, Nisam ud din, of Ispahan.‡ The chief poetry then fashionable is marked largely by puns and play upon words, and by adulation, clothed in inflated imagery, which Wassaf also introduced into his prose, and of which his work is an exaggerated

* Abulfaraj, 576. D'Ohsson, iii. 538-539. † Op. cit., 154-158. Ilkhans, i. 278-283.
‡ Ilkhans, i. 317-319.

example. Besides these poets there also flourished during Abaka's reign the famous geographer, Jemal ud din Yakut, whose work is still so deservedly esteemed; and the musician, Safr ud din Abd ul Mumin Al Urmeir (*i.e.*, from Urmia).*

In the year 1278, the Metropolitan of the Nestorians having died, the patriarch, John Denha, ordained Simeon, called Bar Kalig, formerly bishop of Tus, to this post. Before he left, however, he had a feud with the Catholicos (*i.e.*, with Denha), whom he treated badly, and was accordingly imprisoned. Having tried to escape, he presently, with some other bishops and monks, came to a violent end.† Meanwhile, two Uighur monks passed through Mesopotamia, *en route* for Jerusalem They had come from China, and had gone by order of Khubilai Khan, for the sake of visiting the Holy City. Mar Denha ordained one of them as Metropolitan of China, and gave him the name of Yaballaha. Before he set out for his post, however, Mar Denha died. Thereupon Abaka having been informed by Yashmut, who, like the two travellers, was a Uighur, of the death of the Catholicos, asked the Christians living there (*i.e.*, at Baghdad) to accept Yaballaha as their Catholicos, and issued an edict to this effect, whereupon some twenty-four bishops assembled together from Seleucia and Ctesiphon, and ordained him as Catholicos. Bar Hebræus says naïvely that this Mar Yaballaha, "although he was too little versed in doctrine and in the Syriac tongue, was nevertheless of a naturally good disposition, endowed with the fear of God, and showed much charity to us and our people."‡ Yaballaha now consecrated his late companion as Bishop of Uighuria. He was called Bar Suma. This very friendliness and patronage of the Christians was no doubt a great cause of offence to his Muhammedan subjects and employés, who doubtless looked with much more favourable eyes upon his rival, the Sultan of Egypt, and made it easy to suspect that his end was hastened by some sinister act on the part of those who treated him as a heretic.

In the British Museum there are silver coins of Abaka struck at Mosul and Tebriz, and copper coins struck at Mosul, Irbil, and Baghdad. They occur of various dates, from 666 HEJ. to 680. Most of them bear Arabic legends, but some have an inscription on the obverse side in Mongol characters, and in the Mongol language, which was read by Schmidt, "Khaganu darugha Abagha Khan deled keguluksen" (*i.e.*, "The Great Khan's Viceroy Abagha-Khan, his coinage").§ Mr. Poole questions the reading "darugha," as did De Saulcy, and says the letters read "arab" or "arun."‖ Although anything but a Mussulman, Abaka's coins often contain a formula from the Koran, notably the sentence, "There is no God but the one God who has no equal."¶

* Wassaf, 103. D'Ohsson, iii. 539. † Mosheim, 69-70.
‡ Abulfaraj, Chron. Eccles., ii. 453-454. Mosheim, 70.
§ Frähn Resentio, 637. ‖ Catalogue, Oriental Coins of the British Museum, vi. 46-49.
¶ Frähn, op. cit., 636.

Note 1.—In a MS. translation of the "Tarikhi Guzideh," for which I am indebted to my friend Mr. G. L'Estrange, I find it stated that in the year 674 a body of Mulahids, or Assassins, joined the son of Khurshah, gave him the name of No Daulat, and seized the fortress of Alamut, and their insurrection having spread, Abaka sent an army, which captured and ruined the fortress.

Note 2.—I find I overlooked an interesting passage in the *Georgian Chronicle* referring to Mangu Timur's campaign in Syria. We read there that before setting out he sent a summons to the mthwar of Samtzkhé (*i.e.*, to Beka) to accompany him. "My enemies," he replied, "have aroused the anger of your brother, Abaka Khan, who sent Arghun to devastate my country. As I was innocent I withdrew, but now I dread the Khan. If, therefore, you will promise to forget the past, to cause my lands in future to be respected, I will go and join you with my troops." Mangu Timur gave an undertaking accordingly, and ratified it by drinking water in which gold had been mingled, and also sent Beka the ring he had on his finger as a further pledge. Beka then assembled his Meskhes, and went and joined Mangu Timur, who received him heartily and introduced him to Abaka. They then set out for Egypt. At Darabsak Beka and his Meskhes distinguished themselves in repelling a sortie from the town, and were the first to enter the place. Mangu Timur rewarded him, his didebuls, and arsnaurs with presents of horses and garments.*

* Hist de la Géorgie, i. 935

CHAPTER V.

SULTAN AHMED KHAN.

BY his will Abaka had nominated his son Arghun, whom he had previously appointed governor of Khorasan, as his successor. But this was clearly contrary to the yasa or law of Jingis Khan, which, in regulating the succession to the throne, appointed that the eldest living prince of the house should succeed. This position was now occupied by Abaka's brother, Tagudar (called Tongudar by Haithon and Nigudar by Wassaf), the son of Khulagu by Kutui Khatun. He had remained behind in China when his father set out for the West, as we have seen, and was sent to Persia by Khubilai Khakan during the reign of Abaka. According to Haithon, he had been baptised in his youth under the name of Nicholas.* Later in life he greatly favoured Muhammedanism, and this, together with his patronage of the two viziers, Shems ud din and Alai ud din, who controlled Tebriz and Baghdad, and against whom Arghun had great animosity, created a powerful party in his favour among the Muhammedans. He was supported by Khulagu's three sons, Ajai,† Konghuratai, and Hulaju ; by Juskab, or Chuskab, and Kunkju, sons of Chumkur, the second son of Khulagu ; and by the amirs Singtur and Sughunjak, Arab, and Karabukai. Arghun was supported by the two brothers Buka and Aruk, and by Akbuka, amirs attached to his father's household, and by the great amirs, Shishi Bakhshi, Doladai Aidaji, Jushi, and Ordukia. A third party gathered about Oljai Khatun, who tried to create a diversion in favour of her son, Mangu Timur, but as he died twenty-five days after his father, she and Kutui Khatun joined the party of Arghun.‡ The "Shajrat ul Atrak" says that Arghun was of opinion that Mangu Timur should succeed his father, but Tagudar having assumed the office he was reluctantly compelled to submit.§

On Abaka's death, Tagudar set out for Tebriz from Kurdistan, and Arghun, who was already on his way from Khorasan, halted at Meragha, and heard from Singtur of his father's death. There the funeral ceremonies, including the offering of the bowl of kumis, were gone through, while Buka ordered the officers of Abaka's household to do homage to him. After the funeral the assembly adjourned to Chagatu, where Shishi Bakhshi, who saw that the majority of the princes favoured

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* Op. cit., 56. † Rashid, however, says Ajai was already dead. See Quatremere, 107.
‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 551. Ilkhans, i. 323. § Op. cit. 257.

Tagudar, persuaded Arghun to submit gracefully, and Tagudar was unanimously elected on the 6th of May, 1282. Three days later Arghun set out for the Siah Kuh, or Black Mountain, to secure his father's treasures.* Wassaf calls the place Alatagh.† Abulfaraj says that on his accession to the throne he showed great generosity and clemency. He distributed his treasures among his brothers, the great amirs, and the army, and treated his people kindly, especially the heads of the Christian religion, and issued edicts in their favour, exempting their churches and monasteries, their priests and monks, everywhere from tribute.‡ The vizier, Shems ud din, who was in the hands of Arghun, was summoned to Tagudar's presence, and on the 21st of June, the various princes having sworn the oath of allegiance, he was duly enthroned, his brother Konghuratai and the amir Singtur Noyan taking him by the right and left hand respectively. This was on the 21st of June, 1282.§ As he was a Muhammedan, he adopted the name Ahmed (the Acomat of Marco Polo) and the title of Sultan. He then sent to the castle of Shahu-tela for the treasures, and distributed largess liberally, each soldier receiving 120 dinars (Von Hammer says twenty). Arghun now returned, and complained that they had not waited his arrival before going on with the ceremony of inauguration. Tagudar received him graciously, and presented him with twenty golden balishes, which he said he had specially reserved for him. It was during this visit that he formed a close friendship with Konghuratai, and swore mutual oaths of attachment in the ordu of Tuktai Khatun (called Tuktini by Von Hammer), one of Abaka's widows.‖

Ahmed, soon after his accession, made a public profession of his faith, and addressed a brief to the authorities of Baghdad, which has been preserved to us. It runs as follows: "In the name of the clement and merciful God. There is no other God but God, and Muhammed is the Prophet of God. We who are seated on the throne of sovereignty are Mussulmans. Make it known to the inhabitants of Baghdad. Let them patronise the medressehs (colleges), the wakfs (religious foundations), and their other religious duties as they were accustomed to do in the time of the Abbassidan khalifs, and let everyone who has claims upon the various charities attached to the mosques and colleges be reinstated. Do not transgress the laws of Islam, O people of Baghdad. We know that the Prophet (may God grant him peace and pity) has said: 'This faith of Islam shall not cease to be triumphant till the day of resurrection.' We know that this prophecy is true, that it emanated from a true prophet, that there is only one God unique and eternal. Rejoice, all of you, and make this known throughout the province."¶ Haithon says his conversion

* D'Ohsson, iii. 552. † Op. cit., 201. ‡ Chron. Syr., 596.
§ Wassaf, 202. ‖ D'Ohsson, iii. 553.
¶ Life of Kelavun, in Makrizi, ii. 185-186. D'Ohsson, iii. 553-554. Ilkhans, i. 325. Weil, iv. 137-138.

to Islam was followed by that of many of his people, and also by a persecution of the Christians.* Ahmed appointed the Noyan Sughunjak his lieutenant-general, and Shems ud din Muhammed his finance minister. He stayed a few days at Siah Kuh, and sent to Hamadan to summon Majd ul Mulk Yezdi and his deadly rival, Alai ud din Juveni, the latter of whom was still in prison.†

We have seen how Alai ud din learnt of the death of Abaka at Asadabad, while on his way from Baghdad to Hamadan. His enemies instructed the commissary who was in charge of him not to release him, and he remained in chains till the accession of Ahmed, who ordered his release. When he reached the Court with Majd ul Mulk, the latter, supported by a Mongol grandee, renewed his intrigues, and was on the point of again obtaining the farming of the taxes; but Shems ud din having secured the protection of Ermeni Khatun, Ahmed's second wife, also obtained the favour of her husband, and poured a series of accusations, true and false, upon his bitter rival. He, in turn, wrote to Arghun, saying: "The vizier poisoned your father, and now wishes to take away my life because I am aware of his crime. If I die you will know the reason." Shems ud din, in turn, employed a nephew of Majd ul Mulk, named Said ud din, who had been deposed by his uncle from his post of mestufi, or president of finances, in Irak and Persia, on account of his dishonesty, and who now accused him of having had secret correspondence with Arghun. Ahmed ordered Alai ud din's confiscated property to be restored to him, but he would not take it, and gave it up to the crowd for pillage, a very diplomatic movement. Meanwhile, Majd ul Mulk was hoist with his own petard. Sughunjak Aka and Aruk (called Sunjak and Arukaka by Von Hammer), who were sent to apprehend him, found among his effects a piece of lion's skin with certain unknown figures upon it in cinnabar and saffron (*i.e.*, red and yellow), which had been secreted there by Abdur Rahman, a friend of Shems ud din. The Mongols were very timid in the presence of such necromantic charms. Their bakhshis and shamans declared that the skin was to be dipped in water which the accused was to drink, whereupon he acquired magical powers. This he stoutly denied, but he was found guilty.‡ Sughunjak would have spared him, but, unfortunately, he was laid up with a bad foot, and Abdur Rahman urged his execution strongly upon him. Ahmed ordered him to be handed over to his enemies. We are told by Rashid that Shems ud din wished to spare him, but that this was opposed by Alai ud din and his son Harun. Wassaf, on the other hand, says that Alai ud din would have pardoned his enemy, but was opposed by the Treasury officials. He was taken to Alai ud din's tent, where from the mid-day till the evening prayer he was called to account for all his extortions, and especially for the 300 tumans he had appropriated at

* Op. cit., 56. † Ilkhans, i. 325. D'Ohsson, iii. 554.
‡ Quatremere, Rashid ud din, 359-360. Note.

Baghdad, and also for the various warrants, diplomas, &c., he had unlawfully issued. As Alai ud din went to the evening prayer, he was brought out of the tent, and was torn in pieces by the crowd. This was on the 14th of August, 1282.* He was dismembered, and his head was sent to Baghdad, upon which Rashid ud din writes—

> The head with so much proud ambition girt,
> That it aspired even to the viziership;
> I saw it the toy and sport of the hangman,
> A portion held in either hand.

Some one paid a hundred gold pieces for his tongue, and took it to Tebriz. His feet were sent to Shiraz, where he had made his entry so proudly, and his hands to Ispahan. Whereupon the famous poet Pur-beha Jami said :—

> He would have raised his hand to heaven;
> It did not reach thither, but it has come here.

Alai ud din was now restored to the government of Baghdad. Ahmed gave him one of his own robes, and a paizah or tablet of office, hoping thus to secure a continuance of his services, he having expressed a wish to retire into private life. Shems ud din recovered his authority as vizier, while the superintendence of the affairs of Islam was made over to the Sheikh Kemal ud din Abdurrahman er Rafii. The latter, according to Bar Hebræus, was the son of a slave of the Khalif Mostassem, and a Turk of Rum by origin,† who escaped from the massacre at Baghdad and went to Mosul, where he carried on the trade of a joiner. Thence he went to A'madiyah, and informed its ruler, Iz ud din, that the spirits had taught him magic. Being taken by him to Abaka, he told him that if he were taken to the castle of Tala, where the imperial treasures were stored, he would show him something wonderful, and having measured the ground from one side to the other, he ordered them to dig in a place he pointed out, while he stood some distance away. A valuable precious stone was found and taken to Abaka. He acquired great repute in consequence, and became head of the administration during the short reign of Ahmed, and had control of the wakfs, or pious foundations, in all his dominions, from the Oxus to the borders of Egypt, with orders to restore them to their original purpose, and to detach from their registers of pensions the Christian and Jewish astrologers and doctors whose names had been inscribed on them during the previous reigns, and whose salaries were ordered to be paid out of the Treasury. Arrangements were made for the comfort of the caravans of pilgrims to Mekka, and the sending of provisions to the Kaaba, while Ahmed ordered the Buddhist temples and the Christian churches to be converted into mosques.‡ Haithon says he caused the Christian churches at Tebriz to be destroyed. He threatened to decapitate the Christians who refused to adopt Islam,

* Ilkhans, i. 326-327. D'Ohsson, iii. 557-558.
† According to the Persian writers he was a native of Mosul, of humble rank.
‡ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 614-615. D'Ohsson, iii. 561.

and summoned the kings of Armenia and Georgia to his Court. He adds that they preferred to risk a struggle rather than go, which can only apply to the Armenian king.* Besides Abdur Rahman, he had another favourite, named Mingueli, a Muhammedan saint, whom he called his son. He spent a part of the day with these two doctors, listening to their lessons, and occupied himself very little with affairs of government. His mother, Kutui Khatun, who according to the biography of Kelavun was a Christian, used to go to him there and discuss state affairs with him. Ahmed neglected Sughunjak Aka and Singtur Noyan, to whom he owed his elevation to the throne.†

Shems ud din began his new career by economising the expenditure of the imperial household. The cost of the cooks' department, which was superintended by the head cook, Fakr ud din, had hitherto been eighty tumans annually. This was reduced to one half, and was dictated by his jealousy of Fakr ud din, who at the accession of Ahmed had applied for the post of vizier, and thus threatened to displace him. Wassaf, the historian, tells us how he had also committed himself in making accusations against Shems ud din, and tried to make amends by an outflow of his very profuse rhetoric in apologies. Towards the end of Abaka's reign, viz., in 1279, the government of Shiraz had been entrusted to the amir Sughunjak, whose sagacity and equity Wassaf enlarges upon. Discontented with the farmers of the taxes, he selected the Khoja Nisam ud din, the one who had embezzled the least public money, and set him over the rest. He nominated Ibn Muhammed Yahya Imad ud din to be chief judge, although the citizens desired Seyid Abdallah, the author of many works on exegesis and hermeneutics, on tradition and jurisprudence, on dogmatics and philosophy. Sughunjak went to the Court with some tax collectors who were short in their accounts. During his absence his vizier and chief judge quarrelled. He sent orders that the former should be confined in the house of the latter. The judge Seyid thereupon repaired to Buka, one of the secret tax appraisers of Abaka, who was then at Shiraz, who sent him with the tax farmers, who were deputies of Shems ud din, to the Court. There they laid before Abaka their complaints against the administration of Sughunjak, and of his vizier, Nisam ud din. Abaka offered them a beaker of wine, and ordered that Nisam ud din should make good 200 tumans that were wanting of the public money. The amir Toghachar was sent to execute this order. Nisam ud din was at this time under arrest in the house of Imad ud din, but the tax farmers, becoming alarmed, made common cause with him. They did not rest until they had released Nisam ud din, and caused Toghachar great embarrassment. Toghachar, on the accession of Ahmed, repaired to the Court, taking with him the malik Shems ud din and

* Haithon, 57. † Wassaf, 209-211. D'Ohsson, iii. 559-561 Ilkhans, i. 328-329.

Imad ud din. Ahmed appointed the latter to the viziership of Shiraz, and promoted the governor, Bulghuvan, who had openly taken sides against Toghajar. The latter accordingly went to join Arghun in Khorasan.*

After his conversion, Ahmed naturally desired to draw nearer to the Egyptian Sultan, who controlled the head-quarters of Islam at this time. As his envoys he selected the chief judge, Kutb ud din Mahmud of Shiraz, the Kadhi of Sivas, and the Amir Bahai ud din (called Seba by Abulfaraj), Atabeg of Sultan Masud of Rum, while the Prince of Mardin also sent his vizier, Shems ud din ibn Sharf ud din ibn Tenesi. The envoys set out with a magnificent *cortège*, leaving Alatagh on the 25th of August, 1282. When the Sultan heard of this embassy he became suspicious, and sent two of his hajibs or chamberlains to meet it at Biret, with orders to exercise the greatest vigilance, not to permit its members to communicate with anyone, and to cause them to travel by night. The remembrance of Mongol treacheries was so recent and so keen that the Egyptians were naturally timid. The envoys entered Aleppo by night, and their arrival there was kept secret. Passing by Damascus, they arrived at Misr, opposite Cairo, at night, and in the month of October. Admitted to an audience by Sultan Kelavun, they submitted their master's letter, as well as a verbal message. The former is such an interesting document that I will transcribe it at length from the copy printed by Quatremere in his appendix to Makrizi. It contained neither subscription nor seal, but was marked with thirteen tamghas in vermillion, and was as follows :—

"In the name of God, the most clement and pitiful. By the power of God, and under the auspices of the Khakan. The Firman of Ahmed to the Sultan of Egypt. The Supreme Being worthy of all praise has, by his grace and the light of his supreme direction for a long time, and since our youth, caused us to know his divinity, to confess his unity, to proclaim Muhammed. May God be propitious to him and grant him peace, to venerate the saints whom he has chosen as his disciples and placed among his creatures. *God opens and purifies the heart of him whom he intends to direct, so that he may adopt Islam.*† For a long time, and until the death of our august father and brother opened the succession to us, we have ever exalted religion and wished well to Islam and the Mussulmans. God has deigned to confer on us all the favours and benefits which we would hope for from his munificence. He has opened this empire to our eyes, and made it over to us as a bride. We have assembled a kuriltai (a meeting where the friction of opinion produces light), where we have collected all our brothers, sons, the princes of the blood, the great amirs and generals, and the governors of the towns. At this meeting it was resolved to carry out the work of our elder brother, and to send against you such a multitude of men that the earth could scarcely hold

* Ilkhans, i. 329-331. † Koran.

them, with a zeal that would level the highest mountains and soften the hardest rocks, and whose courage and fury would fill men's hearts with fear. We have sifted the cream which rose from this discussion, and have found it contrary to the wish of our heart for the general good. In order to strengthen the foundations of Islam, and being determined that no orders should come from our hand, save those which would tend to prevent the shedding of blood, to calm the troubles of men, and to cause the soft zephyrs of peace and security to blow over every country, so that the Mussulmans should recline in peace on the couch of our favour and beneficence, wishing thereby to show our respect for the Most High, and our love for his people, God has inspired us therefore to quench this fire, to re-establish calm, and to make known to those who have advised us that we should devote ourselves to furthering man's wellbeing, and postpone indefinitely an appeal to the last resort. We have no wish to draw the spear till we have gauged the end for which we are doing it, nor to throw it till we have satisfied ourselves that our cause is right. We have fortified our resolution to make peace, and to do what is necessary to secure it by the advice of the Sheikh ul Islam, the model of wise men, Kemal ud din Abdur Rahman, who is our good helper in matters of religion. We have published this in the hope that God will pity those who call upon him, and will punish the disobedient. We have sent the chief judge, Kutb ud din, the pole of law and religion, and the Atabeg of Bahai ud din, both of whom have our confidence, in order that they may convey to you our good faith and good intentions towards all Mussulmans, that you may know that God has opened our eyes, that Islam may blot out what has gone before, and that God has inspired our heart to follow the ways of truth, and to accept as guides those who know it. You will recognise in the intentions he has inspired us with, a great favour of God to men, and you will not thrust aside our peaceful message because of what happened in the past, for every day has its special character.

"If you wish for a proof of what we say, contemplate our acts, which are well known, and whose effect has been universal. By the grace of God we have unfurled the banner of the faith, and proved our belief in different ways—in recommending the observance of the Muhammedan law and in pardoning those who have incurred penalties. We have given orders for the re-organisation of the wakfs or pious foundations attached to the mosques, tombs, and colleges; to rebuild the hospitals and the ruined ribats; to restore their incomes to those who have title to them according to the wishes of the founders; and have given orders that nothing is to be taken from the recent charities and nothing altered from the old ones. We have ordered the pilgrims to be well treated, and their needs to be supplied, to guard the routes by which they travel, and to find escorts for their caravans. We have given complete liberty to the merchants who visit your country, and have expressly forbidden

the soldiery, the karaguls (*i.e.*, the guardians of the roads), and the governors of provinces to molest them, either on setting out or in returning. Our karaguls having seized a spy, disguised as a fakir, we have remitted the punishment of death which was his due, and out of respect for the divine commands we have released him and sent him back again. Nevertheless, you will not forget how prejudicial to the cause of Mussulmanism the sending of spies is. For a long time our soldiers having found that these spies disguise themselves as fakirs, anchorites, &c., have formed a very bad opinion of these religious, and have killed those they have laid their hands upon. Thank God, since a free passage to merchants has been granted through our dominions, there is no longer any need for such disguises. If you consider all these acts, you will see that they are innocent and natural, and quite inconsistent with artifice and chicanery. This being so, there are no longer any causes of ill-will between us. Our anxiety has had as its source a zeal for religion and for the defence of the land of the Mussulmans, but by divine grace our reign has been lit up with a true light. We declare that whoever follows the way of reason will find in us a friend and a defender. We have raised the veil and speak freely. We have made known to you our sincere views, which have the Almighty God for their object, and have forbidden our soldiers to act contrary to these views, so that we may gain the favour of God and His Apostle, so that the Mussulmans may be spared from the consequence of our discords; that the mists of enmity may be dissipated by the light of good harmony, and that townsfolk and rustics may equally repose under its tutelary shade; that the hearts which have been forced by fear to the gorge may be tranquillised, and that old grievances may be forgotten. If, by the grace of God, the Sultan of Egypt is inspired to do that which shall secure peace to the world and the well-being of men, he will follow the right path, and open the way to union and good friendship. Thus shall his country prosper, troubles will be appeased, swords will return to their scabbards, the earth will become calm again. The necks of Mussulmans will be relieved from the chains of ignorance, but if evil thoughts prevail over the designs of the God of pity, and you refuse to appreciate our benevolent offers, God will recompense our efforts, and take note of our excuses. *We shall not inflict punishment before sending an Apostle.* But may God point out the right way, and grant success. He is the protector of countries and people, and alone suffices for us.—Given in the middle of jumada the first, 681 (21st August, 1282), at our camp of Alatagh."*

To this rhetorical epistle the Egyptian Sultan replied in these terms:

"In the name of God the clement and pitiful. By the power of the Most High, by the fortune of the reign of the Sultan Malik Mansur. The

* D'Ohsson, iii. 563-570. Quatremere, Makrizi, ii. 187-191. Abulfaraj, Chron. Arab., 361-365. Wassaf, 215-218. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 331-335.

reply of Kelavun to Sultan Ahmed. Praise be to God who has opened for us and by us the path of truth, who in bringing us hither has made divine help and victory follow our steps, so that men have in crowds joined the religion of God. May his blessing rest on our Lord, our Prophet Muhammed, whom God has made greater than all the prophets, by which means he has saved the people. May this blessing lighten those who are in darkness, and overwhelm the hypocrites. By the favour and devotion of the Imam, Hakim biemrillah, the amir ul muminin, the offspring of the khalifs, who has trodden the right path, the cousin of the Lords of the Prophets, the Khalifs, who were the protectors of religion. We have received your noble letter, in which you report your conversion to the faith, and your separation from those of your family and your nation who are its enemies. On the opening of this letter certifying your Islamism to the Mussulmans, thanks have been offered to the Eternal, and prayers have gone up to him praying that he will make you persevere in your resolution, and cause to grow in your heart a love for religion, as he makes the tenderest plants grow in the most arid soil. We have attentively read the first part of your letter, in which you announce that from your early youth you have confessed the unity of God and the truth of Islam in thoughts, words, and acts. May God be praised that he has thus opened your heart to the faith, and favoured you with his holy inspirations. We thank God that he drew us to this sacred goal even earlier, and has strengthened our steps where we have acted and fought for his glory, for without him our steps totter. If you have taken possession by right of inheritance on the death of your father and elder brother, if God has conferred on you his surprising favours, if you have mounted the throne which your faith has purified, and to which your power has given additional lustre, it is God who has given it to whom he has chosen among his servants, and has realised in him what he has promised, the graces belonging to the saints of God and holy men.

"You say that at the kuriltai where your brothers and the other princes of the blood, the grandees of the empire, the chiefs of the army, and the governors of the provinces unanimously determined to send an army against us, having reflected on this decision you found it contrary to your convictions, which were solely devoted to the public good and the general peace, that you, therefore, sought to calm the troubles, and to quench this fire. This is the conduct of a pious sovereign, who looks tenderly to the safety of his subjects, and prudently calculates the results of things. If, in fact, your people had followed out their intentions and abandoned themselves to their illusions, their exploit would assuredly have brought them a terrible reverse; but you have acted like a man fearing God, who is not misled by passions nor shares the ways of evil men, nor of those blinded by illusions. You say that you do not wish to rush into war before you have traced out your path and justified it by

argument, but now that you have joined the faithful your efforts and ours should be directed against those whose idolatry prevents them following this route, and God and man know that we have only armed ourselves in order to protect the Muhammedans, and have only acted for the glory of God and man. You have embraced the faith. All animosity has disappeared. The past is forgotten. Mutual aid has succeeded to aversion, for the faith is like a building, each part of which supports another. Wherever it unfurls its banner there should be one family.

"You say you have taken these steps by the counsel of the Sheikh ul Islam, model of doctors, Kemal ud din Abdur Rahman. We hope that by his benign influence, and by the merits of the past, all countries may be won over to Islam, and that the scattered fragments of the faith may be re-united, and we do not doubt that one who has begun so well will complete his noble work. As to the mission of the grand judge, Kutb ud din, and the atabeg Bahai ud din, they have delivered your messages, and they have reported a thousand interesting things about your situation, your ideas, and projects.

"You call our attention to the proofs of your justice and equity, especially in the good administration of the wakfs of the mosques, &c. These are acts worthy of reward, and of a great prince who desires the stability of his empire, but such matters are too little for a great prince to glorify himself about them. They are but elementary duties. The glory of great sovereigns is to restore empires to their rulers. See what your father did. The Seljukian sultans and other princes were not of his religion, yet he confirmed them in their sovereignty; he did not expel them from their kingdoms. If you find a right violated it is your duty to correct it, and not permit the oppressor to continue his oppression, so that your empire may become consolidated, and your reign be embellished by acts of piety.

"The order you have given to your soldiers, your karaguls, and the governors of the different provinces, to protect travellers from all vexations, has been reciprocated by ourselves, who have issued similar orders to the governors of Rahbet, Aleppo, Biret, and Aintab, as well as to the commanders of the provincial troops.

"As to the spy disguised as a fakir, whom you have released, and as to the suspicion attached to his profession from such disguises, and the number of dervishes and others who have consequently perished from suspicion, it is from your side that this kind of thing began. How many people disguised as fakirs have come to spy out our land? We have arrested many and spared their lives, and have not tried to learn things hidden under their mendicant robes.

"You say that our union will bring peace to the world and well-being to man. One ought certainly not to turn aside when the door of reconciliation is opened, and he who turns aside to avoid an encounter is

as worthy as he who offers the hand of friendship ; peace is assuredly the first of the commandments.

"The general matters you enter into are indeed necessary as a basis on which the social edifice may be built, and by which we can learn whether peace exists or no ; but we need other matters more specifically settling ; and in regard to these we have charged our envoy to treat with you about them *viva voce*, for what is contained in the breast of a messenger is better than what is written on a scroll. You cite this passage from the word of God : '*We have never punished anyone without first warning him by an envoy.*' This sentence does not savour of friendly intercourse like ours, and is not to be commended. The man who has the advantage of priority on the road and in the defence of the faith, has rights which should be respected, and prerogatives which belong to him. However many follow him, the first will retain his pre-eminence.* We have heard the message which has been delivered to us by the grand judge, Kutb ud din. It accords with your letter, and confirms the news that you have embraced the true faith, and have taken rank among the true believers, and are everywhere the patron of justice and right, qualities which deserve the praise of men. May God have the glory. Did not he in revealing to the prophet what concerns those who accept the faith, say : 'Do not think you do me service by being converted to Islamism, it is the grace of God that draws you thither.'

"According to the message you have sent us, God has given you so much that you do not covet other territories, and you say that if we are ready to treat on this basis you, too, are willing. We reply that when things are settled on the basis of a common accord they become stable, and the foundations of friendship. God and man know how we exalt our friends, and abase our enemies. How many allies have we, when we have neither father, nor brother, nor relative? In the early days of Islam the faith was founded by the co-operation of the companions of the prophet. If you wish to be on friendly terms, make an alliance with us against our common foes, and lean on those who can offer you at all times a strong succour. You remind us that if we covet any part of your territory we shall merely injure the cause of Islam, by sending hostile forces into your territory. We reply that if you close the hand of hostility against travellers, and leave the Mussulman princes in peaceable possession of their own, calamities will cease, and so will bloodshed. Nothing is more just than to abstain from doing ourselves what we forbid another to do, and more unjust than to prescribe a good action to others and to forget to do it ourself. At this moment Konghuratai is in the land of Rum, which is subject to you and pays you taxes ; nevertheless he has shed blood there, has dishonoured women and reduced children to slavery, sold free men, and continues his devastating course.

* This is doubtless a reference to Ahmed having been a recent convert, while Kelavun was a Mussulman of older standing.

"You send us word that if strife is not to cease between us, that we had better choose a battle-field, and that God will give victory to whom he will. Here is our answer: Those of your troops who survived their last defeat are not anxious to revisit the former battle-field. They fear to go there again to renew their misfortunes. As to the day of battle, God can alone fix that, and the victory will be to him whom God chooses, and not to him who feels himself secure. We are not of those who can be deceived, nor are we anxious about the result. As to the hour of victory, it is like that of the last judgment: it arrives unexpectedly. God does what is best for his people, and he is strong enough to do right.

"Written in Ramazan (December)."

When the envoys had concluded their mission, and received robes of honour and magnificent presents from the Sultan, they again set out. They were subjected to the same surveillance as on their arrival. No one was allowed to see them. They arrived at Aleppo on the 6th of Sheval, 681.*

During this year there arrived in Egypt the Sheikh Ali, of the tribe of the Uirads or Kalmuks, who had become a Mussulman, and had adopted the profession of a fakir, and, according to Makrizi, miracles had been performed by his hand. Finding himself followed by a number of Mongol children, he passed at their head first into Syria, then into Egypt. He was there presented to the Sultan, together with his brothers, Akush, Timur, Tukhi, Juman, and others. They were well treated, and some of them, including the three brothers, Akush, Timur, and Omar, were enrolled among the irregular troops, or khasséki (*i.e.*, kazaks), and promoted to the rank of amirs; but presently Sheikh Ali, having misconducted himself, was put in prison with Akush. Timur and Omar died in the exercise of their functions.†

Let us now return to the more intimate affairs of the Mongols. We have seen how Arghun aspired to the throne on the death of his father, Abaka. He continued to nurse his resentment against his uncle and the vizier, Shems ud din. After repeated requests of Sultan Ahmed, he sent the amir Buka, who married Kutui Khatun, Abaka's widow, to him.‡ He was residing at Sughurlak, in the district of Baghdad, where there encamped a tuman of predatory Karaunas who had belonged to the military household of Abaka, and had their winter quarters at Siah kuh. Wassaf, who calls them a kind of demons, and the most fearless of the Mongols, says that Arghun made the General Toghachar (on whom he conferred the insignia of drums and standard) their commander. Under Toghachar were Gaikhatu and Baidu, the brother and cousin of Arghun, as well as the generals Chaukur, Chongutur, Doladai, Idaji, Iji, Tetkaul, Juchi,

* Makrizi, op. cit., 199-200. Wassaf, 218-223. Abulfaraj, Chron. Arab., 365-367. D'Ohsson iii. 570-580. Ilkhans, i. 335-342. Weil, iv. 139-142.

† Makrizi, ii. (part i.) 53. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 342. Wassaf, 223.

and Kimshkabal. The principal supporters of Abaka were thus devoted to the cause of his son. This was doubtless as champions of the Mongol and Shamanist elements of the community as against the Muhammedans, who, under the new *régime*, were again holding up their heads; and Haithon says Arghun sent to inform their suzerain, the Khakan Khubilai, how Ahmed had deserted the ways of his fathers, and how he and his followers were becoming Mussulmans, which greatly displeased Khubilai, who sent Ahmed his reproof.* We are told that at this time two faithless dependents of Alai ud din Juveni, named Ali Chinsang and Kutluk Shah, went to Arghun to tell him he had sent word to Wejih ud din, the Vizier of Khorasan, to poison Arghun. He had him at once arrested and imprisoned at Kerker, appropriated his property, and only spared his life on the solicitation of Bulughan Khatun, Abaka's favourite widow, who had joined his harem. Arghun then went to winter at Baghdad. As he passed through Rai he treated the Malik Fakhr ud din with honour, and appointed him governor of the district. When Sultan Ahmed heard of this he had him arrested and taken to Shirvan, where he paid for his recent honours by being tortured. Arghun, greatly enraged at this, sent word to the Vizier Shems ud din and the amirs that Abaka had made Fakhr ud din over to him, and that he would revenge the injuries done to his *protégé*. When he reached Baghdad he demanded from Alai ud din's deputy, Nejm ud din Asfer, that he should pay over the sums which had been declared owing to the treasury in the reign of Abaka, and which had not yet been paid. What there was in the treasury was seized, and torture was applied to extract more from the officials, Arghun's efforts being seconded by those of Sishi Bakshi, Pulatamur, and Toghachar, whose names prove them to have been of Mongol extraction. Alai ud din, on hearing of these persecutions, had an attack of apoplexy and died. This was, according to Abulfaraj, at Mughan, in Arran. He was buried at Tebriz on the 5th of March, 1283. Thus passed away the famous historian, who has preserved us such graphic accounts of the earlier Mongol doings, and who, under the name of Juveni, has a world-wide reputation. He was succeeded in his office by his nephew Harun.†

The author of the Georgian annals, in referring to Ahmed, tells us he was wanting in all the qualities of a sovereign, which, in ordinary English, means he favoured the Muhammedans and not the Christians. At the commencement of his reign the Georgian king visited the ordu, where he gave his daughter Rusudan in marriage to the son of the Great Buka, an alliance which greatly distressed the Catholicos Nicholas, and brought on the king a severe reprimand.‡ After his accession to the throne, and in

* D'Ohsson, iii. 581-582. Ilkhans, i. 344. Note 2. Haithon, 57.

† Ilkhans, i. 343-344; and 344, Note 1. D'Ohsson, iii. 582. Abulfaraj says: "He wrote an admirable chronography in Persian on the kingdoms of the Seljuks, Khuarezmians, Ismaelites, and Mongols, from which we have taken what we have hitherto related in this work." Chron. Syr., 604.

‡ Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 598.

April, 1282, Ahmed sent his brother Konghuratai with an army to the borders of Rum to guard that unruly frontier, after having married him to Tuktai Khatun, the widow of Khulagu, and niece of the famous Princess Dokuz Khatun.* As he heard that Konghuratai was corresponding with Arghun, he posted a force at Diar Bekr to prevent them from uniting their forces. It would seem that Prince Jushkab, the son of Jumkur, the second son of Khulagu, a partisan of Arghun's, also wintered in that town. Ahmed now sent Alinak, the Governor of Georgia, to summon Arghun to a kuriltai. He was won over by the latter, and did him homage, and on his return to the Court he tried to make excuses for Arghun's non-appearance there; but the vizier saw through it all, and Alinak was again won over by being given the hand of Kuchuk, Ahmed's eldest daughter, and being raised by an edict to a higher rank. When in the spring Arghun left his winter quarters at Baghdad for his summer ones in Khorasan, he took the Prince Jushkab with him.† Having reached Rai he had Ahmed's deputy there bastinadoed, put a cangue on him, and sent him thus to his master to remind him that Shems ud din had not yet paid the sum which was found to be owing by him to the treasury. So Von Hammer reads the story. Wassaf says he sent Juchi to ask Ahmed to state that the vizier, although he had controlled the finances so long, had not given any account of them, and he seems to have raked up the rumour about Abaka's and Mangu Timur's death having been caused by poison administered by the vizier, and asked that the latter might be sent back with Juchi, but the Khan replied that Shems ud din could not be spared from the divan, as there was no one to take his place, and Juchi returned with this answer.‡ Meanwhile, Arghun was strengthening his position in Khorasan. When he reached the borders of Mazanderan, on his way thither, he met Yankaji Noyan, who commanded a tuman there, and Hindu Noyan, who commanded two tumans on the frontier of the Oxus, and told them how, on his father's death, being without an army, he could not seize the throne, but now, if they would help him, he could carve his way to it with the sword. Hindu replied that Ahmed, as the aka, or eldest prince of the house, was entitled to the throne, while he (Arghun), God be praised, was ruler there. He bade him be content with this position, and follow the advice of those who had grown grey in his father's service. If Ahmed ventured to attack him, however, they promised to side with him.§ Arghun also needed money, and it was always possible, under these circumstances, to make charges of embezzlement against the officials of his treasury. Some of the amirs now incited Ali Chekbin and others to accuse the Sahib Weji ud din Sengi el Furumdi, son of the Sahib Iz ud din Tahir, of having misappropriated money.‖ When thus

* Wassaf, 236. Ilkhans, i. 342. D'Ohsson, iii. 583-584.
† Ilkhans, i. 344. D'Ohsson, iii. 584.
‡ Wassaf, 224-225. D'Ohsson, iii. 585-586.
§ Ilkhans, i. 345.
‖ Wassaf, 230.

charged, the vizier wrote a pathetic letter to Tughan, the ruler of Kuhistan, which, together with the answer he received, is reported in inflated verse by Wassaf.* The vizier did not fly, we are told, to the women in the Serai for succour, but he boldly faced the charges, and offered, if the slightest misappropriation was proved, to replace every piece by a thousand.† Arghun was not to be moved by any answer save the production of some coin, nor, says Wassaf, would he accept golden words in lieu of gold. He had him arrested, and insisted on his finding 500 tumans, 300 tumans in gold bars and 200 in kind (*i.e.*, in cattle, fruit, clothing, materials, &c.) "Eye-witnesses report," says Wassaf, "that on a single day as much as 3,000 menns of gold were paid down, while the treasuries of Firuzkuh, Herat, Merv, and other places were stripped of jewels and rich robes to meet the demand."‡ Arghun then gave the vizier a robe of honour, and left him in charge of Khorasan. He now demanded from the Ilkhan, in addition to that province, the cession of the royal domains in Irak and Fars. "As you hold in virtue of your right and the general suffrage the throne of my father, it is necessary I should have a province sufficient to support the troops which I command. If you make over to me the provinces which pertain to the private domain,§ the best feeling will exist between us; if not, the contrary." The Khan replied: "We have from our affection and solicitude given him Khorasan, his appanage. If he wishes for another province, let him come to the kuriltai. After having consulted about matters, we will not refuse him our favours, but if he persists in his disobedience we shall march against him."‖

Ahmed had summoned Konghuratai to a kuriltai. The latter accordingly went to Alatagh. We have seen how he was on intimate terms with Arghun, and we read how he sent the latter some rarities from Rum, and received from his nephew a present of two pairs of hunting panthers in return. The Ilkhan further heard that Konghuratai had made a conspiracy with the two amirs, Kuchuk Anukji and Shadi (or Shashi) Akhtaji, to seize upon him during the feast of the New Year, when, according to Von Hammer, the Khan and all his Court went through the emblematic process of tempering iron in memory of the march out from Irgene Kun.¶ The plot was revealed by one of the conspirators. On the morning of the 18th of January, 1284, the day fixed for the carrying out of the conspiracy, Konghuratai was arrested by the General Alinak, and was put to death by having his backbone broken. Being a prince of the blood, it was unlawful to shed his blood, according to the yasa of Jingis Khan. This was in January, 1284. His two accomplices were taken to Karatagh, in Arran, and after six days' trial were condemned and executed.**

* Op. cit., 232. † *Id.* ‡ *Id.*, 233-234.
§ The greater part of Irak and Fars did so. ‖ D'Ohsson, iii. 587.
¶ See Vol. I. of this work, p. 35. ** D'Ohsson, iii. 588.

The *Georgian Chronicle*, in referring to these events, says Ahmed committed an execrable deed. He summoned his brother Kongharda from Greece, and put him to death. Two brothers, sons of Abuleth, who had escaped from the hands of Sadun, met the same fate by order of Kutluk Shah, son of the latter.* Stephen Orpelian says that, in addition to Konghuratai, there were put to death the two sons of Tsaghan, who, Brosset suggests, belonged to the family of the mthawars of Dzaganis Dzé, mentioned by Wakhusht.† He also says that Ghiath ud din, Sultan of Rum, was killed by him, but the other authorities assign the deed to Arghun, Ahmed's successor.

The chiefs of the troops encamped at Diar Bekhr received orders to arrest Arghun's officers in the district of Baghdad, and accordingly the generals Toghachar, Chaukur (called Jaughir by Wassaf), Jinkutur, Doladai (or Tuladai), Iji Ilchi (or Anji), Tetkaul, Juchi, and Kunjukbal, Abai (the son of Sunatai), and Jenghatu (the son of Juchi) were taken to Tebriz, and put in irons. Chunghur was sent to Yusuf Shah, the Atabeg of Luristan, to tell him to prepare an army to co-operate with his suzerain's and to guard his frontiers. The Prince Gaikhatu (called Kenjatu by Von Hammer), with the Amir Batmaji (called Temaji Aktaji by Wassaf) and others, managed to escape, when they reached Sawa, and made their way to Arghun in Khorasan. The latter was informed of what had happened by the judge of Kazvin Rasiuddin. Meanwhile Ahmed was married to his niece, Tudui Khatun, the daughter of Musa Kurkan, the husband of Tarakai, Khulagu's fifth daughter.‡ Ahmed was well seconded in his efforts to oppose his rival by his vizier, Shems ud din, who knew well that his own life and fortune depended on the issue. Yusuf Shah, the Atabeg of Lur, received orders to guard his frontiers carefully, while a large force of all races and religions, Mongols, Mussulmans, Armenians, Georgians, and Turkomans, was got ready, the army consisting of 80 tumans (*i.e.*, 80,000 men). Ahmed was also accompanied by the Georgian King Dimitri, who took with him Yoané, the chief of the Mandators, son of the great Shahin Shah, and the Generalissimo Kutluk Shah, son of Sadun. A heavy fall of snow at the end of January (1284) delayed the march of the army, which at length started from Mughan, the advance guard of 15,000 men being commanded by the Ilkhan's son-in-law, Alinak, by Baisar Oghul, and Tagai Kokoltash (Wassaf, instead of the last, mentions the Prince Hulaju). Other chiefs in it were Arghasun Tekta, Narin, Ahmed, and Ashghan Asan. The advanced posts reached Talikan on the 27th of April, and advanced against Kazvin, where 300 families of Uzes (*i.e.*, of Turkomans) belonging to Arghun were seized. As soon as he heard of Alinak's advance Arghun sent to his treasury in Gurgan (Hyrkania), and to the cities of Nishapur,

* Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 598. † Hist. de la Siounie, 238.
‡ Ilkhans, i. 345-346. D'Ohsson, iii. 588-589. Wassaf, 240.

Tus, and Isferain, for money, clothes, and weapons, which he distributed among his amirs. Fakhr ud din, of Rai, who kept the register of these things, wrote above it, "Account of the sums distributed among the victorious army." Arghun, who was accidentally present, took up the pen and wrote the word "victorious" in a beautiful Persian hand, of which he was master. Kawam ud din, the Persian vizier, thereupon prognosticated a happy issue to their venture.* On the following day Arghun heard of the capture of Kazvin, that Ahmed had ravaged the province of Rai, and ruined the Serai of Lur, which was his private domain, whence he had carried off his people into Azerbaijan. He swore to be revenged,† and dividing his army into three bodies, set out. His advanced guard was sent on under Yula Timur, Jorghodai, and Bulughan, while he himself set out on the day fixed by the astrologers at the end of May, 1284.‡ With him were the amirs Amakaji, Nokai Yarghuji, Tawtai, Kasan (the son of Kutluk Buka), Baitmish Kushji, Sertak, Alghu, Oladai, Kadughan, Aghman, and 4,000 horsemen,§ and he left Sishi Bakhshi in charge of his baggage and impedimenta, while he summoned Nuruz to join him with his tuman of Karaunas. From Irbil, Ahmed dispatched Kurimshi, the son of Alinak, to his father to tell him not to engage the enemy unless he was superior to him in numbers, otherwise to await his arrival. He now advanced again, leaving his baggage in charge of Abukian. The advanced guards of the two armies met at Khiel büzürg (called Khail buzurk by D'Ohsson), situated about half-way between Rai and Kazvin. One of Arghun's spies, who was caught and made drunk, disclosed the strength and position of his master's people. Alinak marched against him, and a battle was fought on the plain of Ak Khoja, near Kazvin, on the 4th of May, 1284. The "Shajrat ul Atrak" calls the plain Fuhwacheh. Yula Timur and Amakaji commanded Arghun's right wing, Bulughan the left, and Tawtai the centre; while on the side of the Ilkhan the centre was commanded by Prince Hulaju, the twelfth son of Khulagu, the right by Alinak, and the left by Basaraghul.|| Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, Arghun's people fought well, and as is often the case in Eastern battles, where the picked troops are put in the right wing, the left wing of each army was defeated, and the division of Basaraghul was pursued as far as the walls of Kazvin. His wife and son were captured, and the village of Gurgan was plundered.¶ The fight lasted from mid-day to sunset. At length, seeing that his people were overmatched, he withdrew with 300 horses towards Firuzkuh, where he hoped to meet the body of Karaunas whom he had summoned to his aid. Meanwhile his men, on hearing of his flight, disbanded. The Karaunas arrived at Ak Khoja after the

* Ilkhans, 346-347. Wassaf, 259. D'Ohsson, iii. 589. Shajrat ul Atrak, 258. Hist. de la Géorgie, 600.

† Wassaf, 242. ‡ *Id.*, 241. § *Id.* *Id.*, 241. Ilkhans, i. 344. D'Ohsson, iii. 590. ¶ Wassaf, 245.

battle, and proceeded, after their truculent fashion, to plunder and burn Damaghan, and to waste the country round.* On his precipitous retreat, Arghun was joined by an officer who had been dispatched by Ahmed before the fight to tell him that he had not instructed Alinak to attack him, but merely to secure his presenting himself at the Court, and asking him to lay down his arms and submit. Arghun sent Kutluk Shah Noyan and Legsi Kurkan (Rashid calls them Legsi and Ordubuka) with his answer, which was submissive, but reminded the Ilkhan that if he drove Arghun to extremity, and he was joined by the Karaunas, things might be very awkward, and complained of the ravage committed by the Ilkhan's troops, especially near Damaghan. The matter was remitted to the vizier, Shems ud din, who said it was impossible to stop the ravage by the army, which was necessary to keep up its spirit; "predatory birds preferred to seize their prey rather than to live on regular rations," a sentiment which, Wassaf says, brought the vizier no good, while the State speedily suffered.†

It is reported that Arghun on his retreat towards Bostam made a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Sheikh Abu Yezid, while Ahmed similarly went to the grave of Babi to ask their aid, which, as Von Hammer says, is certainly remarkable in the case of the former, who was not a Mussulman. Ahmed now ordered his brother Hulaju to go to Rai with a tuman of soldiers. He also ordered all the leading officers of the army to subscribe a document stating that they would not obey any other commander but Buka, whom he appointed generalissimo. All signed this, including Alinak.‡ Ahmed's officers tried to persuade him to pardon Arghun's conduct as due to youthful indiscretion, and to end the campaign, for the heat was terrible, and many horses had perished. He would not, however, listen to them, and when Sadr ud din and Arsil ud din, sons of the famous astronomer, Nasir ud din of Tus, declared that the stars were unfavourable, he was angry with them. When the Ilkhan reached Surkh, near Semnan, the Surikkala of Fraser, there went to him from Arghun the latter's famous son Ghazan, with Omar Oghul, son of Nigudar, of the family of Jagatai, together with Nokai, the yarghuji (*i.e.*, the superior judge), and Sishi Bakhshi (*i.e.*, the Secretary of State). Ahmed, in reply to this embassy, dispatched his brother Togha Timur, and his nephew Suke, the third son of Yashmut, son of Khulagu, with the amirs Buka (called Buka Gizbara by Abulfaraj) and Doladai to tell Arghun that if he was sincere he should go to him in person. Buka suggested, in setting out on this mission, that it would be better if the army were meanwhile to halt. Ahmed said he would go as far as Kharkan (called Khojan in the "Shajrat ul Atrak"), where there was good pasture, and there await his return. His men ravaged the country as they marched, especially the

* Wassaf, 245. Ilkhans, i. 348. D'Ohsson, 590-591.
† Ilkhans, i. 351. Wassaf, 246-247. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 351.

Georgians, and plundered in the town and district of Damaghan what the Karaunas had spared. Kharkan was famous as the birth and burial place of the Sheikh Abul Hasan Kharkani. The amir Jirkudai, his brother Yesuder, and Bulughan, the Governor of Shiraz, went there to do homage to Ahmed. The latter did not stop at Kharkan, as he promised, but dispatched Alinak ahead with an advance guard, while he himself went to Kalpush and Kebud Jameh (*i.e.*, Bluecloak), a district of Dahistan, rich in corn, grapes, and silk. He was now joined by the envoys he had sent to Arghun, viz., the Princes Togha Timur and Suke, and the amirs Buka and Doladai, who took Gaikhatu, Arghun's brother, with them. Buka complained that Ahmed had not halted at Kharkan, as he promised. Nuruz and Buraligh, Arghun's envoys, who accompanied them, returned without securing anything. Shortly after the amir Yula Timur and Imkajin, son of Suntai, went to Ahmed with their submission. He grew impatient at the delay in Arghun's submission, displaced Buka by Akbuka, and naturally made the former even more a secret partisan of Arghun.*

Let us now turn to Arghun. With only a hundred followers he repaired to the strong fortress of Kelatkuh, famous in early Persian history and in later times as a treasure place of Nadir Shah. It is situated in a beautiful valley rich in horses and game, between Kazermian, Serkhaz, Abiverd, and Tus. The Georgian history calls it Kala. Here Arghun sought shelter with his favourite wife Bulughan.† Nuruz, a faithful dependent, urged him to cross the Oxus and take shelter with Kubinji, who had his yurt there. On the other hand, another of his officers, Legsi, went over to Ahmed and asked him for an army with which to attack him, and with which he in fact harried the yurt of Arghun's wife, Kutlukh Khatun. He also tried, but in vain, to persuade Nuruz to imitate his example. On reaching Ahmed's camp with his booty he was richly rewarded.‡ Meanwhile Alinak with his troops reached Kelatkuh. Arghun thereupon came out of the fortress alone, and shouted with a loud voice to him. He prostrated himself, and said his uncle wanted to see him. Arghun replied that he also wished to see his uncle. Alinak made him a present of a white horse. They then entered the fortress together and had a long interview, at which the young prince was much pressed to submit. Seeing that there was no other course open, he set out with Alinak, and joined Ahmed at Guchan, or Ghujan, on the 29th of June.§ He was treated with scant civility by his uncle: entered the camp by the entrance on the left side, and was deprived of his girdle, nor was he admitted to an audience for some time, but was exposed to the sun till the perspiration covered his face, until his sister Taghan, who loved him dearly, came out from the royal tent to shade him. Presently his wife Bulughan Khatun was allowed to enter, and Ahmed presented her with a bowl of

* Ilkhans, i. 353. † Wassaf, 247-248. Ilkhans, i. 353-354. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 354.
§ Wassaf, 248. D'Ohsson, iii. 594.

kumiss. He then went out hawking for two hours. When at last Arghun was admitted, he knelt down and did homage in the usual Mongol fashion. Ahmed embraced him, and promised that he should retain the government of Khorasan, as in his father's reign. Nevertheless he had him closely watched by a guard of 4,000 men, commanded by Aruk, the brother of Buka, who surrounded him, says Wassaf, like the circling planets.*

Ahmed now set out to join his new wife, Tudai Khatun, to whom he was much attached, and, according to Wassaf, left orders with Alinak to put Arghun to death when the royal banners had withdrawn.† Rashid says that it was Alinak who urged the Ilkhan to put an end to him at once. He asked what harm he could do with neither army nor treasure, and said he would first ask the advice of his mother, Kutui. Meanwhile he ordered Arghun's amirs, Sishi Bakhshi, Kadan, and Buraligh to be executed.‡ The *Georgian Chronicle* tells us how, on the march home, some bands of Mussulmans attacked and killed several Georgians, whereupon Rat, son of Bega Suramel, pursued and dispersed them ; many of them were killed, and others taken to the Georgian king. The latter was much thanked by Ahmed for his services in Khorasan. Ahmed granted him many honours, and gave him all the Georgian aznaurs, after which, we are told, he went to his kingdom to show his victorious self to his wives. He was accompanied by the Georgian king, while Alinak was left to look after Arghun, with orders to presently put him to death.§ Buka obtained permission to stay behind under pretence of assisting at the marriage of his intimate friend, Kipchak Oghul, a descendant of Juchi Khasar. He had been attached to Arghun's household during the reign of Abaka, and had only left him with regret after considerable pressure from Ahmed, who had treated him with distinction and given him one of Khulagu's robes. He had been displaced, as we have seen, by Karabuka, and had a corresponding grievance. He now persuaded several officers, some of whom were his relatives, that Ahmed, with his confidantes, Hugai, Kara Buka, Alinak, and Abugan, intended to make an end of them near Isferain. "It is necessary to protect ourselves. Ahmed has determined to exterminate the descendants of Jingis Khan. Through the influence of the vizier he favours the Mussulmans. It is in order to destroy the Mongols that he has placed the Georgians under the orders of Alinak, and that he has raised him above the other generals and courtiers." Seduced by these words, the officers in question, as well as the Princes Jushkab and Hulaju, determined to carry out their purpose that very night. Buka invited Karabuka, Biak, and Alinak to a feast. The last of these excused himself from drinking on the ground that the following night his regiment

* Wassaf, 249-250. D'Ohsson, iii. 595-596. † Op. cit., 250.
‡ Ilkhans, i. 355. D'Ohsson, iii. 596. § Op. cit., 600-601.

(Kázik) was to act as Arghun's guard. Jushkab offered to take his place. He accordingly went, and at midnight was dead drunk. Buka, followed by three horsemen, now entered Arghun's quarters, and sent one of them to go quietly and awake him, and announce to him that he had formed a party in his favour, and was there to save him. Arghun was frightened, and thought it part of a plot, but being reassured on his taking the most solemn oaths, he came out of his tent, and Buka bade him mount. On leaving the camp the Mongol sentry asked how it was they were only four when they entered, and were now five. They assured him he was mistaken, and reached Buka's camp safely.* Arghun having put on his armour and mounted, they repaired to Alinak's tent, in which they cut him to pieces, together with the mosquito net with which he was covered. Some of his men seized their bows. Buka cried out to them, "Hitherto we have obeyed Ahmed. We have killed Alinak by order of Hulaju." Whereupon the guards threw down their arms and prostrated themselves.† Messengers were now sent to Hulaju and Bektu, who were at Firuzkuh, bidding them do to Basar Oghul (the Yessar of D'Ohsson) and to Abukian what they had done to Alinak. Basar, or Yessar, was thereupon killed while drunk in his tent with some of his companions. Karabuka, Biak, and Tabui were also arrested on the following morning. Some of these were put to death, while others were released.‡

A horseman, named Mama, meanwhile escaped from the camp and went to warn Ahmed, who was then four parasangs from Isferain. With him were Kinshu, the son of Jumkur, son of Khulagu, and the amirs Ak Buka and Legsi. He had already turned back to punish the rebels when he heard of the fate which had overtaken his officers. There was nothing for it now but a rapid flight. He passed the night at Kalpush with his wife Tudai, and then went by way of Kumus and Irak in order to reach the ordu of his mother, Kutui, near Serab, a town of Azerbaijan, between Tebriz and Irbil. As he retired, his officers and the petty princes who were with him broke away. The "Shajrat ul Atrak" says that at Kazvin he put to death Tilai Timur, one of Arghun's chief amirs, and his sons. The Vizier himself arrived at Jajerem with only one attendant, and went on to Ispahan. "It was a veritable rout," says Wassaf, "in which the confusion and fear were such that gold and silver balishes, vessels ornamented with precious stones, rolls of golden tissue, and Chinese silk were strewn along the roads like stones or leaves, without anyone staying to collect them. The fugitives threw away the pearls and jewels round their necks and in their ears, and went to hide themselves in caverns, &c."§ Sughunjak, with Agharuk Sultan, escorted Ahmed's treasures on camels and other beasts towards Mosellemi, intending to join his master at Serab, but he was attacked *en route* by Taiju Kushji and Kitbuka

* D'Ohsson, iii. 597-599. Ilkhans, i. 356. † D'Ohsson, iii. 599. ‡ *Id.* Ilkhans, i. 356.
§ Wassaf, 255-257. D'Ohsson, iii. 599-601.

(called Kituga Kuruji by D'Ohsson). They secured the treasures, which were detained at Mosellemi.* Buri was sent to order the Karaunas who were at Siah kuh to seize Ahmed, while Jerik, the amir of the ordu of the murdered Prince Konghuratai, was also dispatched with 4,000 men to avenge his late master.†

The princes of the blood, amirs, &c., were met together at Kharkan with Arghun to decide upon a successor to Ahmed. There they were joined by Hulaju and Kinshu. There were three parties. Buka, and, according to the *Georgian Chronicle*, Yas Buka, chief of the Uirads, supported Arghun. His brother Aruk and Kurmishi were in favour of Jushkab, the brother of Kinshu, who, they said, held the great yurt; and Bekta, or Tekia, of Hulaju, who was a son of Khulagu, and who, therefore, according to right, had superior claims to the younger men. Buka said that the Khakan, who was the master of the earth and also the aka of the house of Jingis, had given the sovereignty of Iran to Abaka on his father's death, and that it now ought to belong to his son; and when Bekta interfered he drew his sword, and swore that so long as he bore it no one should be ruler but Arghun. He then turned to Tenguiz, or Tengir Kurkan, the husband of the Princess Tudukash, the fourth daughter of Khulagu, and the father of Arghun's wife, Kutluk Shah, and asked him what Abaka's own intentions had been. "I and Singtur," he replied, "heard him say that he left the throne to his brother Mangu Timur, and afterwards to Arghun." "You have invented these words," said Bekta; "where did you hear them spoken?" Arghun said he did not want the throne, and would be content with the government of Khorasan. Buka then interposed with the sage remark that their enemy was yet at large, and that when he had been captured they should meet in the yurt of Oljai Khatun and the other princesses to elect a new khan. All agreed to this, and Arghun and Buka set out on the 11th of July with the advance guard, while the other princes followed with three divisions.‡

Meanwhile Ahmed, having reached Sheruyaz, called Kunkur Olang by the Mongols, pillaged the ordu of Buka, and would have put his family to death but for the interference of Sughunjak. He reached his camp on the 18th of July, and having embraced his mother and told her what had happened, proposed escaping towards Derbend; Kutui advised him to stay in her ordu, and to try and secure the support of the generals there. But the news of his ill luck had already spread. Karabuka and Singtur having gone to do him homage, asked him why he had returned in this haste, without escort. He said that, having secured Arghun, he had returned to arrange about provisioning the army. Naitan, or Natian, who was seated outside the tent, having heard this, said in a loud voice, "It is not so; ten princes of the blood and sixty superior officers have

* D'Ohsson, iii. 601. † Ilkhans, i. 357. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 601-603. Ilkhans, i. 357.

leagued themselves with Arghun, while Ahmed has come here as a fugitive. The good of the State and the public peace demand that he should be arrested." The two generals thereupon placed a guard over his tent. Singtur committed his custody to the Princess Kutui, who appointed 300 men to guard him.* We have seen that the Karaunas had been ordered by Buka to fall upon Kutui's ordu, where Ahmed now was. They arrived under Bureh, entered the tents of the princesses, and robbed them of their clothes and jewels. Everything in the royal camp—clothes and furniture, gold, silver, &c.—became their prey. They took the jewels from the neck and ears of Kutui herself, and dragged the boots from her feet, and she was left naked with the princesses Tudai and Ermeni Khatun. It was against the yasa of the Mongols to thus illuse women and children, but the Karaunas (Mongolian demons, as Wassaf calls them) were not subject to such scruples. They ended by seizing Ahmed, stripped him of his robes, and guarded him in his tent.

Meanwhile, Arghun himself, fearing that his victim might escape if he waited till his horses were in condition and his men all with him, set out with but 300 horsemen. When he arrived near Mosellemin he was met by Karabuka and Singtur at the head of the Karaunas, who had Ahmed with them. It was the fashion with the Mongols, when engaged in archery, that the one who won stretched out or clapped his hands, and shouted "Morio." When Arghun saw Ahmed bound he cried out "Morio," and his officers followed his example, and they celebrated their good fortune beaker in hand, and congratulated Arghun.† Arghun having crossed the River Moor on the 26th of July, reached Abshur, near Yuz Agach, on the Sunday following. His adherents, the generals Toghachar, Kunjukan, and Doladai, who had been imprisoned at Tebriz, were now released, and some of the officers of the late Prince Konghuratai, with Bektu, were told off to act as Ahmed's judges. They charged him with ingratitude towards those who had raised him to the throne, and with ill-treating Konghuratai and Arghun. He confessed his guilt. Arghun and the amirs wished to spare his life on account of his mother, Kutui Khatun, who was much respected; but as the mother and six sons of Konghuratai demanded the blood penalty, and as Yesubuka Kurkan, the husband of Kutulun, Khulagu's sixth daughter, reported that the two princes Hulaju and Jushkab were collecting an army at Hamadan, Arghun gave orders for his execution, and he was put to death in the same way that Konghuratai had been, viz., by having his back broken. This, according to Rashid, was on the 10th of August, 1284. Abulfaraj says the 16th.‡ The "Shajrat ul Atrak" says they broke his back, and at the same time the hearts of the people of Islam. Marco Polo, in relating the

* Wassaf, 258-259. D'Ohsson, iii. 603-604.
† Wassaf, 260. D'Ohsson, iii. 605-606. Ilkhans, i. 358. ‡ Weil, iv. 145. Note.

downfall of Ahmed, speaks of Arghun's chief supporters as Boga (*i.e.*, Buka), Elchidai, Togan, Tegana, Tagachar, Ulatai, and Samagar. He also says that Acomat (*i.e.*, Ahmed), when he fled, was trying to escape, to take shelter with the Sultan of Babylon (*i.e.*, of Egypt), attended by a small escort, and that he was arrested and taken to the Court by an officer in charge of a pass by which he had to go.* He was buried at Kara Kapchilghai. Wassaf says that it was Arghun who incited Timur and Ilduz, or Ildir, to demand the death of Ahmed.† There can be small doubt that Ahmed's death, which was a remarkable event when we consider the constancy and loyalty of the Mongols to their princes, was mainly due to his patronage of Muhammedanism, which set against him the conservative feeling, both political and religious, of the Mongol chieftains, and also to his injudicious behaviour.

We must now revert somewhat, to relate some other events that occurred during his reign. The year before his death he sent a second embassy to Egypt, which was presided over by the Sheikh Abd ur Rahman, his tutor, who had persuaded him to become a Mussulman. The envoy took with him as presents, precious stones and pearls, rich stuffs, and gold tissues. Leaving Alatagh, he went to Tebriz, where he stayed a month, and enlisted a number of skilled artisans (goldsmiths, shoemakers, &c.), and prepared right royal surroundings for himself. Thence he reached Mosul, and having sent for a large quantity of gold from Baghdad, went to Mardin. There he was met by a messenger from the Egyptian Sultan, bidding him hasten on to Damascus, where he had been awaiting him for some time, and whence he must speedily set out homewards, as the district could not maintain such a large army. Abd ur Rahman, in reply, said he was ready to go, but he asked that he might be treated in a becoming manner, and not have to travel in the night, as the preceding envoys had had to do. The Sultan sent him an assurance that this would be so, and he accordingly set out in January, 1284, with the Mongol general Samdagu, and with Shems ud din Muhammed, vizier of the Prince of Mardin.‡ He marched with a suite of about fifty persons, including secretaries, doctors of the law, &c., lawyers, guards, servants, and slaves, and was escorted by a detachment of Mongols, while the Prince of Mardin also joined him with his troops, to see him safely to the Euphrates.§ When he reached Harran, he was met by an Egyptian amir, named Jemal ud din Akush Faresi. He expected that the latter would have dismounted and kissed his hand, but he contented himself with saluting him from a distance. He also demanded that the Sheikh should send back his Mongol escort, which he accordingly did. He had also to lay aside the State umbrella which he

* Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 470-471.
† Wassaf, 260-261. Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 600-602. D'Ohsson, iii. 606-607. Ilkhans, i. 358-359.
‡ Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 596-597. D'Ohsson, iii. 608-609. § D'Ohsson, iii. 609.

carried, and also his arms, nor was he permitted to advance by the ordinary route. When he reached the Euphrates the troops of Mardin wished to return home, but were told that the Sultan wished to see them at Aleppo, and they accordingly crossed the river. When they had encamped on the other bank the Sheikh retired to rest after his evening meal, but was awakened in an hour. The Amir was already on horseback, and said they must set out at once, and when the envoy said he should not start till morning he was told that the orders were that he was not to be allowed to travel except by night. "You may kill me," said the Sheikh, "but you will not make me travel by night." "We shall not kill you," was the unmistakable reply, "but we shall compel you to do our way." The Sheikh, indisposed to making a scene, consented to go. The Amir had ordered his men not to exchange words with the strangers. These indignities prove the intolerant arrogance of the Egyptian authorities at this period, and also show the dread which the Mongols everywhere inspired. The envoy entered Aleppo on the night of the 7th January, 1284, so secretly that no one knew of his arrival. The Mardinians were there rewarded with 200 zuzæ each, and sent home. The travellers, again travelling by night and by unfrequented routes, reached Damascus on the 2nd of March, and were lodged in the Hall of Ridwan. Orders were again given not to speak to the strangers; they were to be listened to, but not answered. One thousand silver pieces were assigned daily for Abdur Rahman's needs, and a similar sum to buy meat, sweets, and fruits for his table.* At Damascus he had to await the return of the Sultan Kelavun, who left Cairo on the 17th of July, and learnt at Gaza of the death of Ahmed. On reaching Damascus, on the 20th of August, he at once gave him an audience. This was also at night, in the presence of 1,500 Mamluks, dressed in red embroidered atlas (*i.e.*, satin), with turbans made of golden tissue, and with golden girdles, each bearing a torch. The Sheikh presented himself, with the Mongol amir Samdagu, and with Shems ud din Muhammed, son of Sherif ud din Beiti, surnamed Ibn-alsahib, vizier of Mardin.† The Sheikh was dressed as a fakir. He was ordered to prostrate himself, and on his refusal was rudely thrust down. He made several prostrations, while the Sultan took no notice of him. He nevertheless received Ahmed's letter from his hands, and ordered the three envoys to be given kaftans. Ahmed's letter was dated from Tebriz, in June, 1283. It was written in Arabic, and merely contained a number of friendly phrases. Among the presents offered by the Sheikh were sixty strings of large pearls, a piece of yellow yakut (*i.e.*, topaz) weighing more than 200 mithkals, a red yakut (a ruby), and a piece of balkhash (*i.e.*, the precious ruby of Badakhshan) weighing 22 dirhems. The envoys having delivered their message were sent to their quarters.‡

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 596-598. Makrizi, ii. 64-65. D'Ohsson, iii. 609-612.
† Makrizi, ii. 69-71. ‡ *Ib.*, ii. 69-72. D'Ohsson, iii. 612-614.

While Ahmed and Kelavun were carrying on this diplomatic intercou rse, the latter did not scruple to commit acts of aggression on his neighbour He sent a body of men from the fortress of Karkar to lay siege to Katiba, one of the fortresses of the province of Amid. It was blockaded until the garrison surrendered it, and was then garrisoned with troops from Biret, Aintab, and Revandant, and became, says Makrizi, one of the strongest bulwarks of Islam. The Egyptians also this year secured the fortress of Kakhta. Its governor was put to death by the citizens, who then gave the place up freely. It formed a capital base in the Egyptian operations against the Armenians in Cilicia, who, when at Aleppo, two years before, had burnt the great mosque there. To avenge this, Kelavun now ordered his troops to invade Cilicia. They advanced as far as Ayas, plundering, and having defeated a body of the enemy near the defile of Izkanderun, arrived at home again safely with their booty.*

The Armenian historian, Haithon, in describing the struggle between Arghun and his uncle, tells us that the conversion of Ahmed to Muhammedanism, and his efforts to convert the Mongols, were reported to the Khakan Khubilai, who was much irritated by the news, and sent to reprove him; that he in turn was annoyed at the rebuke, and although he dared not oppose himself to the Khakan, he proceeded against his own brother (*i.e.*, Konghuratai) and nephew (*i.e.*, Arghun).†

Ahmed had several wives. The first of these was Dokuz Khatun, the Konkurat. The second one was also of the same tribe, and was called Ermeni. The third one was Tudakun Khatun, the daughter of Musa Kurkan. The fourth, Baitegin, the daughter of Huseinaga. The fifth, Ilkotlogh, the daughter of Shadi Noyan; she was the mother of Tughanjik, who, being suspected of magic, was drowned in the River Kur. The sixth was Tudai Khatun. By these wives Ahmed had three sons—Kaplanshi, Arslanshi, and Nukajiyeh—and six daughters.‡

Mr. S. Poole only describes one coin of Ahmed's as being in the British Museum. This was struck at Mosul. The date is obliterated. It bears a curious type, which is also represented on one of Abaka's coins from the same mint, viz., a figure seated cross-legged, holding the crescent moon in its uplifted hands.§

Note 1.—Sultan Ahmed's name before he became a Mussulman is written in several ways by the authorities, the confusion caused by misplacing the diacritic points being the main cause. Hence several Persian writers have called him Nikudar. His name, as we learn from Rashid ud din and Abulfaraj, was really Takudar, and it is possible that the great-grandson of Jagatai, who accompanied Khulagu to Persia, was also called Takudar, and not, as he is

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* Makrizi, ii. 61-63. D'Ohsson, iii. 615-616 † Op. cit., 57. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 325-326.
§ Catalogue Oriental Coins, Brit. Mus., vol. vi. 24.

generally styled, Nikudar, or Nigudar. The Georgian annalist calls the Ilkhan whom we have been discussing, Thaguthar. Wakhusht calls him Thenguthar.

Note 2.—The Egyptian historians have a curious story about the pilgrimage of a Georgian king to Jerusalem at this time, which is not referred to in the native annals. Novairi, Abulmahasen and the *soi disant* Hasan ibn Ibrahim report the fact under the year 1272, in the reign of Bibars. Makrizi puts it in the reign of Kelavun, as does the biographer of the latter Sultan. He is variously called Buba suta, Tauta sutena, and Tuma suta, and is said to have been the son of Gulbaz, or, as it is otherwise written, of Kiliari. We are told he was one of the most faithful allies of the Tartars. He had an old wound, caused by an arrow, on his neck, wore a golden ring on his right hand, and was about forty years old; was pale in colour, with black eyes and a narrow forehead. Quatremere reads the name of his kingdom as Chavaketi. Brosset reads the name of his companion Thamgha, son of Abgar; Quatremere, as Tibaga son of Ankavar; and we are told he had a round face, a cicatrice over his right and left eyes, a long beard of a russet colour, and a tall and stout body. His interpreter was a prince of Abkhazia. Some writers say he went overland to Sis, and thence set sail for Acre or Ptolemais. Another story is that he sailed from Poti. When the Sultan heard of his travelling *incognito*, he gave orders that his steps were to be watched. He was arrested while *en route* by Bedr ud din, Governor of Jerusalem, who handed him over to the amir Rokn ud din Mankuris, who took him to Bibars at Damascus, and he was eventually imprisoned in the Castle of the Mountain.*

* Makrizi, ii. 56. Notes. Hist. de la Géorgie, 596, and notes.

CHAPTER VI.

ARGHUN KHAN.

ARGHUN was the eldest son of Abaka by one of his concubines named Kaimish Igaji (the latter being the title given by the Mongols to the concubines of their princes, and meaning elder sister). Immediately on Ahmed's death, on the 22nd of June, 1284, the khatuns Oljai and Takteni, the amirs Buka, Singtur, and Toghachar, &c., having met together at Abshur, near Yuz Agach (called Kamsiun, between Hesht er Rud* and Kurban Shira, by Wassaf) unanimously elected Arghun as his successor. The festivities which took place on this occasion are described by Wassaf in more than his usually inflated sentences, and with less than his usual modicum of tangible fact. He tells us that news of the event was dispatched in various directions, from the sources of the Oxus to the borders of Egypt. The princes Hulaju, Jushkab, Kinshu, Baidu Oghul, and Gaikhatu had not arrived when this election took place, nor was Shems ud din, the vizier, whom Arghun cordially hated, present. A gracious message was, however, sent to him, and he sent a reply by Yusufshah, of Lur, and Malik Imad ud din Kasvini. Hulaju was the son of Kumukur, second daughter of Khulagu, and was the agha or senior prince of the royal family, and as such entitled to succeed, and a party was favourable to him. Arghun sent him a present of a rich tent, with a message telling him how he had been chosen by the princesses, &c., to mount his father's throne, and offering to share that throne with him. Hulaju had no wish to do this, and joined Arghun, who, with the other members of the kuriltai, adjourned to Kurban Shira (Rashid ud din says to the yurt Suktu), where Gaikhatu had also arrived. The final ceremony of installation was completed on the 11th of August, 1284, Hulaju taking Arghun by the right hand, and Anbarji by the left, and seating him on the throne, while the various grandees prostrated themselves before him, putting their girdles about their necks, like slaves ready to be strangled for their lord, holding their caps in the air, and drinking his health.† Three days later there arrived the princes Kinshu and Jushkab, sons of Jumkur, son of Khulagu, who had supported Hulaju for the khanship, and also proffered their allegiance. Abukian, son of Shiramun son of the famous general Charmaghan who was yarghuji,

* The Hesht Rud rises in the mountains of Ojan, north of Meragha.
† Wassaf, 262-266. D'Ohsson, iv. 2-3. Ilkhans, i. 357.

or chief judge, was put to death, as one of Ahmed's most intimate advisers. The rest of Ahmed's supporters were each granted a yarligh of indemnity. Wassaf makes no exception, and says that Bukia, Tinai, Abkian, son of Shiramun, and Hulaju, the baskak of Tebriz, all received this favour.* Baidu, son of Targai, son of Khulagu, was made governor of Baghdad; Jushkab, of Diarbekr; Hulaju and Gaikhatu, of Rum; Ajai, eighth son of Khulagu, of Georgia; while Arghun's own son Ghazan was given Khorasan, Mazanderan, Rai, and Kumus, the Prince Kinshu and Nuruz, son of the famous Arghun Aka, being nominated his assistants. On the 18th September, Arghun appointed his faithful friend Buka vizier, and ordered as much gold to be poured over his head as would entirely cover him.†

Arghun's accession was naturally very grateful to the Christians, and we are told how the Georgian king, Dimitri, was especially favoured by him; and by the influence of Buka, who was his friend, he was given authority over all the land of the Armenians, including the principality of Avak, that of Shahan Shah, with those of the families of Vahram and of Sadun, the last of whom had died in 1282. Arghun also favoured Dimitri's right-hand man, the atabeg of Armenia, Darsaij.‡ The "History of Georgia" adds that Dimitri sent his young son David to take possession of the country of Avak, and to hold it as an appanage.§ Ghiath ud din, the Sultan of Rum, had been deposed by Ahmed, who had appointed Masud, son of Iz ud din Kai Kavus, in his place, and sent Ghiath ud din to Erzenjan. There he was strangled by order of Arghun, for having been privy to the death of Konghuratai.|| Hamdullah says he was put to death by Ahmed, for being implicated in Konghuratai's rebellion. Abulfaraj says he was poisoned there by his grandees on account of his prodigality and ill-government.¶ Abulfeda and Makrizi agree that this was in the year 1283. Hamdullah says that the affairs of Rum at this time were much disturbed, and that the children of Muhammed and Tughrul Shah seized on the coast of Anlakiah (?), Alasah, and Ladakiah by force, and took Basara saraf, a neighbouring province to Sis, from the Mongols. To put this down, the princes Gaikhatu and Hulaju were sent to Rum, and the viziership was conferred upon Fakhr ud din Muhammed, otherwise called the Khoja Fakhr ud din Mestofi, who by his goodness and wise measures compelled some of these people to submit, and destroyed others, and made the kingdom of Rum the cynosure of realms. Presently Fakhr ud din visited the ordu, and showed Arghun an elaborate calculation, in which the various expenses of the empire were tabulated under several heads, as the treasury, the camp, &c. This aroused the jealousy of Arghun's Jewish vizier, Said ud Daulat, who, when

* Wassaf, 267. Ilkhans, i. 359. † D'Ohsson, iv. 4. Ilkhans, i. 359.
‡ Hist. de la Siounie, 238. St. Martin Memoires, &c., ii. 163-165.
§ Op. cit., i. 602. || D'Ohsson, iv. 203-204. ¶ Chron Syr., 604.

Arghun was drunk, got his permission to execute him, and he was accordingly executed on the first of Ramazan, 689.

To revert, however. Abulfaraj tells us that on the accession of Arghun fear fell upon everybody, and there was a general rush from Syria towards Egypt, and the price of a camel for the transport rose accordingly. Arghun re-appointed the Uighur Masud, whose former administration we have described,* governor of Mosul.† This was greatly to the delight of the Christians. His friend Yashmut had been assassinated a short time before by the sons of Jelal ud din Turan, whose death he had brought about. Abulfaraj tells us that when the Egyptian Sultan heard of Ahmed Khan's death, and the accession of his successor, he released Abd ur Rahman, the former's envoy, who had been imprisoned at Damascus, gave him a pension, and assigned him a residence.‡

Makrizi says the envoys were thrice summoned to his presence by the Sultan, who, having abstracted from them the information he needed, told them their master Ahmed was dead. They were conducted to less stately rooms in the citadel, and their rations were reduced to mere necessities. They were then ordered to disgorge. The Sheikh did not long enjoy his liberty, for he was presently sent to the fortress of Saphda, at Damascus, and detained there. It is curiously like modern journalism, and its great autumn gooseberry, to find Abulfaraj digressing at this point to tell us how a pigeon at Bertellus laid an egg as big as that of a goose, and another which was long and crooked like a cucumber.§ Makrizi goes on to say that Abd ur Rahman was forced to surrender the treasures he had with him belonging to the Ilkhan, including a great quantity of gold, pearls, &c., *inter alia*, being a necklace of pearls belonging to himself, worth 100,000 dirhems. He and his companions were put in prison, where he died on the 18th Ramazan. His companions were presently released, except the Amir Shems ud din Muhammed, who was sent to Egypt, and imprisoned in the so-called Castle of the Mountain.‖

The new *régime* at the Ilkhan's Court was naturally fraught with danger for the late vizier, Shems ud din, who had called down upon himself Arghun's resentment in many ways, and he at once took flight from Jajerem, where he was living. Mounted on a dromedary, and with but two companions, he hastened across the desert to Ispahan. News of what had happened had not yet reached there, and the maliks (the governors of provinces were so styled under the Ilkhans), amirs, kadhis, and a crowd of people of all ranks went out of the town with presents to meet the vizier. So says Wassaf. Von Hammer, apparently quoting Rashid ud din, says that having heard of the revolution which had taken place, they consulted with the Atabeg of Yezd, who had been arrested by

* Ante, 270. † Chron. Syr., 601. ‡ *Id.*, 604. § *Id.*, 605-606.
‖ Op. cit., ii. (part i.) 72.

the governor of Ispahan during Ahmed's reign, as a supporter of Arghun, as to what should be done. Shems ud din, informed of this, under pretence of going to pay a visit to a burying place outside the town, fled on a swift horse towards Kum, to the famous sacred tomb of the sister of the Imaum Riza, which for a thousand years has been a place of asylum for those who entered its walls. Its sacred character was respected by the Mongols, no less than by the princes of the Seljuki and Buyid families. Chardin described its magnificence in detail, and it is still famous for its silver lattice-work and gold-plated doors, and its treasury, whose riches chiefly date from the time of the Safevi dynasty, but were much augmented by the gifts of Feth Ali Shah, who, *inter alia*, dedicated there a head-dress of his mother's, as Crœsus did his wife's necklace and girdle at Delphi. Morier says the town is now famous for three things: the gilt cupola over the tomb, the market-place, and also for its ruins. Its old walls had a circuit of 40,000 ells, *i.e.*, 40 ells more than those of Kazvin. Kum gave its name to rich silk stuffs, called kumash, which still bear that name. It is famous for its high cypresses and its blue drinking mugs.

At Kum Shems ud din was joined by his friends, who advised him to go to Hormuz, on the Persian Gulf, and thence take ship for India,* but he thought it would be wrong to abandon his family and supporters to Mongol vengeance, and preferred to go to Arghun's Court, hoping to secure the good offices of his old friend Buka.† He therefore delayed a few days, and was then apparently joined by Imad ud din, of Kazvin, and Yusuf Shah, the Atabeg of the Greater Luristan, who had been sent by the Ilkhan. Yusuf Shah had been forced to join Ahmed in his campaign against Arghun. Now that the latter was on the throne the Lurs had left Khorasan, and turned their faces homewards by way of Tabs, but the greater part of them perished of thirst on the way.‡ Yusuf had married a daughter of Shems ud din, and he took his father-in-law with him. When near Sava they were met by the amir Khumar, who brought the Vizier word that the past was forgotten, and that he was restored to favour. He at once sent word round to inform the various chiefs of Irak of the welcome news. He reached Kurban Shira, where Arghun was, on the 21st of September, and repaired to Buka, with whom he was formerly on friendly terms. The meeting was full of superficial good feeling, but this was feigned on both sides. Buka presented him to Arghun, who received him coldly, but restored him to his former post as Vizier. He now held it, however, jointly with Buka. Shems ud din confessed that he only wished to be the latter's substitute; but inasmuch as presents and gratitude poured continuously upon the elder occupant of the office, Buka's jealousy was aroused.§ This was further fanned by some of the Court officials whose enmity he had secured, viz., Ali Tamghaji, Fakhr ud din

* Wassaf, 265-266. Ilkhans, i. 362. D'Ohsson, iv. 4-5. † Wassaf, 267-268.
‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 5. Ilkhans, i. 363. § Ilkhans, i. 364. D'Ohsson, iv. 5-6.

Mestofi, and Ḥosam ud din Hajib, who urged that he would be speedily eclipsed by Shems ud din, who would not be quiet until he had thrust him into the shade, as he had Arghun Aka. Buka now urged upon his master that the Vizier had been unfaithful to his father and would be the same to him, and being already irritated against him for various reasons, he gave orders that he was to be tried by the two amirs Kadagai and Ogotai. He had already been ordered to find the 200,000 gold pieces which he had been declared to be deficient, and had replied that he had no ready money, since he had not been accustomed to bury it like some people, but had bought properties with it which brought him in 1,000 dinars a day.*

Abulfaraj tells us that when the Vizier said he could not find the sum demanded, unless he were restored to his former income, he was bidden to borrow it. He thereupon borrowed what he could among his friends and servants, but could not get together more than 40,000 gold pieces, and said if they were not satisfied, they must put him to death.† When he had been manacled he was subjected to the jeers of the Turks and Persians, but stoutly affirmed his innocence. He was bastinadoed, but without effect, and was therefore conducted, on the 10th of October, to the place appointed for his execution, viz., Munia, near Ebher, north of Kazvin. Having obtained a few minutes' surcease, he performed the prescribed ablutions, and opened the Koran he had with him at haphazard, looking for an omen, and then sat down and wrote to the heads of his faith at Tebriz: "Having consulted the Koran, I have found this passage, 'Truly those who have said, "God is our master," and who have afterwards been constant to the faith, will see angels descend upon them. Therefore have no fear. Do not regret, but, on the contrary, rejoice in the paradise into which you are about to enter.' God, who has greatly favoured his servant and granted him all his wishes, has come to introduce him to life eternal. I deem it right, therefore, to inform the mulanas Mohai ud din, Afdhal ud din, Shems ud din, and Humam ud din, and the other great sheikhs whom this is neither the place nor time to mention more particularly, that I am about to quit this world, and wish them to aid me with their prayers. Let them look to my sons, whom I make over to God as a pledge; for God does not forget his pledges. I had hoped to see them again, and help them with my counsel." As this was not to be, he commended them to their care (*i.e.*, of the mulanas), bidding them protect them, and see that they needed for nothing; that they led good lives, and did not forget what God had done for them. If his son the Atabeg, and his mother Khoshek wished to return home, they were to be allowed to do so. His two sons Nuruz and Masud, with their mother, were to remain with the Princess Bulughan, and were to

* D'Ohsson, iv. 7-8. † Chron. Syr., 603.

stand at either end of his tomb. They were to support the eating-house and cloister of the Sheikh Fakhr ud din, and to repair thither. Ferrukh and his mother were to attend on Atabeg. Sekeria was to work in the Ilkhan's service. In regard to the rest of his property, he left it to the amir Buka. If he chose to return some of it, well and good; if not, he would still be satisfied. "May God grant his pity and his blessing. I now resign my life into the hands of God, who will not forget me. If the Almighty gives anything to my sons, may they take it and be content. Whatever happens to the great harem at Tebriz, this is my wish: May he be happy who seeks the right path."* When he had finished writing the Vizier said, "What comes from thee, O Lord, is right, be it weal or woe." He was seized by the hands and feet by his executioners, raised up and struck against the ground three times. He was then trodden under foot till he was dead, after which he was castrated, and his head was decapitated. This was on the 16th of October, 1284.

"Such was the end," says Abulfaraj, "of this most powerful man, who supported on his finger the whole Mongol world. He was a prudent man, and endowed with natural capacity, and well cultivated and polished."† This is remarkable testimony from a Christian, and it is not strange, therefore, that the Muhammedan writers should speak in hyperbolic terms of his memory. He had been a very powerful factor in the Mongol polity for thirty years, and with his brother and other relatives had done much to restore prosperity after the desolating wars of Khulagu. He was, nevertheless, a vindictive, crafty, and not very scrupulous person, and the misfortune which eventually overtook him he had not hesitated to bring upon his rivals. One of the contemporary poets said of his death—

> On the departure of Shems (the sun) from the heavens it rained blood;
> The moon scarred her sweet face, and Venus tore her hair.
> Night clothed herself in mourning for him,
> And the morning sighed deeply and tore her veil.‡

His death was followed by the ruin of his family. Buka sent the amir Ali Tamghaji to Tebriz to seize his son Yahia, and he was put to death there. His other sons, Ferrukhshah, Masud, and Atabeg were some time after also put to death. Yusuf Shah, Prince of Luristan, the Vizier's son-in-law, died on his way back to Luristan. He left two sons, Afrasiab and Ahmed, of whom the former was given his father's state of the Greater Luristan, while the latter remained with Arghun as a hostage. Shems ud din and his sons were buried at the burying-place of Cherendab at Tebriz, where his brother, Alai ud din, already reposed.§ With the death of the Vizier, Abulfaraj closes his Arabic chronicle.

During the year 1285 we read how a body of Syrian, Kurdish, Turkish,

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* Ilkhans, i. 366-367. Wassaf, 269-271.
† Op. cit., Chron. Syr., 603-604. D'Ohsson, iv. 9-10. ‡ Shajrat ul Atrak, 261.
§ Wassaf, 273. Ilkhans, i. 367.

and Bedouin vagabonds, 600 in number, made a raid upon the district of Irbil, and killed many Christians in the towns of Emkabad, Surhegan, &c. Behai ud din, a Kurdish amir at Irbil, went out against them and was defeated, and they carried off a great booty and many women. Other plunderers made another attack on the province of Turabden, and killed many people at Kalesht, Beth Mana, and Beth Sebrina, and carried off many captives from Beth Resha. In 1286 another band of Kurds, Turkomans, and Arabs, 10,000 strong, with whom were 300 Mamluks, attacked Mosul and its neighbourhood. Masud went out against them, but finding himself quite outnumbered he withdrew again, crossed the Tigris, and sought refuge in the monastery of Mar Matthew. They entered the town, and were regaled there by the Arabs (*i.e.*, the Mussulmans) with rich meats and cooling drinks, in the hope that they would wreak their vengeance on the Christians. They proceeded to plunder and ravish at their will, and carried off many prisoners, both male and female, and including both Mussulmans and Christians.* This shows the confused condition of affairs while the Mongol sceptre was in uncertain hands.

After Shems ud din's death, Arghun went to his palace of Mansuria in Arran, where, on the 23rd of September, 1284, he was joined by Pulad Ching Sang, whom he had sent to the Khakan Khubilai. A kuriltai was held between Serah, Irbil, and Sain, and nine days later (*i.e.*, on the 2nd of October) he returned to Tebriz, and thence again went to his winter quarters in Arran, where a solemn assembly was held for the trial of the Princess Abish, the widow of Mangu Timur, in whose name, as we have seen,† as the heiress of the Salghurid family, Fars had been governed by the Mongols for many years. After her marriage with Mangu Timur, she had lived at the Ilkhan's Court, and the country was really under the control of the Mongol baskaks, or governors. During Ahmed's reign this post had been filled by the Noyan Toghachar, who had command of 10,000 men, and who sided with Arghun in the latter's quarrel with his uncle.‡ He was succeeded by Bulughan, or Bulghuran, whose rule was very unsatisfactory, and he was accordingly displaced in favour of Tashmenku. Bulughan was not disposed to give up his post without a struggle. He put to death Hosam ud din, son of Muhammed Ali of Lur, an employé in the office of Crown demesnes, whom Tashmenku had sent as his forerunner, but when the latter called in the aid of the Atabeg of Luristan Bulughan seized what there was in the treasury and fled to Khorasan with his agents, Kawam ud din and Seif ud din. Tashmenku busied himself in administering the province, but was deposed in the course of a year for heading the orders issued in Ahmed's name with the formula, "Ahmedaga," which was contrary to all the rules of the Mongol

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 606-608. † Ante, 204. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 344.

chancellary. On his deposition the Princess Abish was herself appointed governor, a position she owed to the influence of Oljai, the mother of Mangu Timur, who had much influence at the Court. There was great rejoicing in Fars at the news of her return. As her substitute, or deputy, she nominated her relative, Jelal ud din Arkan, the son of Malik Khan, son of Muhammed, son of Zengi, while she appointed the Khoja Nisam ud din Abubekr, who had an old feud with the chief judge, Imad ud din, to be vizier.* Nisam ud din, who was a clever financier, proposed to the princess to acquire, through a diploma of the Ilkan, power to redeem such of the property of her family as was in strangers' hands. Ahmed granted this diploma thoughtlessly. Nisam ud din, however, speedily confused the princess's property with that of the Crown demesnes and that belonging to private people, and treated the people of Shiraz, both the crowd and aristocracy, as if they were slaves. The beginning of the administration of Abish and her finance minister fell in the latter part of Ahmed's reign. On the accession of Arghun, Buka's *protégé*, the Seyid Imad ud din, repaired to the Court to lay before it the true condition of affairs in regard to the treasury at Fars, and through the influence of Buka he obtained a diploma constituting him sole administrator of Shiraz, both sea and land (*i.e.*, including the islands in the Persian Gulf), with very large powers, his diploma being sealed with a lion's and a cat's head.

Meanwhile the two employés of Bulughan who had fled with him to Khorasan, as I have described, viz., Kawam ud din of Bukhara and Seif ud din Yusuf, had returned to Fars and been intrusted by the Princess with the management of the finances. They aroused her hatred against the Seyid before his arrival, and as he began his work by hanging one of her bailiffs to a tree, and summoning her to the Ilkhan's presence, her anger was still further inflamed. As soon as the Seyid reached Shiraz he erected himself a royal throne. Eight days later there commenced the east of Bairam, at which the Princess did not appear as usual. Presently there came news that the Nigudars were threatening an invasion, and that it would be prudent for her to take shelter in the Castle Istakhr. This she declined, as she was afraid he wished to imprison her. One evening after this the Seyid repaired to her house with a great following. On the road he was met by a party of Mamluks belonging to her household. A struggle ensued, in which the leader of his own men, on whom he had heaped his favours, and who was called Zeraj ud din Fazli of Lur, and was doubtless a Kurd, struck him the first blow. He was killed, his head was cut off, and his house was plundered.† His death was followed by that of his cousin, the Seyid Jemal ud din Muhammed, whom the Mamluks murdered in the night, and then spread the report that he had fled to Kerker. The pestilence and famine which visited

* Ilkhans, i. 368-369. † *Id.*, 371-372.

Shiraz shortly after, and in which over 100,000 people are said to have died, was deemed a punishment from heaven for this double crime, for the Seyids were a sacred family.

The Seyid's son, who was a minor, now repaired with his complaint to his father's protector, Buka.* Buka called the Ilkhan's attention to these occurrences, and he accordingly summoned the Princess, with the opponents of the Seyid, to the Court, and also sent word to Oljai, by whose influence Abish had been made governor of Fars. They loaded the messengers with presents, but did not obey the summons. Doladai Yarghuji, Jiyurghutai, and Hosam ud din were commissioned to inquire into the whole affair. Kotan Ataji was sent to bring her by force, while her finance officers were imprisoned. She arrived at Arghun's Court at night, and was conducted by Buka's major-domo to one of his master's tents. It was contrary to Mongol custom for a princess thus to enter the tent of a karaju, or subject, and the unfortunate major-domo was ordered to be bastinadoed for his pains. Oljai made excuses for her *protégé*, laying the blame for what had happened on her relative, Jelal ud din Arkan. The three head men of her treasury, Kawam ud din, Seif ud din, and Shems ud din, each received seventy-two strokes on the soles of his feet. Imad ud din's Mamluks, who had been treacherous to her, were unsparingly punished. Jelal ud din justified himself at the cost of the Princess. She and her relatives were ordered to pay fifteen gold tumans as a fine, together with twenty tumans to the orphans of the murdered Seyids. The Princess outlived these events but two years. On her death, prayers, readings of the Koran, and distributions of alms took place in the mosques at Shiraz. According to her will, her private estate was divided into four portions, of which two fell to her daughters, the Princesses Gurdujan and Algharji, another to her Mamluks and freedmen, and the fourth to Taiju, the son of Mangu Timur, to whom she also left 10,000 gold pieces. With her the famous dynasty of the Salghurs came to an end. Fars lost even the semblance of independence, and was incorporated with the Mongol empire.†

We will now return to the more immediate affairs of the Ilkhan. On the 24th of February, 1286 (Quatremere says on the 25th of June), the general Ordu Kia, who had been sent by Arghun to the Khakan Khubilai with the news of his elevation, returned with the title of Khan for Arghun, and that of Chingsang for Buka. The *fêtes* and rejoicings of the installation were accordingly renewed. Ten days later a body of 16,000 men were sent against the Kurdish tribe Hakari, under the Amir Masuk Kushji (*i.e.*, the fowler) and Nurinaga the Jelair. A month later the Princess Bulughan died on the banks of the Kur, and her remains were taken to the mountain Sejas. On the 20th of April

* Ilkhans, i. 372-373. † *Id.*, 372-374.

Arghun went to Tebriz, where he was handsomely entertained by Buka, and afterwards went to Sughurlak by way of Meragha. There he was met by Aruk, Buka's brother, with the bitekjis, or Mongol secretaries of Baghdad, with whom was Harun, the son of the vizier, Shems ud din, whose strict rule at Ispahan we have previously described. Aruk, on the strength of the support given him by his brother Buka, had put to death Mestofi Said ud din, the brother of Fakhr ud din, and Majd ud din, son of Asir, without the Khan's permission. The latter was a *protégé* of Gaikhatu, Arghun's brother, who poisoned the Ilkhan's mind against Aruk. Aruk had another enemy in Yesu Kurkan, the husband of the Princess Tudukash, Khulagu's fourth daughter. Buka, on the other hand, supported his brother, and the death of the son of Asir was attributed to the instigation of Harun, who was accordingly put to death.* Wassaf says that Aruk, who commanded in Irak Arab under the Prince Baidu, put to death Khoja Harun, whom he accused of being in league with Majd ud din Asir, one of the richest and most influential men of his time, to charge him with peculation.† But this seems at issue with a previous statement of the same author that Harun, whose remarkable career at Ispahan we described under the reign of Abaka, died in his father's lifetime.‡ Soon after this Yesu Kurkan, Aruk's enemy, died, and for a while he and his brother basked in prosperity.

On the 27th of September, 1286, Arghun went to Tebriz. Two months later, when he was one day in Arran, combing himself, an unusual quantity of hair came out in the comb. This, according to Mongol notions, was caused by his having taken poison, and Wejih, the son of Iz ud din, was executed on suspicion of having administered it. On the 7th of January, 1287, Tudai Khatun, the Konkurat princess, who had passed from Abaka's harem to that of his son, was crowned with the head-dress of the royal wives (baghtak). Arghun, during the year 1287, lived respectively at Pilsuvar, at Tebriz, in the summer camp of Alatagh, and the winter one of Arran. In March, 1288, he lost his wife, Kutluk, the mother of his youngest son, Khatai Oghul; while in April Buka's envoys brought back with them to Persia one of the relics so much esteemed among the Buddhists, called sharil. These are hard pieces of a substance which is said to be found in the ashes of some saintly persons when cremated. Von Hammer says that Buddha's heart was supposed to be made of bone and not of flesh, similarly with the hearts of great men, and that the sharil is really held to be the ossified heart of the cremated person. Arghun, we are told, treated this relic with the greatest honour, gold was strewn over it, while a feast was duly celebrated.

Later, viz., in May, 1288, news arrived that Nogai, the famous leader of the armies of Kipchak, was making an invasion, by way

* Ilkhans, i. 374-375. † Wassaf, 272. ‡ *Id.*, 125.

of Derbend, at the head of 5,000 men, and was putting to death such of the merchants as he could meet with. Arghun at once marched to the rescue, crossed the Kur, and halted at Shamakhi. Buka and Kunjukbal were sent on with an advance guard, and returned in a few days with the news that the enemy had retired.* A few months later, viz., in the spring of 1290, the Khan of Kipchak made a fresh invasion by way of Derbend. The amirs Siktur Noyan, Kunjukbal, and Toghachar, were ordered to march, and Arghun followed to Pilsuvar, and thence pushed on to Shaburan with the heavy baggage, &c. The two armies met at the Karasu. The army of Arghun was commanded by the amirs Toghachar, Kunjukbal, Toghrulji, and Taiju, the son of Bukuwa; and that of Kipchak by Nogai, and by the two sons of Mangu Timur, Abaji and Mengli. The enemy was defeated, 300 of them were slain, and many were captured. The "Shajrat ul Atrak" says that Choban, the Sulduz, of whom we shall hear much presently, greatly distinguished himself in the fight, which, according to Hamdullah, was the first in which he took part. The victory was celebrated by a feast at Pilsuvar, and was announced by special letters throughout the empire by the Vizier.†

The "History of Georgia" has a notice of a campaign which seems to be the same as this. It says the people of Derbend having revolted, Arghun marched against them in company with Dimitri, whereupon the rebels retired to the strong fortress of Anik, which, having resisted obstinately, Dimitri was told to attack it. The Georgians were not long in storming it, Rat Begashwili leading the assault. The principal people in the fort were put to death, and a large number of prisoners, riches, and women were captured, while the citadel was burnt. The Khan, who was a spectator of the whole affair, conceived a violent jealousy against the king, who surrendered to him a famous suit of armour which he wore.‡

We must now describe the collapse of the great Mongol chieftain, Buka, called Buka Gizbara by Bar Hebræus. We have seen how the Khakan conferred on him the title of Chingsang. In addition to this he had secured special privileges. He was not to be punished until he had committed nine offences, and was only to be called to account by the Khan himself. The ordinances of the Khan were not to be valid unless his red seal was attached, while his own orders did not need the royal sanction. These privileges no doubt aroused the animosity and envy of the other amirs, for he was a haughty and impetuous person. Wassaf describes him as a terrible Turk, whose severity and prudence were remarkable. As an instance of his severity, it is reported that he put one of his own ostlers to death for stealing an apple from a fruit stall. Abulfaraj says that the various princes and princesses had to stand at his gate while he distributed their salaries to them. Among his principal

* Ante, ii. 139. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 376. Golden Horde, 265.
† Ilkhans, i. 388-389. Shajrat ul Atrak, 263. ‡ Op. cit., 602-603; and 603, note 2,

enemies were Sultan Aidaji and Tughan, son of Tarakjai, Governor of Kuhistan, Arghun's intimate companions, who had been twice cudgelled, and had had many indignities put upon them by Buka's orders, and they lost no opportunity of denouncing him to Arghun. The arbitrary doings of his brother Aruk, who governed the provinces of Babylon, Azerbaijan, and Mesopotamia, also reflected on himself. Aruk treated the Ilkhan's envoys with scant courtesy. Three officials having brought an accusation against him were ordered to be put in custody till his arrival. He had them executed mercilessly before any trial, and appropriated the revenues which should have gone into the State treasury. The officers of Ordu Kia, Sherif ud din, and the Jew, Said, handed over 500 tumans to Aruk, who did not account for a farthing of it to Arghun.* Abulfaraj calls this Jew Said ud daulet, and says he was the father-in-law of the Prefect of Baghdad, who had recently died, and that he told the Mongol amirs if they would prevent Aruk from going to Baghdad he would undertake to double the income of the treasury, whereupon Aruk was ordered not to go there, and the Jew was nominated Procurator of Baghdad. "Behold," says the Syrian chronicler, "there sits a Jew there to-day as prefect in the capital of the Abbassidæ. How humbled is the position of the Arabs (*i.e.*, of the Muhammedans)." From this time various accusations began to pour in upon Aruk—*inter alios*, we are told a Persian named Abd ul Mumin declared that he and his creatures had so plundered the country, that if he were arrested a million golden dinars might be extracted from him.†

Turning to Fars, we read that Sadr ud din Zenjani, the financial secretary of Toghachar, complained to his master of Buka's continual demands for money, and that he was virtually the ruler, the Khan having quite a secondary authority.‡ The financial affairs of Fars had been a source of irritation for a long time. Fakhr ud din Hassan, one of the illustrious Seyids of Shiraz, who during Abaka's reign was attached to the Court of Arghun, had often told him that much property in the province of Shiraz, which had belonged to his ancestor, the grand judge, Seyid Sherif ud din, and which he had inherited from the daughter of the Sultan Azd ud Devlet, of the Salghur dynasty, had been unjustly confiscated by the atabeg, Abubekr, Prince of Fars, and its revenues appropriated to the public treasury. He produced abundant documentary proofs of this, and urged Arghun to press his father to have these lands transferred from the registers of the general treasury, and assigned to his special domain (inju). Abaka consented, and sent one of his officers with the Seyid to carry out the transfer; but the treasury officials put obstacles in the way, and were supported by the Mongol commanders, and the affair was not carried out. Fakhr ud din

* Ilkhans, i. 377. † Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 610-611. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 377-378.

returned to Arghun. When the young prince mounted the throne, he issued an order withdrawing this property from the public registers, and assigning it to his own domain, according to the title he had proved, and the Seyid summoned the finance officials of Fars, who were then at the Court, and peremptorily demanded the restoration of the property according to the Ilkhan's orders. Buka urged reasonably that inasmuch as the province of Shiraz now belonged to him (Arghun), what was the necessity of separating these lands, and making a special department of them. Arghun would not listen, and ordered that Buka should not meddle with Fakhr ud din's affairs, nor with those of his own private domain. At the same time, the latter property was confided to the Noyan Togachar as administrator. Buka was thus deprived of the greater part of his authority. Fakhr ud din was ordered to repair to Shiraz with Yul Kutlugh, son of Arghun Aka, to superintend the transfer of the disputed property from the register of the public treasury to that of the private one of Arghun, and as no one was in a position to answer their assertions on the subject, they succeeded in thus transferring one-fourth of the villages, fields, gardens, corvées, irrigating canals, and windmills in the province of Fars, so that in a short time these private domains were farmed for the large sum of 600,000 dinars, and many families who had been in possession of their property for a century were compelled to surrender it. Fakhr ud din himself died eighteen days after his arrival at Shiraz, which looks suspicious. His son, Seyid Kutb ud din, was invested with his father's authority in the Ilkhan's name by Yul Kutlugh, already named.*

This matter, thus carried out in spite of Buka's views, was no doubt a large invasion of his prestige. Another attack on it was made by the appointment of the amir Kunjukbal to superintend the affairs of the army. Meanwhile, Tughan continued to poison Arghun's mind against him, urging that, although Ahmed had completely confided in him, he had, nevertheless, betrayed him, and he was now appropriating all the power in the kingdom. One day Buka and Bekta quarrelled over their cups in the presence of Arghun, and the latter not having reprimanded Bekta, Buka was further irritated, while a more real grievance was forthcoming when his principal dependents, including especially the Amir Ali, collector of the customs at Tebriz, were deprived of their posts. It is not to be wondered at that under these circumstances he should have begun to conspire with a number of discontented princes and amirs. Among these were the Princes Hulaju, Toka Timur, Karabuka, Kingshu, and Gabarchin (Von Hammer calls the last three Karankai, Konghshir, and Anberjin), with the Amirs Aruk, Kurmishi (the son of Haidu Noyan), Machu, Tamdui, and Tughluk Karauna. Rashid ud din adds to this

* D'Ohsson, iv. 15-17. Ilkhans, i, 378.

list, Aujan, the armour-bearer; Kadan, the envoy; Zengi, the son of Babu Noyan, amir of the camp of the Khatun Oljai; Ghazan Behadur, Ishik Togli, and Ashak Togli.* Buka also wrote to Prince Jushkab, who was encamped by the Euphrates, to urge that although Arghun owed his throne to him, he had shown himself very ungrateful. Jushkab, who felt sure Buka meant to make a tool of him, refused to join in the conspiracy unless he saw the written agreement (called muchalga in Mongol) between the conspirators. This Buka incautiously sent to him. Jushkab now repaired to Arghun, in Arran, to acquaint him with the plot. He would not believe in it until the written proofs were produced, and then broke out into bitter complaints against Buka, whom he had raised to such honour, and who had, nevertheless, been so treacherous. He ordered his three officers, Sultan Aidaji, Doladai, and Tughan, to go and arrest him. He had had timely warning, however, and had crossed the Kur and sheltered in the camp of the Khatun Oljai, one of Arghun's wives. She refused to receive him, but the amir of her camp, Zengui (Von Hammer says the son of Zengui), allowed him to shelter in his tent. Doladai and Tughan speedily crossed the Kur in pursuit of him, and having secured, conveyed him to the Court. There he was brought before Siktur, who sarcastically asked him if he wanted to have a fresh master every day, and charged him with being the cause of much mischief. He denied having done anything against the Ilkhan, and said that he had only been plotting against his own personal enemies, Aidaji and Tughan, who had so persistently maligned him, but being confronted with the incriminating papers he trembled and fainted. Arghun ordered him to be at once put to death, and Jushkab asked the favour of being his executioner. When they reached the place of execution Tughan kicked him in the chest, saying, "This is the reward for thy ambition to mount the throne." Jushkab himself cut off his head, and slit the skin of his back into strips. Bar Hebræus says he was dismembered. The head was stuffed with straw, and then displayed on the bridge Jaghan, while the troops were ordered to pillage his quarters. This execution took place on the 17th of January, 1289, and was followed by the deaths of the various amirs who had joined in the conspiracy, Maju, Tughluk, Ashak, Toghli, Zerwana, Nokhshi, Tushkina, Hosam ud din of Kazvin, and the Malik Ali, the temghaji of Tebriz. Kadan, the Khakan's envoy; the Bitekji Naghai, who had spoken out the truth; and another, for whose life the amirs interceded, were spared. Among those who perished were also the astronomer, Imad ud din; the Christian, Simon of Rumkalaa; Bahai ud daulet Abul Kirem, and the King of Georgia, Dimitri, to whom we shall revert presently.† Abulfaraj says there perished Simeon the priest, and a doctor and scribe from Irbil called Abu Alkherem, and many Mongols.

* D'Ohsson, iv. 18. Ilkhans, i. 378. Note. † Ilkhans, i. 380.

Buka's wives and daughters were distributed among the army. The corpses of the slain were put together in piles, and left for the wolves and dogs to devour their flesh, after which their bones were buried.

Betmish Kushji, Tamudai Aktaji, and Shadi, son of Buka, were sent to Diar Bekhr to fetch Buka's sons and brothers. In six days they reached Irbil, and killed Ghazan, Buka's eldest son, who was living with his uncle Aruk. Aruk himself, who did not know what had happened to his brother, seeing the Mongol garrisons of the district of Amid approaching, fled to the fortress of Keshaf. Betmish summoned him to surrender. He said he had no intention of resisting, but wanted to know why they had thus come. Betmish then told him what had happened to his brother, and that he had been ordered to take him to the Court. He then left the fortress, and was carried off in chains. When he saw his brother's head on the bridge Jaghan, he merely asked where that of his armour-bearer, Aujan, was. He was then put to death. This was on the 3rd of February, 1289. His head, with that of his relative Kurmishi, was exposed near that of Buka. Zengui, who had sheltered Buka in his tent, was handed over to Oljai, as one of her dependents, for punishment. She ordered him to be decapitated, saying she would have done so if he had been her eldest son, Anbarji. Four sons of Buka, named Abaji, Malik, Teikhan Timur, and Kutlugh Timur, fled to Tughan. He gave them shelter until he thought Arghun's anger was appeased; but the latter, when he heard of it, ordered them to be put to death, and thus exterminated the family. A proclamation was now issued announcing far and wide how Buka, having been guilty of the basest ingratitude, had been destroyed, with his wives and children, his friends and relatives; while his wealth, which he had acquired through the Ilkhan's munificence, had been pillaged, and all who were suspected of having abetted him, Mongols or Mussulmans, paid the last penalty.*

The sudden downfall of such a powerful chief as Buka, whose dependents filled places of trust in various directions, naturally entailed a reaction, when envy, cupidity, and revenge had a free field. Under the orders of Betmish, Abdul Mumin, whom we have previously named, paid the sum of money which each of Aruk's officers at Mosul was charged with having robbed. Torture and death were freely applied to extort this money and to punish the wrong-doers. Among those who suffered from the revolution was Masud, the Governor of Mosul. Devoted to Buka, and probably fancying that that minister's position was impregnable, he had neglected to be civil and attentive to Arghun's own creatures. Accordingly the very day of Aruk's arrest he was put under surveillance until the arrival of Abdul Mumin, which was the signal for a cruel persecution against the Christians. Bethag Alden, son of Mohtesi, who was Prefect of Irbil, was

* D'Ohsson, iv. 18-23. Ilkhans, i. 380-381. Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 610-612.

among those put to the torture. They put him on the rack and sat down upon him, and thus tortured him till they had extorted 50,000 dinars from him. He at length escaped and plunged into the Tigris. Masud was himself ill, so they did not torture him, as they feared that if he died they would not be able to secure the wealth he was supposed to have concealed. The Mongol commissaries promised that he should retain his position and be released if he paid ten tumans of gold. But fancying they were afraid of him, he dealt hard words to them. Thereupon he was cudgelled and threatened until they had extracted what they could, and he was then taken to Irbil, where he was put to death on the 4th of April, 1289. His son was branded and imprisoned, while his brother, Shihab ud din, fled, and a villager named Dobis, from Beth Sehar, who was suspected of sheltering him, although he swore he had never seen him, was killed, and his corpse was stoned by the crowd. This series of cruelties was no doubt instigated by Muhammedan hatred of the Christians. A young Christian accused of an illicit intercourse with a Muhammedan was also put to death. His body was dragged through the streets and burnt, while his head was carried round in procession past the various church doors to humiliate the Christians "The cruel persecutions," says Abulfaraj, "which the people of Mosul suffered during these two months, tongue cannot describe nor pen indite Awake, O Lord, and do not sleep! Look at the blood of thy servants shed without mercy. Have pity on thy Church and flock, which are being torn by persecution." Abdul Mumin, the prime actor in the movement did not long survive. Denounced by an Egyptian scribe employed at Mosul, named Faraj Allah, he was tried and executed.*

These were not the only troubles of the wretched inhabitants of Mesopotamia and its borders at this time. We read how 2,000 Syrian cavalry crossed the borders of Shogr and Arabia, and went as far as the town of Pishabur, near the Tigris. Crossing that river, they approached Vassit, where the Nestorians were very strong. The town was captured, 500 men were killed, and 1,000 boys and girls carried off, as well as great herds of oxen and flocks of sheep. When the invaders reached the River Habora, which was traversed by a very narrow bridge, they had great difficulty in passing over. News of this having reached the Mongol amir at Mosul, he set out, and caught the intruders while still embarrassed at the bridge. They killed all who had not yet crossed, and rescued 300 boys and girls. The same summer 1,000 Syrian horsemen approached Malatia. Karbenda, the Mongol governor there, attacked them, but was defeated, and many of his people were killed, while several of his friends and relatives were captured. He himself, with forty followers, retired to the fortress of Hesnun.† At this time, Alaalmish, the governor of Maya-

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 613-615. D'Ohsson, iv. 23-27. † Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 616-617.

farkin, greatly persecuted the Christians, and especially laid heavy hands on the monks of the monastery of Mar Koma. One of the monks repaired to Arghun, who listened courteously to him. When the Ilkhan was one day crossing a bridge over the River Khorer, this monk seized his bridle, and swore he would not let him pass until he had ordered Alaalmish to be put to death, which he accordingly did.*

Among those who were compromised when Buka fell, perhaps the most important was the King of Georgia, who had been his close friend. On his execution, we are told, a messenger was sent to summon Dimitri to the ordu. Greatly distressed, he called together the Catholicos Abraham, the bishops, the monks from the monasteries and from the hermitages of Garesja, and all the mthawars of the kingdom. Seating himself on his throne, while they were seated also, he bade them listen, and told them that when his father David died he was left very young, and at the mercy of the Tartars; that God, the all-powerful, our Saviour, Christ, the most holy mother of God, and the adorable cross which had been presented to him by the emperor had protected him (so that he had arrived at the age of manhood), had granted him the kingdom, the sceptre, and the purple, while with their help his reign had been a prosperous one, and there had been general peace. Now the Khan was irritated, and had exterminated the mthawars, and summoned him to his presence, no doubt with evil intentions against him. If, instead of going to the ordu, he withdrew to the strong positions of Mthiuleth, he would save his life, but his kingdom would be at the mercy of the Tartars. "How many Christians would be enslaved, how many churches profaned or pillaged, how many images and crosses broken? If I go," he said, "they are certain to kill me. Decide, therefore, according to your wisdom. As for me, I look upon the world as a troubled sea, and life as a dream, a shadow, and in spite of ourselves we must leave it. What advantage is it to me to live if many have to die in consequence? If I must some day leave life bearing the burden of my sins, I would prefer to go to the Khan; the divine will will then be accomplished. If I am put to death my country will not suffer." The assembly, touched by the proof of his devotion, declared that there was no one who could replace him. "God preserve us from seeing you massacred by the Tartars. The country will be desolate, your sons dispersed. No one can replace you. Our advice is that you seek the fastnesses of Mthiuleth and Aphkhazeth, as your father did. We must not despair of your safety. We will remain faithful to you." He still insisted that he could not leave his people to become the victims of the Mongols, and declared he should go to the ordu; and, notwithstanding their arguments, he determined to go in great pomp, and to take the Catholicos Abraham with him. He

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 617.

assigned fitting portions to each of his sons, and confided them to the care of the mthawars, who remained behind, and sent some of them to Mthiuleth and others to Kakheth, while the young George was sent to Asparakhen, to the citadel of Ishkhan in Tao.

When the King arrived in the territory of Khochak, son of Avak, he met his son David, whom he took with him, so as to disarm Arghun's suspicions by another proof of loyalty. As he drew near, Arghun, who had not expected that he would go, sent the Noyan Siukol, son of Yas Buka, who deprived the King of his baggage and wealth, and led him captive to the Khan, and he was put under arrest. Arghun, we are told, was troubled, because he did not know who to put in his place, while he could hardly spare one who had been an accomplice in the treacheries of Buka. Kutlugh Buka thereupon suggested that he should put Wakhtang, son of Narin David, who, as we have seen, was the ruler of Abkhazia, on the throne. Arghun thereupon sent Buka to David, bidding him send his son, whom he intended to put on the throne, and to give him his sister Oljath in marriage. Dimitri was ordered to draw up a list of his possessions, his arms, cattle, sheep, and all that he had. He was compelled to obey, and a Mongol was sent to bring the enormous wealth, the sight of which seemed to appease Arghun, who released him, and the mthawars advised him to take advantage of his more conciliatory mood to escape; but he refused to put his people in jeopardy by such a step. Presently news arrived that Kutlugh Buka was returning with the young Wakhtang, whereupon Dimitri and his son David were again arrested and put in separate prisons. The King was now bastinadoed, which people thought meant he was not going to be executed, for we are told it was not the Mongol custom to put those to death who had been thus punished. Nevertheless, the Khan's anger was not appeased. He was taken to the Hall of Justice (called the divan khana), where he was asked if he had taken part in Buka's conspiracy, and, we are told, he was found innocent, which seems like a diplomatic phrase on the part of the chronicler. His death was decided upon. Twelve horsemen came to conduct him to the place of execution. He spoke cheerfully to his supporters, and asked Kutlugh Buka to plead with the Ilkhan for his young son David. Having said his prayers and taken the sacrament, he offered his neck to the executioner, and was decapitated on the plain of Mughan. The day of the execution was marked by a solar eclipse, which seems to fix it as in March, 1289. Dimitri's son David was made over to Tachar (*i.e.*, Togachar) for execution. He remonstrated with his master on thus putting a boy to death, and asked him to make him a present of him. This the Ilkhan consented to do, and he accordingly confided him to his khoja, who afterwards became sahib divan, or vizier. Dimitri's body was conveyed to Mtzkhetha, and buried with those of his fathers.

By his principal wife, the daughter of the Emperor of Trebizond, Dimitri left four sons, David, Wakhtang, Lasha, and Manoel, and a daughter named Rusudan. By Sorghala, the Tartar, he had two sons, Badur and Yadgar, and a daughter, Jigda Khatun; while by Nathila, daughter of Beka, he had a son, Georgi. On Dimitri's death David, we are told, was well treated by Tachar Noyan. The queen and other widows of the king hid themselves. Sorghala went to her father's home in Tartary; the daughter of Beka also to her father in Samtzkhé. Wakhtang was in Mthiuleth. He assigned the valley of Scoreth for the support of his mother, who kept by her her two young sons, Manoel and Lasha. Badur and Yadgar followed their mother home, and "our country," says the annalist, "was without a king."

Arghun now summoned Kutlugh Buka, and said to him, "I have destroyed my enemies, and Dimitri, who was your enemy. There is now no king; go and fetch the son of the King of Abkhazia, that he may mount the throne." He accordingly went and brought his *protégé*, Wakhtang, to Tiflis. His father, David, collected his troops and escorted him thither. Having crossed the mountains, they stopped in the plain of Kwishkheth, at Tasis-Sar. Konchiba, son of Shiramun Noyan; Kurumchi, son of Alikan, who lived in the mountains of Jawakheth, between Artan and Samtzkhé; and all the didebuls of Georgia, assembled together and swore an oath of unalterable fidelity to the young prince. Thereupon the King returned to Kuthathis. Arghun was much pleased with Wakhtang, and gave him the kingdom of Georgia, and after having married him to his sister Oljath, sent him to Tiflis.* The death of Dimitri reminds one of those of the various Russian princes, at Serai, as related in a former volume. It is not unlikely that he may have been compromised in Buka's conspiracy, Buka having been a great friend and patron of his, but it seems more likely that he was also the object of personal animosity, for we are expressly told that the son of Khoja Azis, whose father had been killed by Dimitri's father, David,† plotted with Kutlugh Buka for his destruction.‡ Wakhtang now ruled over Georgia, from Nicophsia to Derbend, except the domains of Beka Jakel and Tzikhisjuarel. He appointed Kutlugh Buka atabeg and generalissimo of the united kingdom. Meanwhile David, son of Dimitri, remained with the Mongols, suffering great troubles there. His mother was at Sacureth, or Scoreth, while his brothers were dispersed abroad. Georgi, the youngest, whose mother was daughter to Beka, was living with his grandfather.§

The next important victim of Arghun's jealousy was the Prince Jushkab, who had divulged Buka's conspiracy, and had killed the traitor with his own hand. Arghun, suspecting that he had plans of his

* Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 602-607. † *Vide* ante. ‡ Hist. de la Géorgie, 605. § *Id.*, i. 608.

own, sent some troops after him under the Amirs Yatmish Kushji, Gharbetai Kurkan, Burju (the son of Duriai), Boghdai, and Arkasun Noyan, who overtook him on the River Karaman (D'Ohsson calls it Kumar), between Erzen and Mayafarkin. He resisted and escaped, but was pursued and captured three days later, and was taken before Arghun, who had him put to death. This was on the 6th of June, 1289. He had been Governor of Diar Bekr. This year, when Arghun had gone to his summer quarters at Kongorolang, Ordu Kia and the Jew Said went to him a second time, taking with them a good store of money, the proceeds of the taxes at Baghdad. Said reported that the amount would have been double, but for the interference of the Mongol officials. Their execution was ordered, and their heads were sent to Baghdad. Mansur, the son of Khoja Alai ud din of Juveni, was also taken from Hillah, and put to death. Jelal ud din, of Semnan, who held the post of vizier, and who had aroused the suspicions of Tughan, would also have been executed but for the intercession of the Bakhshi Berendeh. He was replaced by Said, and presently being accused of complaining that he had been displaced in favour of a Jew, he was condemned to die, and was put to death on the 7th of August.*

The elevation of a Jew to such a high position as vizier, in which he controlled the lives and fortunes of so many true believers, was indeed a proof of the terrible degradation of Islam during the Mongol supremacy. Said, styled ed daulat (*i.e.*, felicity of the empire), was the son of Hebetollah Ben Mohesib of Ebher. He had five years before been appointed to an important post in the exchequer at Baghdad, and by his activity had greatly increased its receipts. Kutlugh Shah, the Governor of Baghdad, and others had become jealous, and complained to the vizier about him. They also praised Said's unusual skill in medicine, and suggested that as a doctor he would be very useful at the Court. Thither he went, and attached himself to Ordu Kia, by whose influence he was sent back to Baghdad to collect the arrears of revenue, which now amounted to 1,600 tumans.† He spoke both Mongol and Turk, while his long residence at Baghdad made him familiar with the condition of that province. According to Wassaf, Arghun's attachment to him was due to his having cured him by administering on one occasion a strong dose of medicine, and having gained his confidence he inveighed against Buka and Aruk for their depredations on the exchequer, declared their houses to be full of treasures, and complained especially against Aruk for his arbitrary acts—among other things, that he had demolished a mosque, and several colleges and hostels, in order to use their materials in building his own palace and the houses of his friends. Under the protection of Ordu Kia, as we have seen, he worked at

* Ilkhans, i. 382. D'Ohsson, iv. 28-29. Weil, iv. 148. † Ilkhans, i. 383.

Baghdad in spite of Aruk, and having got together a considerable sum by collecting arrears, by new taxes, &c., he took it to Arghun, who was greatly pleased, presented him with the cup with his own hand, and granted him a robe of honour, and he was now appointed controller of the finances of Baghdad, under the authority of Ordu Kia. He worked so well that presently his patron and superior was able to lay a larger sum at his master's feet. Ordu Kia praised the zeal and other qualities of Said, and suggested that as he had done so well at Baghdad he might be intrusted with the finances of the kingdom, which he accordingly was, displacing, as we have seen, Jelal ud din of Semnan.*

The Jewish minister now became very powerful. He appointed his own relatives as farmers of the taxes. Irak Arab he confided to his brother, Fakhr ud daulat; Diar-bekr and Diar-rabia to Shems ud daulat; Tebriz to his cousin or nephew, Abu Mansur Mohesibed daulat (*i.e.*, the realm's purifier), the doctor; and Azerbaijan to Lebid, son of Abi-rabi. In Khorasan and Rum alone did he fail to put his dependents, for those provinces were the appanages of Arghun's son and brother, Ghazan and Gaikhatu.† Bar Hebræus says that Arghun, wearied by the continual intrigues, perversity, and audacity of the Mussulman officials, ordered that only Christians and Jews should be employed in controlling the finances. The new minister therefore conferred the prefecture of Baghdad, which he was himself resigning, upon one of his brothers. To another he confided Mosul, Mardin, and Diar-bekr, associating with him Taj ud din, son of Moktadh. When these two arrived at their post, a Kurdish amir named Mobariz, who had been displaced from the prefecture of Irbil, feeling himself insecure, went to the ordu to seek protection. They sent such accusations after him, however, that Arghun resolved upon his death; but he lulled him for a while with false hopes, until he had secured his sons, parents, clients, and servants, wishing to put them all to death as well. He managed to escape, sped on in advance of the messengers, and carried his family off to the mountains. Troops were sent in pursuit, but the heavy snow prevented the Mongols securing their prey. They returned to the plain, and revenged themselves by pillaging and killing the Kurdish peasants they met there. Their chief allies in this work, we are told, were the Christian mountaineers called Kiashis, who hated the Muhammedans cordially. The country was terribly wasted, men being killed, and women and children carried off. This aroused the animosity of the Arabs, who felt sure that the Mongols, many of whom were now Mussulmans, would not have committed these ravages but for the Kiashis, or unless they had been urged on by their chiefs. On the return of summer they left the country of Mosul and Irbil. Thereupon the Kurds descended in great numbers from their

* D'Ohsson, iv. 31-33. Ilkhans, i. 382-383. † D'Ohsson, iv. 33-34. Ilkhans, i. 348.

mountains. The people rushed from the plains to take refuge in the towns and fortresses. Those of Irbil itself fled to the citadel, where they were beleaguered by the Kurds for seventeen days, when there arrived at Mosul, by way of the Tigris, 200 Franks, who had gone by orders of Arghun to Babylon, where they were to obtain boats, and thus to descend by Basrah and on to the Persian Gulf, to attack the Egyptians. Seven hundred others, who had gone overland, had stopped to winter at Baghdad. The Kurds, fancying these Franks had come to attack them, withdrew. This passage, as D'Ohsson says, shows the state of anarchy to which the Ilkhan's dominions were reduced by the contests and bitter animosities of the Christians and Muhammedans.*

Inasmuch as Said feared the influence of the Mongol generals Siktur, Toghachar, Samaghar, Kunjukbal, &c., he was crafty enough to solicit from Arghun the services of some colleagues of influence. He chose for this purpose Ordu Kia, to whom he allotted the military government of Baghdad. Karajar (called Kujan by D'Ohsson) was made governor of Arran, while Juchi was similarly given that of Fars. Said reduced the other generals to impotence by concentrating the general administration in his own hands. He himself was virtually supreme and uncontrolled. He tried to reform abuses; urged that civil affairs should be judged by the Muhammedan code; forbade the military commanders interfering with the decisions of the courts, and enjoined them to support the cause of justice, and to protect the weak and innocent. Requisitions of food and of post-horses for the grandees were put a stop to, as were the periodical visits of special commissaries to collect taxes, who used to tyrannise over the people, and make great exactions. The taxes were in future to be sent to the Court at stated times by the civil and military governors of the provinces. Said largely increased the pious foundations, and gave many charitable gifts. He surrounded himself with men of letters, and many pieces in his praise were composed in prose and verse. A number of these productions were collected in a work to which his name was attached. In imitation of the princes of the Buyid dynasty, he and his brothers took a surname compounded with Dévlet, or Daulat, meaning "realm" or "court." Thus his own name meant "The future of the realm."† Well might the Jews fancy that their Messiah had arrived, when they saw one of their long-despised race treated as an equal by the princes and noyans, and even by the Ilkhan himself. A notable instance of this is recorded. One day, when he had been playing at backgammon with the Ilkhan for a long time, and had reclined himself on the sofa, he extended his foot with great unconcern. One of Arghun's wives, who came in, asked him how he dared to stretch out his foot in the presence of a Khan, whose very slaves played with the stubborn sky as if it were

* Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 618-620. D'Ohsson, iv. 34-36. Note.
† D'Ohsson, iv. 34-38. Ilkhans, i. 384-385.

a bowl of paste. He excused himself on the ground that he had the gout, and his excuse was allowed by Arghun.*

When Said was placed at the head of the finances, Mahmud and Ali, grandsons of the late vizier Shems ud din, and sons of his son, Bahai ud din, were reduced to want. Arghun, having heard of their distressed condition, ordered that a portion of their father's property in Irak Arab should be restored to them. Ali had gone with his mother, the daughter of Iz ud din Tahir, to Ispahan. At this time Mejd ud din Muminan, of Kazvin, having represented that the revenues were considerably curtailed in consequence of the income which had to be paid to Shems ud din's family, an order was issued that the latter's sons were to be put to death. Two of them, Masud and Farajulla, were accordingly executed at Tebriz. His grandson Mahmud was spared, because the edict only mentioned sons and not grandsons, but this did not save Ali, who was put to death at Ispahan. But one son of the late famous vizier escaped execution.†

The Egyptian, Faraj Allah, who had exposed the ill-doings of Abd ul Mumin at Mosul, and brought about his death, encouraged by his success, again repaired to the Court, and made complaints there about Taj ud din, son of Moktadh, the substitute of the vizier of Diar-bekr, brother of the vizier, pretending that he had misappropriated 400,000 pieces of gold. Said ud daulat, alarmed at these accusations, flattered Faraj Allah, and pointed out to him that the accusations were as fatal to his (the vizier's) brother as to his deputy. Faraj Allah was now embarrassed, afraid on the one hand of braving the vizier, and on the other of being condemned to death by the Draconic judges of the ordu if he should retract his charges. He was persuaded to say that he had made them when drunk, and that Taj ud din and his patron were both innocent, being promised that if he made this statement the vizier would see him harmless. The latter, however, no sooner had obtained the retractation in writing, than he laid it, with the other circumstances, before Arghun, who ordered the unfortunate Egyptian to be put to death at Mosul, as well as two of his companions. Some days later, says Bar Hebræus, Matthew, a generous person, and one of the principal buttresses of the Christians, was sent from the ordu to Mosul to collect the tribute of that town. The citizens, who hated the Christians, deemed this an indignity. They attacked him in his house and killed him. This was in July, 1290. His sons fled to the Court. They were authorised to put their father's murderers to death, and to exact a fine of 10,000 gold tumans from the town. They accordingly returned, and put seven or eight of the principal inhabitants to death.‡ We have seen how Juchi was appointed governor of Fars under the ægis

* Ilkhans, i. 385. † D'Ohsson, iv. 39. Ilkhans, 383-384.
‡ Abulfaraj, 622-623. D'Ohsson, iv. 39-41.

of the vizier. He was assisted there by two functionaries, and the son of Sunjak, as Zerwans or Chaushis (*i.e.*, as executive officers). Having gone there to collect the taxes, Jelal ud din of Sirustan undertook to pay them a sum exceeding that fixed as the levy of that province by 400 tumans. The farmers of the taxes undertook, on the other hand, to furnish 500 tumans if Jelal ud din was made over to them bound, but as they failed to keep their engagement the two Mongol officials ordered them to be put to death, and Jelal ud din was released, and a monstrous sum was squeezed out of the community by confiscations and other pressure.*

In the autumn of 1289, Arghun, who was fond of astronomy and alchemy, went to Meragha to consult the stars. In the following May he presented his wife Bulughan, the daughter of Otaman, son of Obotai Noyan, with the household of another Bulughan, who had been the wife of his grandfather and father, and had eventually passed into his own harem. Four days after this, viz., on the 28th of May, 1290, news arrived that the people of Kipchak had made a raid by way of Derbend as previously described.†

Let us now turn our attention further east. The famous administrator of Khorasan, Arghun Aka, had died peaceably near Tus in 1278. His son Nuruz had been intrusted with the superintendence of Khorasan and Mazanderan, for the young Prince Ghazan, son of Arghun, whose appanage they constituted. Although he had been long faithful to Arghun, he seems to have become afraid of his future on the downfall of Buka, and had perhaps taken part in the latter's conspiracy. He accordingly determined to trust only to his own strong arm. Under pretence of going to review the troops under his command, and of making preparations against a threatened raid from Transoxiana, he left Ghazan at Merv, leaving behind him his wife Tughan, the fourth daughter of Abaka; his mother, Surmish; and his two brothers, Ordai Ghazan and Narin Haji. Von Hammer says his three brothers—Uiratai, Ghazan Haji, and Narin Haji. Ghazan passed the winter of 1288 in his usual quarters at Jesir, and Prince Kinshu, son of Jumkur, at Herat. In the spring of 1289 Ghazan moved towards Merv, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Sarakhs, which was famous as a pasture ground. He sent several times to summon Prince Kinshu, who had married Nuruz's sister, and Nuruz himself. The latter excused himself on the ground that his foot was bad. Fearing some movement against himself, he called together the millenarians and centurions belonging to his army, the officers of his household, and his guards (khassékis), and told them that he knew positively Ghazan meant to put them all to death as accomplices of Buka. He told the same story to the Prince Kinshu, and inspired him with

* D'Ohsson, iv. 41-42. Ilkhans, 386. † Ante, 322.

similar fears to his own. Meanwhile the family of Nuruz asked his permission to go to the wedding of one of his daughters with Nikpei, son of Sarban, the eighth son of Jagatai, and left him under that pretext.

Ghazan set out from Karatepè towards Tus and Radikan, in the end of March, and sent word to Nuruz to meet him at the River Keshf. Von Hammer says the River of Ferghana (*i.e.*, the Heshtrud). Knowing that the messenger had recently been on a mission to Arghun, Nuruz put him to the torture, to extract some information about the intentions of the Court towards himself, and as he learnt nothing in this way he would have put the unfortunate man, who was called Sadak Terkhan, to death, but for the intercession of his wife and mother. He detained him prisoner, however, raised the standard of revolt, and marched to surprise Ghazan on the Keshf. He surrounded the quarters of three of his generals, who were encamped on the river, hoping to secure the young prince himself. The three generals were captured and their tents pillaged. Ghazan was not there, however, having escaped towards Nishapur, where he was joined by the amirs Satilmish and Mulai, and with them went to Mazanderan to try and secure the person of Prince Hulaju, who was said to be leagued with Nuruz, the latter having in his letters spoken of Kinshu and Hulaju as allies. Putting himself at the head of the troops of Mazanderan, he marched to Hulaju's residence. The latter fled to Jorjan, near the mountain Kortaghu, where he was captured by Mulai, and taken before Ghazan. He firmly denied having any part in the plot. Nevertheless he was taken before Arghun, and put to death at Damaghan, on the 7th October, as well as Karabuka, son of Yashmut, who was accused of the same offence.* Von Hammer says that Hulaju and Karabuka were captured by Muktil, brother of Ordu Kia, who was in the latter's service. They were lodged for some time at Girdkuh, the famous fortress of the Assassins, and were put to death four months later.†

On the 19th of June, 1290, Arghun lost his son Yesutum, and about this time the Amir Sunjak and his son Shadi died at Meragha. Two months later Majd ud din Muminan was put to death at Tebriz, while Arghun went to his summer quarters at Alatagh. Thence he returned to Van and Vastan, where he was met by the Shah Kotb ud din of Shiraz, who took with him his atlas of the Western seas, with a description of their coasts and islands, and of the empire of Rum and the Mediterranean borderlands. Arghun had it all explained to him, and, we are told, he was specially interested in the town of Amuria, the birthplace of the Emperor Theophilus, and famous for its capture by the Khalif Motêassim. Amirshah, Fakr ud din, and his son, Haji Leila, three administrators of the province of Rum, who had apparently misbehaved themselves, were

* D'Ohsson, iv. 42-45. Ilkhans, ii. 10-12. † Ilkhans, i. 381-382.

now apprehended. The first owed his life to the intercession of Kotb ud din and the Vizier. The other two were put to death. This year the Ramazan fast was observed with great solemnity at Tebriz, much to the satisfaction of the Muhammedans. Four minarets were erected, and the kadhi and imams, the khatibs and sheikhs, were all assembled together there.*

After the retreat of the army of Kipchak, Arghun sent the general Toghachar to help Ghazan. This was in the beginning of May, 1289. Eight days later two commissioners were sent to Khorasan to distribute the revenues of that province among the troops who were defending it. Meanwhile Ghazan, with the amir Kutlugh, marched against the rebels Kinshu and Nuruz, and having made a forced march of eighty fersenkhs in seven days, attacked him in the fertile plain of Raigan, or Radkian, in the neighbourhood of Tus. The troops behaved badly and fled, and Ghazan retired to Kalpush with the *débris* of his army, to await his father's orders.† Von Hammer says he retired to Juven, the birthplace of the two famous brothers Shems ud din and Alai ud din. There he was not welcomed by anyone, and accordingly felt grateful when the mehter, or tent maker, Nejb ud din, treated him very hospitably at Lirabad—a fact which he did not forget, and, when he mounted the throne, he made the village over to him as a fief, gave him a yarligh as Terkhan, nominated his family as managers of the richly-endowed monastery of Busijerd, near Hamadan, and appointed him besides to an office in his household. At Jajerm, near Izferain, which had been spared in various struggles, the country for two days' journey round being remarkable for its unwholesome herbage, a council of war was called, when it was decided to go to Kalpush, and await the return of the messengers who had been sent to Arghun. At Samatkam and Jermakan the advance guard met Nisam ud din Yahya, of Beihak, with a welcome supply of camp furniture, weapons, sumpter cattle, &c.‡

A few days before the above struggle a body of Karaunas, under the command of Alaju, or Aladu, had pillaged the baggage of Nuruz, which was posted near Kelat. He started in pursuit. The unruly robbers, after their attack, had refused to obey their leader, and had divided into three bodies, the largest one of which joined Nuruz, while the other two withdrew to their quarters. Aladu went to join Ghazan, who, after halting at Kalpush forty days, had been joined by a contingent of troops from Irak and Azerbaijan, under Prince Baidu, the son of Tarakai, and Nurin Aka, and had marched to Kabushan. Nuruz went to meet him as far as Charmagan, but feeling himself too weak, withdrew again, and was pursued. The people of Ghazan found all the country from Jam to Herat strewn with cattle which had been abandoned by the enemy, and part of

* Ilkhans, i. 389. † D'Ohsson, iv. 45-46. ‡ Ilkhans, ii. 12-13.

which they had harried from the Arabs and Turkomans of the province. So much booty was captured that a sheep was sold for a penny. Nuruz fled with a few followers towards Sebzevar, crossing in the heat of summer a dry desert, which prevented Ghazan's pursuit. The latter went to Herat, encamped near the bridge Malan, and sent some amirs to Badghiz, to summon Prince Kinshu, who had prudently retired to the mountains of Ghur and Gharjestan. His chief officers, with Tekin and his Karaunas, went to Ghazan, at Herat. He now took up his quarters at Shutur kiuh ("the camel hill"), where he passed the summer of 1290.

Prince Baidu, the amir Nurin, and the other amirs were profusely feasted, and Ghazan himself having partaken too freely of drink on the occasion, was laid up with illness for forty days at Anjujan. The next summer and spring were passed between Radkian and Khaujan (Khabushan), and the spring near Nishapur. Ghazan had his own quarters at Moeyidi; Baidu at Shankyan, between Nishapur and Baihak. The severity of the winter was very fatal to the horses, and the following spring many of the troops were unmounted. As this severe winter was followed by a summer of corresponding drought, Baidu and his troops, on the orders of Arghun, returned to Irak and Azerbaijan. A body of plundering Karaunas from Juven were driven away by the Amir Mulai. During the winter Ghazan dammed the River Kialteshen for the purpose of irrigation. Khuarezmi, the Terkhan, went from Arghun to superintend the taxes of Khorasan, and all the secretaries and tax-collectors were arrested. In the spring the Karaunas rebelled at Merv (D'Ohsson says at Sarakhs). Aladu Noyan was sent against them, while Ghazan marched towards Derei and Murgha. Ghazan encamped for a while in the district of Darjah and Shevkyan, whence he went to Sarakhs and Karatepe (*i.e.*, the black hill, also called Eshirsil).*

Meanwhile Nuruz had gone towards Badakhshan, and had eventually joined Kaidu, who was then a rival Khakan, representing the claims of the house of Ogotai against Khubilai.† Kaidu asked him why he had fled. "Because," he said, "an honest man is obliged to imitate the fox in the fable, who one day running as hard as he could, was seen by a jackal, which asked him why he ran. 'Because the king is hunting wild asses.' 'But you are not a wild ass,' said the jackal. 'My friend,' said the fox, 'before it was discovered that I was not a wild ass I should have received many wounds.'" Kaidu was much amused at the answer, kept him at his Court, and treated him with honour; but Nuruz had been too important a person while his father had ruled Khorasan for thirty years, and he had inherited too much wealth from the latter to submit easily to the position of a pensioner, while his haughty attitude brought him into trouble with Kaidu's officers. Meanwhile Kaidu furnished him with an

* Ilkhans, ii. 14-15. † Vide Ante, i. 173-181.

army of 30,000 men, under the command of the Princes Abughan and Uzbeg Timur. Von Hammer says under Sarban, Abukaan, and Oreg Timur. They were also allowed to make use of the garrisons encamped on the banks of the Oxus and at Shaburgan.*

Ghazan dispatched some troops towards Jebekis to get information, and on the news that the enemy was marching, inasmuch as his men were scattered, he withdrew from Karatepe to Merghana, on the River Keshfrud, to await the arrival of the Amir Kutluk Shah and the troops of Herat. Kunjuk was sent to Mazanderan, and Mulai to Kuhistan, to collect troops there. Ghazan was presently joined at Meshed by Kutluk and his division, whom he received with great honour. He sent his harem for safety to Isferain. Meanwhile, news arrived that the enemy had advanced towards Nishapur by way of Habak and Ishakabad. The amir Aladu at the council of war quoted the Mongol proverb, "It is easy to quarrel with an enemy, but difficult to vanquish him." It was determined to withdraw first to Tus, where a struggle took place. Ghazan now began to feel one of the inconveniences of a fading fortune. Some of his amirs found specious excuses for withdrawing from him. Aladu asked to be allowed to go and collect some troops at Juven; Shirin Ikaji to remove his family from Nishapur; Arghurtai Ghazan, who had a close connection with the Jagatai princes, also withdrew. Ghazan encamped for a while at the village of Kisragh, near Izferain. A body of Karaunas having revolted, the Amir Kutluk was left behind to suppress them, while Ghazan moved to Jorbed. He ordered the Karauna families who lived there to be moved to Jajerm and Bostam. Nuruz and his troops committed ravages in Khorasan. They blockaded Nishapur, and carried off many prisoners from the district round. Near Nishapur is a strong position called Barubaka, where a crowd of people with their herds had retired. The invaders cut off their retreat both at the head and foot of the valley, and killed more than 1,000 folk who were not Mussulmans. They then plundered the sacred tombs at Tus, and carried off four golden ornaments which adorned the fountain. At Badghiz the invaders mustered their men, and as the numbers were 5,000 horsemen short, Nuruz was bastinadoed at the instance of his allies, the princes of the house of Ogotai. Ghazan withdrew again from Jajerm towards Bostam and Damaghan, at which latter place he heard of his father's death.† In regard to the ravages of the Jagatai troops under Nuruz, Wassaf says he was so feared in the country that when cattle were seen rushing to water people said it was because they had seen the spirit of Nuruz.‡

Let us now return to Arghun. He abandoned the cares of State more and more to his Jewish vizier, who governed the country prudently for two years, repressing disorders, and accumulating 1,000 gold tumans in

* D'Ohsson, iv. 46-49. Ilkhans, ii. 14-15. † Ilkhans, ii. 15-16. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 46-49.

the treasury, and his authority grew daily. But he was not without enemies, the most dangerous of whom was Arghun's favourite, Tughan. Tughan was the son of Tarakai, formerly Governor of Kuhistan. He was very accomplished. In judgment and sagacity, in wit and eloquence, he had no equal among the Mongols, and was a good letter writer, book-keeper, poet, and astronomer. He had been sent with a body of troops in October, 1289, to Khorasan, to oppose Nuruz. When he arrived there Nuruz had withdrawn, so Tughan returned. He was thereupon charged by a bakhshi, at the Vizier's instance, with having impressed more post-horses than he was authorised to do by his warrant (kara tamgha). This having been proved, he was, according to the inexorable yasa, or law, ordered to receive seventeen strokes with the bastinado. Tughan, who was always self-possessed, and had a ready answer at command, looking round the room, and seeing more than seventeen amirs present, asked what harm it would do if the seventeen strokes awarded to him were distributed among them. Arghun laughed, and quoted a verse of Motenebi—

> If the lion winks with a lion's strength,
> Do not imagine that the lion laughs.

By his happy remark on this occasion, and his general good-humour, he escaped punishment; but he did not forget that the Jew was the foundation of the affront which he had received, and determined upon his ruin, allying himself for the purpose with the amir Kunjukbal and others, who had grievances against him. Their plans were not easy to carry out, since Arghun was much attached to his vizier, who had not only kept his coffers well filled, but had flattered him by a much more potent offer. He had tried to persuade Arghun to become, like Muhammed, the founder of a new religion. Wassaf reports that he had been told by the vizier Sadr jihan, that he had one day met Said ud daulat on the main road, and had asked for a short consultation. Said alighted, and they talked together confidentially. Having prepared him by some preliminary remarks, he showed him a memoir, in which it was set out that there should always be on the earth, as was assured by the conjunction of the stars, a man who dominated his contemporaries, whose existence was necessary to maintain order among men, and who introduced, according to the exigencies of the day, and the needs of the people, new religious laws, employing either force or persuasion, as needs be, to secure their obedience. The qualities, he added, of this heavenly apostle were to be found united at that moment in the person of the Ilkhan the Just. To the foot of this document were appended the signatures of the chief imaums, or doctors of the law, who confirmed the position therein maintained by several quotations. One of them had written, "The people follow the faith of their sovereigns." Said had asked Wassaf's friend, Sadr Jihan, to add his signature also, but he had excused himself. It

was said that Said proposed to convert the sacred Ka'aba into an idol temple to force the Muhammedans to become Pagans, and that he had already begun to prepare for a campaign against Mecca. Wassaf adds (but we must remember that he was a Mussulman, and speaking of a despised Jew, who held authority over true believers) that Said sent another Jew, named Khoja Nejb ud din, the oculist, with a list of 200 proscribed persons, including the most noble and best in the land, whom he was to put to death; while Shems ud daulat, who commanded at Shiraz, was ordered to put to death seventeen prelates and grandees of that city. (Von Hammer says to pay the penalty inflicted by the yasa which he interprets as the bastinado.) To him also were attributed the various sanguinary acts of Arghun, who, when a youth, had been very gentle, and had on one feast day expressed his pain on seeing a number of dead sheep in the shambles, saying it was dreadful to have to kill so many innocent animals merely for our food.*

Arghun was a great believer in alchemy, and in its professors, the bakhshis or lamas, who claimed to have found the object of quest of mediæval philosophy, viz., a potion for securing long life, and which we are told in their case was a salivating decoction compounded of sulphur and mercury. Mirkhond tells us that a lama who came from India in 698 HEJ., prepared such a decoction for Arghun, who took it for eight months, and was then advised to retire for forty days to Tebriz, where he saw no one but the general Ordu Kia, the vizier Said ud daulat, an officer of his household named Kujan, and the bakhshis, who surrounded him day and night, and disputed on the mysteries of their faith. He then went to his winter quarters in Arran, where he became ill, and as the medicine given him by the doctor, Armu ud daulat, did not cure him, one of the bakhshis gave him a large dose of some potion. This brought on a partial paralysis, and as he got no better, inquiries were diligently made as to the real cause of his disease. The Shamans having consulted the burnt shoulder-blades of sheep, as was their custom, declared that his illness was due to sorcery, and one of his wives, named Tukchak, or Tughanjak, the daughter of a sister of Jushkab, was accused of being the cause of the mischief, and was interrogated and tortured before the other Khatuns. She replied that she had done nothing except employ a charm written on a piece of paper, such as was commonly used to secure the Ilkhan's affection. She was thereupon drowned, with all her maids. The Ilkhan's continued illness was naturally very distressing to Said ud daulat, who knew that his own fortunes depended upon it, and after consulting with other courtiers it was determined to dispense liberal alms, and to open the prisons. A month passed by, and Arghun gradually sank, while the Vizier multiplied

* D'Ohsson, iv. 49-53. Ilkhans, i. 386-388.

various acts of benevolence. He dispatched seventy letters in one day, recommending the authorities to protect the oppressed, relieve the poor, and release prisoners. He made a present of 30,000 dinars to the people of Baghdad, while 10,000 were distributed among the poor and the fakirs, &c., at Shiraz. Similar alms were distributed in other places, while the khatuns, princes, and princesses were forbidden to appropriate anything which had been devoted to good works.

When inquiries were instituted in view of releasing various prisoners, it was found that Kara Buka and Hulaju had been put to death at Girdkuh and Damaghan respectively, while thirteen princes of the blood had been put to death by order of Sultan Aidaji. Meanwhile, the principal military chiefs, Toghachar, Kunjukbal, Tugal, and Ilchidai, banded themselves together to exact vengeance from their personal foes. *Inter alios*, Aidaji had put to death the young children of Hulaju and Kara Buka, as well as Tukchak Khatun. He said he had merely carried out his master's orders. Ordu Kia was sent to inquire from Arghun, and brought back word that the latter knew nothing of the matter. "How could he have said so, since he has not spoken for some days?" "If so," was the reply, "he could not have given you orders. You have committed these cruelties without his knowledge, and now you lay them to his charge." They accordingly put him to death. This was on the 4th of March. Only Juchi and Said ud daulat, both of whom were in the greatest jeopardy, had access to the Ilkhan's tent. The latter had sent a messenger to Ghazan, bidding him hasten home, hoping he would arrive before his father's death, or at least before it should have become generally known, and thus escape the fate he felt to be impending over him; but the generals who had leagued themselves together, suspecting from the prohibition to enter Arghun's tent that the latter's case was getting desperate, determined to complete their work. Juchi and Ordu Kia were killed at a feast given by Toghachar. Tughan killed Kujan, brother of Ordu Kia, with a sabre cut, in the ordu of Uruk Khatun, one of Arghun's wives. Said ud daulat himself was arrested and conducted to Toghachar's quarters by Tugal and Kurumishi, son of Alinak, where he was decapitated. His palace at Tebriz was ransacked, and a large quantity of treasure was found stored in jars, &c., in the walls. Arghun not seeing his usual courtiers about him, asked the reason. They made an excuse, but Wassaf says he guessed their fate.* Said's death took place on the 29th of February, 1291.

Thus perished a very remarkable man. "From the beginning of the Arab domination in Asia," says Abulfaraj, "Jews had never been intrusted with responsible posts. The humbler among them kept shops, dye works, or rope walks; those who were better off became doctors or

* D'Ohsson, iv. 53-57. Ilkhans, i. 391-393. Quatremere, 194. Note.

scribes in places where Mussulmans contemned these occupations. The Mongols," he says, "on the other hand never honoured those who were worthy, nor confided the government of their towns or districts to those of high birth. They made no difference between a slave and a free man; between a Muhammedan, a Jew, or a Christian. They treated men of all nations with the same asperity. Whoever went to them with presents in his hands obtained the office he asked for, irrespective altogether of his fitness. They only exacted perpetual deference. Said ud daulat directed in person all the affairs of the State. He neglected the grandees of the Ordu. He prohibited them from giving or receiving. He treated the amirs, generals, and great dignitaries disdainfully. He himself was the only avenue to every suppliant. There gathered about him from all parts of the earth numbers of Jews, who declared it was for their special safety and his own glory that God had given this man to the Jews. They became greatly inflated in consequence."* It is certainly singular that a Jew should in these times have been able to climb to the vizierate of the Mongol empire of Persia, and apart from the natural capacity which this success proves, there is something remarkable in the Vizier's suggestion that Arghun should found a new religion, and the reasons urged for the step, which makes us wish to know something more about him. Arghun himself died, after a five months' illness, on the 10th of March, 1291, at his palace of Bagchi Arran.

The "History of Georgia," speaking of his illness, says that his limbs shrivelled up, his flesh and bones fell, and he became like a corpse, and eventually, after an illness of four months, his body began to putrify from his head to his feet, whereupon his noyans fell on him and choked him to death under his tent. We are further told that he died on the 12th of March, the same day on which King Dimitri had been put to death.† Abulfeda agrees in the date here given, and says Arghun died in the third month of 690 (*i.e.*, in March, 1291).‡ Wassaf's notice of his death is characteristic: "The parroqueet of the soul of the Ilkhan left the cage of his body to go and dwell among the peacocks of the palace of the sublime garden."§ Rashid says that the magicians or bakhshis having been consulted on the cause of his death, reported, after examining the burnt shoulder-blade of a sheep, that his illness was caused by sorceries.‖ Stephen Orpelian, in the 70th chapter of his "History of Siunia," reports that Arghun was poisoned by one of his concubines whom he greatly loved. This happened, he says, on the plain of Mughan, and on the feast of St. Theodore. This story is doubtless founded on that already related about one of his wives having used a charm to gain his love. Orpelian adds that his death was marked by the massacre of several chiefs—Khojan, the grand treasurer; Sultan, superintendent of meats and

* Chron. Syr., 624-625. D'Ohsson, iv. 60-61. Note. † Op. cit., i. 608-609.
‡ *Id.*, 609. Note. § Quatremere, 9. Note. ‖ *Id.*, 268.

drink; Chishu and Ordu Khan, chiefs of tribunals; the virtuous Jit; Sada daula, of the grand divan, director of taxes in Georgia and elsewhere.*

The "Shajrat ul Atrak" says of Arghun: "The religion of Muhammed by his death became flourishing as a garden by the breezes and flowers of spring, and the hearts of its enemies were broiled on the fire of grief and despair." It says that he was buried on the mountain of Zobir, near the burying-place of Kyde, one of the prophets, in a tomb made for the purpose, and the environs were made *kuruk*, or sacred. The place, says the author of that work, is still known by the name of the Tuffuruk of Arghun.† Others say he was buried on the mountain of Sijas, which the Mongols called Avizeh, and for three days the commanders of ten men in his regiment sent funeral meats to his grave, which, after the usual Mongol fashion, was unmarked and undisclosed until his daughter placed a domed tomb and a chapel over it. The place itself was a famous pasture ground, called Endjrud, and Abaka had built a palace there. The mountains Sijas took their name from a village which was destroyed by the Mongols. They ran through beautiful meadows, which they called Kungkur ulong.‡

Rashid ud din, who had to temper his Muhammedanism with considerable servility, says that Arghun had an agreeable temper, but was irascible. Ez Zehebi, who is more candid, says he was unjust, cruel, ignorant, hardy, courageous, strong and active. If three horses were placed together, he would vault over two of them and seat himself in the saddle on the third.§ Haithon says he was very handsome, and a powerful and prudent ruler.‖ Arghun was fond of building. He erected a suburb to the west of Tebriz, which was called Shem, or Shenb, and where at a later day his son Ghazan built his tomb. D'Ohsson says he built two palaces there, between which was a town, to which he gave the name of Arghuniya. He built another town near Sheruyaz, north of Kazvin, in the meadows of Kungkur ulong (meaning in Mongol the pastures of the sorrel-coloured horse), which was afterwards known as Sultania. Abaka had built a palace a day's journey from this spot, where there was a natural lake whose water did not grow or lessen. At Alatagh, Arghun built another serai, or palace, while he put up a summer palace at Lar, or Larjan, the chief town of the district of Laristan, at the foot of the mountains of Demavend. This was called Arghun's Kiosk, and retained the name for some time, being so called in the "Zafer Nameh." The bazaar of the town is still reputed the most beautiful in Persia, while the existing ruins of the palace are remarkable.¶

Arghun's great passion, however, was for alchemy, and his Court was the rendezvous of the various professors of the art in the East. Not-

* Hist. de la Siounie, 259. Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 609. Note. † Op. cit., 264-265.
‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 5-8. Ilkhans, i. 293. § D'Ohsson, iv. 58. Note 1. ‖ Op. cit., 59.
¶ D'Ohsson, iv. 58-59. Ilkhans, i. 389-391. Quatremere, 203. Note.

withstanding the cost of their experiments, he did not complain, but readily paid what they needed. One day, when the alchemists had been discussing the mysteries of nature in his presence, he turned to the mollah Kutb ud din, of Shiraz, a learned man of repute, and said : "You, who are a learned man, believe, because I am a Turk, that these people are deceiving me ; but it is quite certain that there is a science of alchemy, and there is *some one* somewhere who knows its secret. If I ill-treat and put to death these ignorant people, *that one man* will be afraid to come and see me." Nevertheless, after seeing the result of many futile experiments, his faith in them began to falter.*

As soon as his death became known the troops proceeded to plunder the houses of the Muhammedans and Jews who were about, and dug holes in their tents to find hidden treasure. The catastrophe which overwhelmed the vizier Said ud daulat was the subject of great rejoicing to the Muhammedans, and was followed by a terrible reaction against the Jews, who were everywhere treated with renewed cruelty. At Baghdad their dwellings were pillaged, and more than a hundred of their principal people were reduced to poverty. Abulfaraj tells us how, when they had killed the Vizier, they sent messengers in various directions, who seized and imprisoned his brothers and relatives, and robbed them of their property. Such of the Jews as were not killed resumed their humble mode of living again. A general attack was made on the Jewish quarter at Baghdad, but the assailants were beaten back, and many on both sides were killed.†

We are told that when Kutlugh Buka and his partisans learnt of the serious illness of Arghun they determined to put David, son of Dimitri, on the throne of Georgia, and to dethrone Wakhtang. In this they were supported by Tachar (*i.e.*, Toghachar) and by Pharejan, son of the King of Ossethi, and they met to deliberate as to which of the two should be king. The other mthawars were not partial to David, and remained attached to Wakhtang. David, instead of the kingdom, secured a grant of some villages and districts.‡

Armenia proper was at this time a mere geographical expression, its independence having been absorbed by the Mongols and Georgians. The annals of the country dwindle down to notices of ecclesiastical jealousies and disputes. Darsaiji had been appointed atabeg of all the country between Tiflis, Ani, and Kars (*i.e.*, of Armenia), with the guardianship of his sons, by King Dimitri of Georgia. His son Stephen was in 1287 made bishop and metropolitan of Siunia. Some of the bishops were jealous of him, and caused considerable trouble. Stephen thereupon repaired to Arghun, and showed him a letter from the patriarch, so that he could see for himself how matters stood. Arghun received him

* D'Ohsson, iv. 59-60. † *Id.*, 60. Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 625.
‡ Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 608.

kindly, and sent him a yarligh which gave him authority over the church, the country, and the bishops. He also assigned him a person from his Court, and gave him a golden paizah or tablet, and sent him back to his see. Darsaij died in his palace of Arpha, in 1290, and was buried at Noravankh by his brother Sempad. A feud arose among his sons about the succession. They brought the matter before Arghun, who selected the eldest, Elikum, put him in his father's place, and made him prince over his brothers. He divided what he had with the bishops, vartabeds, and nobles, gave a portion to his brother Jalal, and another to his cousin Liparit. Peace reigned everywhere, and the ruined monasteries and devastated land began to revive. "The family of the Orpelians," says the historian of the house, "was at this time, by the grace of God, like Noah's ark amidst the waves that were desolating the world, and it is to be hoped the Lord will continue it so until the end of time."*

Arghun had nine wives. 1. Kutlugh, daughter of the Uirat Tengir, who was a Kurkan (*i.e.*, son-in-law of the ruler, inasmuch as he married Tudukash, a daughter of Khulagu). 2. Oljatai, daughter of Tengir's son Sulamish by the same princess, Sulamish having married his father's widow in the recognised Mongol fashion. 3. Uruk, daughter of Saruji, and sister of the Kerait amir, Irinjin. 4. Seljuk, daughter of Rokn ud din, Sultan of Rum. 5. Bulughan, the relative of Buka Yarghuji, who had been one of his father's wives. 6. On her death he married a second Bulughan, the daughter of Utaman, son of Obotai Noyan of the Konguruts. 7. Mertai, the Kongurut, who had been the wife of Khulagu and Abaka. 8. Tudai, the daughter of Musa Kurkan and of Tarakai, daughter of Khulagu; she had been Ahmed's widow. 9. Kultak Ikaji. By Kultak, Arghun had his eldest son, Ghazan. Uruk was the mother of his two sons, Yesu Timur and Uljaitu, and of his three daughters, Oljaitai, Oljai Timur, and Kutlugh Timur. Kutlugh was the mother of Khatai Oghul, while the second Bulughan, the favourite among his wives, was the mother of his daughter Dilenji.†

Marco Polo has a story about the elder Bulughan, whom he calls Bolgana, a name quaintly and accurately translated Zibellina by Colonel Yule. He says that when she died she desired in her will that no lady should take her place, or succeed her as Arghun's wife, except one of her own family who still lived in Cathay (*i.e.*, one of the tribe of Bayaut). Arghun therefore dispatched three of his barons—Ulatair, Apuska, and Koja, as envoys to the Great Khan, with an escort, to bring home some lady of Bulughan's family. The Great Khan received them well, and sent for a lady named Cocachin (Kukachin), who belonged to the same tribe as Bulughan. She was seventeen years old and very beautiful, and when she reached the Court she was presented to the

* Hist. de la Siounie, 238-239. St. Martin Memoires, ii. 169.
† Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 360-361.

three barons, who declared that the lady pleased them well. At this time Marco Polo himself, who had been sent by the Great Khan as envoy, returned from India, and reported the various things he had seen in his travels, and described the seas which he had crossed. The three barons determined to return to Persia in the company of Marco, his father Nicolo, and his uncle Maffeo, who were all then at the Great Khan's Court, and they determined to return by sea, to avoid the great fatigue which the land journey would be for the lady they were escorting. The Great Khan gave the Poli two golden tablets or paizahs, to secure them liberty of passage through all his dominions, and securing them all necessaries, &c., for their journey. He also sent messages by them to the Kings of France, England, Spain, and the other rulers of Christendom. He then had thirteen ships equipped, each of which had four masts and often spread twelve sails, among which were four or five which carried 250 or 260 men. They were provided for a journey of two years. After sailing for some three months, they reached the island Polo calls Java, but which was really Sumatra, and after a voyage of eighteen months more they reached their destination, to find that Arghun was dead. Ramusio's version says that 600 of the mariners and others on board had died on the way, while of the envoys only Khoja survived. The envoys, besides the Princess Kukachin, also had in charge a daughter of the King of Manzi (*i.e.*, a princess of the Sung dynasty) who had also been sent to Arghun.* They probably learnt of Arghun's death at Hormuz. They thereupon sent word to Gaikhatu, Arghun's brother, who directed them to convey her to Ghazan, Arghun's son, who was then in the province of the Arbre Sec (*i.e.*, Khorasan), guarding the passes with 60,000 men. Having done so they returned to Gaikhatu, with whom they stayed nine months. We learn from other sources that it was at Abher, near Kazvin, that Ghazan met the princess, whom he married. She died twelve months later, in June, 1296.†

During Arghun's reign we read of no intercourse with the Egyptians of a peaceful kind. The fact was that Arghun's patronage of the Jews and Christians created a breach with the Egyptian Sultan, which probably would have ended in war, but that each had other troubles on his hands. Arghun's we have described. Kelavun's were caused by fear of the supporters of Bibars, the so-called Zahirits, and who made Karak, which a son of Bibars held, their centre. The Sultan contented himself therefore with strengthening his fortresses, the securing of Karak and of Sehyun, in Syria, where Sonkor headed another body of the discontented, and with assailing the remaining fortresses of the Crusaders,‡ and it was not long before the famous stronghold of Tripoli was in his hands. He also bitterly pressed the King of Little Armenia, whose land

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 34-39. † *Id.*, 38. Yule's notes. ‡ Weil, iv. 147.

as far as Ayas was devastated, and who in 1285 sought a ten years' truce, by agreeing to pay an annual tribute of a million dirhems, undertaking not to build any new fortresses in his country, and to release any Mussulmans he held prisoners.*

On the other hand, Arghun tried to draw closer his ties with the Christians. Haithon says he undertook to rescue the Holy Land from the infidels, while he rebuilt the churches which had been destroyed by Ahmed.† A letter is extant, in very canine and broken Latin, which professes to have been sent by Arghun to the Pope Honorius IV. It is probably a translation by one who did not know his original very well. It is dated the 18th of May in the year of the Hen (*i.e.*, 1285), "in Coriis," which Remusat suggests is a mistake for Tebriz. It is written in the name of Christ, and is courteously phrased. The Ilkhan recalls the good feeling which the Mongols, since the time of Jingis Khan, the first father of all the Tartars, had had for the Pope, the serene King of the Franks, and the serene King Charles (*i.e.*, Charles of Anjou), and the protection they had always extended to Christians, whom they had exempted from paying dues, &c. He speaks gratefully of the reception accorded to his envoys, Ise turciman (*i.e.*, Ise the interpreter), Bogagok, Mengilik, Thomas Banchrui, and Ugeto turciman, who had, if we understand the very clumsy Latin, been rewarded with presents of precious robes and perfumes (*roba et tus*). Arghun goes on to say that his mother was a Christian, while his grandfather and father, Khulagu and Abaka, had greatly cherished the Christians, as did at that time Khubilai Khakan. He had determined himself to send the holy father a present of precious robes and incense, and to guarantee the Christians the advantages they had previously enjoyed. The long interval which had elapsed since the previous embassy was due to the apostacy of Ahmed. He recalled the fact that the people of Scam (*i.e.*, Shem, or Syria) intervened between his folk and those of the Pope, and suggested a joint campaign against Egypt.‡ "It is singular," says Remusat, "and certainly a matter of regret, that we cannot illustrate this singular letter from other sources." A few years later, viz., in 1288, other envoys from Arghun arrived at Rome. They were Bar Sauma, a Uighur monk, who had been nominated bishop of Uighuria by Yahaballaha, patriarch of the Nestorians; Sabadin Arkhaun (Arkhaun is the term by which the Christians were known to the Muhammedans); Thomas de Anfusis, and the interpreter Ugeto, the two latter being apparently the same persons as are mentioned in the previous letter, and there called Thomas Banchrui and Uguet. These envoys were received at Rome by the newly-elected Pope, Nicholas IV. They reported how the faith was flourishing in Tartary; that Arghun was

* Weil, 159. † Haithon, 59.
‡ Remusat, Mems. Acad. Inscr., vii. 356-357 and 426-427. Mosheim, Hist. Eccl. App. N XXV.

determined to prosecute his campaign against the Mussulmans, and to rescue the Holy Land; that the Grand Khan was not averse to the faith, and that missionaries might be sent to him; many of Arghun's officials were Christians, many again were Muhammedans, and it was the latter's influence which prevented him from becoming a Christian; two of his queens, viz., Elegag and Tuktan, had been baptised, while Arghun himself was determined to be so at Jerusalem, after he had taken it from the Saracens; finally, the Nestorians and Franciscans were engaged in spreading the faith everywhere in Tartary. At Arghun's Court were several Christian interpreters, such as Johannes de Bonachia, Hugo Gantelini, Petrus de Molina, Girardus Kasmuri, from Constantinople; Balaba de Yanua (? Genoa), Girardus de Caturco, Georgius Cusi, Johannes de Barlara, and Johannes de Casaria.*

These matters having been reported to the Pope, he replied in a letter, dated the 10th of April, 1288, in which he expresses his satisfaction at having received the Khan's letter, and also at its contents, and the assurances of the envoys, which had been delivered in the presence of his brothers (*i.e.*, the cardinals). He was especially thankful to the Saviour, who held in his hand the hearts of worldly sovereigns, that he had inspired Arghun, not only to treat the Christians kindly, but also with a desire for the spread of Christianity. He sent him his thanks, and also an exposition of the principal articles of the Catholic faith—the sacrifice, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, and the remission of the keys and the power of binding and loosing to St. Peter and his successors. As the vicar of Christ on earth the Pope exhorted the Khan to enter the only path which led to eternal safety. In a second letter the Pope mentioned that he had heard from his envoys that it was his purpose to deliver Jerusalem from the infidels, and that he proposed to be baptised there. He praised this intention, but wisely, if not craftily, suggested that his previous baptism would facilitate the conquest, while considerations of his own safety would not brook delay. He urged him to be baptised at once; it would lead to many following his example. The Pope also wrote to Tuktan,† and to another princess named Elegag (*i.e.*, Ilkutlugh), saying he had heard of their conversion and their zeal for the faith, which he urged them to redouble. He also wrote to Denis, bishop of Tebriz, a letter from whom had accompanied that of the Ilkhan.‡

The object of the Mongols was no doubt more political than religious. They wanted help against the Egyptians more than fraternal advice. It seems that the Pope sent on the Khan's message to Philippe le Bel, king of France, who is in turn found sending envoys in 1288 to Persia. We learn about them, chiefly through Arghun's subsequent complaints, that they

* Mosheim, op. cit., 75-76.

† D'Ohsson identifies her with the widow of Abaka of that name, but Von Hammer says, on the authority of Rashid ud din, that she died in Abaka's lifetime.

‡ Remusat, op. cit., 359-360. D'Ohsson, iv. 66-69.

would not do him homage after the usual fashion, on the excuse that he was not a Christian, and it would therefore be an indignity to their master if they prostrated themselves as had been demanded. Eventually they were received in their own fashion, and were treated with courtesy. In the year 1289 some Franciscans returned to Italy after an evangelising tour in the East. John of Monte Corvino was among them; he had been away ten years, and reported how a certain Isola, a noble of Pisa, had acquired great authority among the Tartars. He presently returned again, and the Pope sent with him a letter, dated the 15th of July, 1289, in which he repeated his former congratulations, and recommended John of Monte Corvino himself to his favour.* Other letters were sent for Prince Caidon (? Baidu) and for Khubilai Khan. Shortly after there arrived another envoy from Arghun at Rome, in the person of a Genoese, named Buscarel de Gisulf, reporting that he (the Ilkhan) was ready to march to the rescue of the Holy Land at the time fixed for the crusade. Buscarel was sent on to Edward I. of England, with a letter of recommendation from the Pope, dated the 30th of September, 1289. On his way he presented Philippe le Bel with a letter from Arghun which is still preserved in the French archives. Remusat says it is nearly six feet and a-half long and ten inches wide, written on paper made of cotton, and is in the form of a roll. On one side it has thirty-four lines of black writing and a thrice-repeated mark of a red seal, five and a-half inches square. The letter is written in the Mohgol language, and in Uighur characters, in vertical lines. The seal bears six ancient Chinese characters. This Mongol roll has attached to it a document in French, to explain the nature and contents of Arghun's own communication.† Arghun's letter has naturally attracted much attention. It has been published and translated both by Remusat and Schmidt. The former says it contains the earliest known specimen of Mongol. This was so when he wrote, but we have since recovered the vocabulary preserved by Malakia, which is considerably earlier.‡ The letter is written in a dialect differing somewhat from either standard Mongol, or the Kalmuk dialect, with less complicated phrases, and in more simple grammar.§ The following is a translation of it as given by Schmidt :—

"By the power of the Almighty God. Under the auspices of the Khakan Arghun, our word.

The King of France,
by the envoy,
Mar Bar Sauma‖
Sakhora.

You have told us you will set out to join us when the Ilkhan's troops

* D'Ohsson, iv. 69-70. † Remusat, op. cit., 363-364. ‡ Ante, Notes to chapter i.
§ Remusat, 365.
‖ *Mar* is a Syriac title of honour, meaning Mr. or Esq., and is given to all respectable people. *Bar Sauma* has been already mentioned. (Remusat, op. cit., 369.)

begin their march towards Egypt. Pleased with this communication, I say that we propose, confiding in God, to set out in the last month of winter, in the year of the panther (*i.e.*, January, 1291), and to pitch our camp before Damascus on the 15th of the first month of spring (*i.e.*, towards the 20th of February). If you keep your word and send your troops at the time fixed, and God favours our undertaking, when we have taken Jerusalem from these people we will make it over to you. But unless you join us at the rendezvous it is useless to send your people at all, and if in consequence we do not know what to do, what good will it do? We have sent Muskeril, the Kuruji, to say that if you will send us envoys knowing several languages, and bringing us presents, rarities and images of different colours from the land of the Franks, we will be very friendly with you, by the power of God and the fortune of the Khakan. Our letter is written at Kundulen, the 6th of the first month of summer, of the year of the cow."

It will be noticed that Buscarel's name is written Muskeril. This is due to the usual substitution of M for B by the Mongols and Turks. Kuruji means one who has charge of the arms (*i.e.*, of the prince) and answers therefore to our western armiger and the Persian selahdar. The sovereign's body guards are also called kurujis.* Kundulen is an unknown site, according to D'Ohsson. Remusat suggests that it may be a corruption of Kongorlan, the earlier name of Sultania, but prefers to identify it with some place north of Lake Urmia, and says there is a river Kundalan which falls into the Araxes. St. Martin says that Soyuthi, in his geographical dictionary, mentions a place called Kondelan, near Ispahan.† In regard to the mark of the seal attached to the document, Remusat urges that the seal which made it was probably sent to Arghun with his investiture as Ilkhan. The inscription is in the early Chinese character called *chuan*, which is otherwise known as the seal character. The inscription does not impress one that the position of Ilkhan was held in high estimation at the Grand Khan's Court. It reads, "Seal of the Minister of State, pacificator of peoples." Remusat calls attention to the singular result of the Crusades on the one hand and the Mongol conquests on the other, in bringing together the affairs of the furthest East and those of Jerusalem and Egypt, and to the curious fact that part of the story should be preserved in ideographic characters which, so long extinct in the valley of the Nile, still survive in China.

The letter in French accompanying the Mongol original is more diffusely written, and more courteously phrased, a sophistication doubtless due to the courtly and diplomatic interpreter. In this note Arghun adds that in his expedition against Jerusalem he intended taking with him the two Christian kings of Georgia, who were his vassals, and could

* D'Ohsson, iv. 71-73. Remusat, op. cit., 369-372. † Remusat, op, cit., 372-373.

muster 20,000 horsemen. As it would be very inconvenient for the King of France to cross the sea with a great number of horses, he (Arghun) was prepared to furnish him with 20,000 or 30,000, either by way of gift, or at a reasonable price. Arghun could also, if the French king pleased, order in Turkey (*i.e.*, Rum) for him, cattle, cows, and camels, grain and flour, and such other provisions as he would need. As a proof of his good intentions he mentioned how, having heard of it, he had greatly rejoiced at the news of the recent disaster of the Christians at Tripoli, and that he had had four of the principal people among the Muhammedans put to death, and refused permission for their bodies to be buried, but ordered them to be given to the dogs and birds of prey. He mentions how his sister had recently married the King of Georgia, and that she had become a Christian. That during Lent just past Arghun had caused the mass to be chanted in a chapel where the Nestorian bishop Rabanata had officiated, and had also caused several of his grandees to take the sacrament. He then went on to express his surprise that the envoys of the French king had refused to salute him in the prescribed fashion, and had declared that they could not kneel before him, since he was not a Christian ; that he had summoned them to do so by his great barons three times, and finding them obdurate he had admitted them and treated them with great honour. Arghun said if this was by the king's wish he had nothing to say, and that everything that pleased the king would please him also, but he desired that if he sent him envoys in future they would salute him in the fashion customary at his Court, without crossing fire (*i.e.*, without being purified by being made to walk between two fires, as in the Mongol ceremonial).*

Buscarel, having delivered his message, apparently went on to England, where he had been preceded by a brief of Pope Nicholas, addressed to King Edward, stating how one Zagan, who had recently been baptised by the Archbishop of Ostia under the name of Andrew, with his nephew Dominic, formerly called Gorgi (? Kurji), and Buscarel de Gisulf, a Genoese citizen, as well as Moracius, envoys from Arghun, the illustrious King of the Tartars, bearers of presents, would presently arrive at his Court. He begged him to receive them well, to listen attentively to what they had to say, and to send them back as quickly as possible, for on their return he proposed to send them home again, accompanied by his legate at that time in England. Remusat says there are two briefs extant, one dated the 30th of September, 1289, and the other the 2nd of December. D'Ohsson speaks of one only, which is dated the 10th of December, 1290, and of which the above is the abstract.† From the wardrobe accounts of Edward I. we learn that Buscarel arrived in London on the eve of the Epiphany, January 5th, 1290, accompanied by three esquires, a cook,

* Remusat, *id.*, 430-432. D'Ohsson, iv. 74-76. † D'Ohsson, iv. 76-77. Remusat, 381.

eight horses, and six *garçons*. He remained thirteen days at the English Court, and in all twenty days in England. His expenses were defrayed by Edward. On Buscarel's departure Edward gave him a letter for Arghun, in which mention is made of the attachment which his father had always shown towards the Christians. The English king compliments his correspondent on his intention of arming against the Soldan of Babylon (by which title the ruler of Egypt is meant) in aid of the Holy Land and the Christian faith, and thanks him for the offer of horses, &c., when he shall reach Palestine, and assures him that as soon as he had obtained the assent of the Roman pontiff to the passage of himself and his army beyond the sea he would inform him by envoys, and also send him some gerfalcons and other treasures of his land (*de nostris Girofalcis et aliis jocalibus nostre terre*), as Arghun had requested.* Edward's wars in Scotland prevented him from carrying out the crusade, to which he was persistently urged by the Pope.

In 1291 Arghun renewed his message, and sent fresh letters to Nicholas IV. and the King of England. His envoy on this occasion was called Chaghan, or Zagan.† The faith was spreading, it seems, among influential people in Tartary, for we read how two queens, whose names are given as Dathanicatum and Anichohamini, had become Christians, as had also Arghun's son "Karbaganda." In his letters to the Pope the Ilkhan chiefly refers to a joint expedition against Syria. The English king had already taken the cross, but the fall of Ptolemais, the only remaining vantage held by the Christians on the coasts of Syria, the news of which reached Western Europe about the time of Chaghan's embassy, damped the spirits of the Christians, and, as Remusat says, led to the strange result that the most eager crusading spirit was actually found among the Mongols, who desired the alliance of the Franks against their powerful enemies, the Egyptian sultans.‡

In his reply, dated the 21st of August, 1291, the Pope acknowledged the receipt of the letter which Chaghan had taken, and said he had forwarded the one addressed to Edward. He seems to have said little about Palestine, but repeated his entreaties to Arghun to be baptised, excusing himself from sending the presents which the Ilkhan had asked for on the ground that he was an ecclesiastic, and concluded by recommending to his favour William de Sherio, the penitentiary, and Matthew "de civitate Theatina," a Franciscan, who carried letters with them for the Ilkhan. In a second letter, dated two days later, on the occasion of the capture of Tyre and Acre by the Mussulmans, Nicholas told the Ilkhan how he had urged the kings and princes who were Catholic to unite in recovering the Holy Land; that Edward, king of England, had crossed the sea with an imposing force; that he had ordered a crusade

* Archæological Journal, vii. 48-49. Article by T. Hudson Turner.
† Mosheim, op. cit., 79.
‡ Remusat, op, cit., 382.

to be preached throughout Christendom against the Mussulmans, and that he was convinced if Arghun would assist that the venture would come to a fortunate issue. He again urged him to be baptised, and to exert himself for the recovery of Palestine as his own royal prudence judged best. The Pope also sent by the two friars a letter for Uruk Khatun, who was great grand-daughter of Wang Khan, of the Keraits, who, according to Haithon, was a Christian, and had a chaplain and a chapel. Her son Karbaganda (*i.e.*, Kharbanda) was baptised under the name of Nicholas, but on his mother's death became a Mussulman, and afterwards mounted the throne as Sultan Uljaitu. The Pope expressed his gratification at hearing she was a Christian, and urged her to induce Arghun's sons Saron* and Kassian (*i.e.*, Ghazan), to whom he wrote directly, to embrace the faith. He also commended the two friars to her. In his letter to Ghazan, which is dated the 23rd of August, 1291, he also exhorted him to become a Christian, expounded to him the principal articles of the faith, thanked him for his kindness to the Christians, of which he prayed the continuance, and introduced the friars to his notice. A similar letter was addressed to Toghachar, the general, and one to Isolus, already named. In writing to Nicholas, the son of Arghun, who was already a Christian, he bade him fulfil zealously the demands of the faith, to change nothing of his mode of living, costume, or food, for fear his people should be estranged from him, but to keep up the same customs he had before his baptism. The Pope also expounded to him at length the dogmas of the faith, and recommended the bearers of his letter to his regard.†

Remusat has some apt remarks on this correspondence of the Pope with the Christians. The supreme Pontiff was no doubt very anxious to obtain a set-off against the losses Christianity had recently sustained in the East by the victories of the Mussulmans, and such a set-off would certainly have been the conversion of the Mongols. But these nomades were for the most part indifferent both to Islam and the religion of Christ. If they had openly embraced either faith earlier, they might probably have prolonged their dominion in Persia considerably, instead of being evicted after a short supremacy there, without leaving scarcely any traces of their nationality. Far different was the fate of the Turks, who became zealous Mussulmans, and retained, with varying vicissitudes, the real control of the affairs of Asia for many generations.

Arghun was on terms of friendship with Christians nearer home. Stephen the Orpelian, the historian of Siounia, whose work we have often quoted, was one of the sons of Darsaij, the atabeg of Armenia.‡ Stephen became a priest, and in 1285 was consecrated metropolitan of Siunia by Ter Hakob, at the Court of Leon III., King of Cilicia.§ He returned

* No such name occurs in Rashid ud din. † D'Ohsson, iv. 77-81.
‡ Ante, 345-346. § Hist. de la Siounie, 238 and 264.

home in 1287, and tells us how he repaired to Arghun, who treated him with great kindness and honour. He showed him his encyclical, which the Ilkhan caused to be translated and read, and also the documents by which Darsaij had made over to him for his sustenance the monasteries of Tathev, Noravank, Tsaghats-Kar, Aratés, &c. Arghun confirmed him in his authority, both spiritual and temporal, and ordered him to remain with him, and to consecrate in his palace the church (probably a movable tent) which had been sent to him by the Pope. He tells us he consecrated this church with great pomp, with the assistance of the Catholicos Nestor and twelve bishops. Arghun with his own hands dressed him in his pontifical ornaments. Holding the wooden rattle which did office for a bell, the Ilkhan himself made the round of the camp, and compelled everyone to receive benediction. Another bishop, sent by the same pope some time after, baptised Arghun's young son, whom he christened Theodosios, in the Mongol language Kharbanda (the name is written Khudabandah on his coins), and put him under the care of a Frankish prince named Sirchol, whom father Chanazarien has identified with Buscarel de Gisulf, already named.*

Arghun's coins occur both in silver and copper. Those in the British Museum were struck at Baghdad, Tebriz, Mardin, Mosul, Arrajan (?), Kashar, and Jeziret. Two in that collection are posthumous coins, and were struck in the year 691. Such posthumous coins have already been mentioned in the history of the Golden Horde, &c.† It is curious to find Arghun's coins struck at Baghdad with the orthodox Sunni symbol upon them, and then to find on a coin which Fraehn with great probability suggests was struck in Georgia, the sentence: "In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the one God."‡ The Mongol inscription on some of Arghun's coins is like that on the coins of Abaka already mentioned.§ Since I wrote the latter description I have met with an interesting passage by Schiefner, showing that the reading there criticised of *darugha* is not in fact maintainable as Burnouf and Poole have both argued, the word so read by Schmidt really reading *arebri*, *arebari*, or *arebchi*.‖ Schiefner views in this word, which he reads *arebchi*, a corruption and contraction of the Tibetan *rab*-m*dzes-rin-tch'en*-r*dordge*, pronounced *rab dze rin-tch'en dordge*, being the translation of the Sanscrit *sundararararatnavag'ra* (very beautiful, precious diamond).¶

Note 1.—I have made more than one reference in the previous chapter to Abulfaraj which ought to have been to the continuator of that chronicler. Abulfaraj, whose full name was Almufrian Mar Gregorius Abulfaraj Binalhakim Harun Almalaty, was the son of a doctor named Aaron, or Harun, and was born

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* *Id.*, 265-266. † Ante, ii. 204, and iii. 214. ‡ Fraehn Recenssio, 180.
§ Ante, 283. ‖ Journ. Asiat., 3rd ser., xiii. 118. ¶ Hist. de la Siounie, 266. Note 4.

at Malatia, in 1226. At the age of 20 he became bishop of Gobos, next year bishop of Lacabene, and later of Aleppo, and was finally, in 1264, elected maphrian or primate of the Jacobites, a dignitary intermediate between that of patriarch and metropolitan. He wrote an abridgment of universal history, in Syriac, which was translated into Latin by Bruns and Kirsch, in 1789. The part relating to the Mongols is partially based on Juveni, and partly on his own observations. He also translated his history into Arabic, or rather re-wrote it in Arabic, under the title, "Tarikh oktasir ud Dual," which was translated by Pocock in 1663. This history closed in 1285 or 1286, but was continued in the Syriac version by an anonymous author, who carried it down to 1297, and whose notices of Arghun's two successors are very valuable. It will be understood that all references to this author dated after 1286, ought to be to the continuator.

Note 2.—The word *yarligh*, which I have used more than once in this work, is so written in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, while in Syriac it is written *yarlik*. It is derived from the Mongol word *yarlikh*, a law, decree, or ordinance, from *yar*, meaning law.* It came to be used definitely, however, for an order or patent emanating directly from the sovereign. The missionary, Ricold de Mont Croix, speaking of these orders, describes one peculiarity which Quatremere says is quite exact. "The Tartars," he says, "honour their rulers so much that they do not insert their names with the other words, but leave a blank, and insert the name in the margin."† The yarlighs or patents were generally accompanied by metal tablets, called paizahs, which I have described in vol. i. pp. 271 and 530.

* St. Martin Memoires, ii. 281. Note 22.
† L hystoire merveilleuse du grand Chan de Tartarie, f. 36, v. Quatremere, 180-181.

CHAPTER VII.

GAIKHATU KHAN AND BAIDÙ KHAN.

GAIKHATU KHAN.

THE name of this Ilkhan has been corrupted by most authors. The best reading is that on his coins, which is Gaikhatu, which in Mongol means "the surprising, the admirable."* The "Shajrat ul Atrak," quoting the "Ulusi Arba," or history of the Four Ulusses (*i.e.*, Ulugh Beg's history), calls him Kenjatu, and says that he was originally called Unkatu, which in Mongol meant "astonishing," or "wonderful."† Abulfeda calls him Kanachtu‡—Marco Polo, Kiacatu.§ Haithon calls him Regayto, which is clearly a corruption of Kaikhatu.‖ Stephen Orpelian names him Kégathoi, and the Georgian history Kéghato and Keghtu.¶ St. Martin calls him Kantchatu, while Klaproth calls him Khultho Khan.** At his accession, we are told, the bakhshis conferred on him the name Irinchin Durji, or Arinjin Turji, which occurs on his coins and also on his paper money. Burnouf explains this name by two Tibetan words, *rintchhen rdô-rdjê*, meaning "precious diamond."†† This is doubtless the correct explanation of it. Wassaf says it is Chinese, while Von Hammer explains it as old Turkish.‡‡ Khuandemir says the name was conferred, not by the bakhshis, but by the Emperor of China.§§

Wakhtang, son of Narin David, king of Karthli, died soon after Gaikhatu's accession, viz., in 1292, and was buried at Gélath, in the royal sepulchre, whither he was conveyed at the desire of David, son of Dimitri, the other ruler of Georgia. His father took his death much to heart, and himself died the following year. Narin David left three sons, Constantine, Michael, and Alexander, whose mother was a daughter of the Emperor of Byzantium. We are told that Constantine and Michael had a lifelong feud, and that during their lives Imeuthi was in a state of confusion.‖‖ On the death of Arghun, the generals Singtur, Toghachar, and Bekta nominated governors for the various provinces, in order to secure order during the interregnum, but anarchy was not averted.¶¶

We must now make a short digression to bring up the history of "Great Luristan" to this point. We have seen how Shems ud din Alp Arghun

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* D'Ohsson, iv. 82. † Op. cit., ed. Miles, 270. Ilkhans, i. 394, &c.
‡ Op. cit., v. 101. § Op. cit., i. 35. ‖ Op. cit., ch. xxxix. ¶ Op. cit., 610-611.
** See St. Martin, Memoires, &c., ii. 298. Note 8.
†† Journ. Asiat., 3rd ser., xiii. 131-132. ‡‡ Ilkhans, i. 405. Note 2.
§§ Journ. Asiat., 3rd ser., xiii. 124. ‖‖ Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 610-611. ¶¶ D'Ohsson, iv. 61-62.

secured the throne there.* Hamdullah tells us when he arrived in Luristan he found the country ruined and the peasants scattered. By his good arrangements he soon restored it to prosperity. After the manner of the Arabs and Mongols, he shifted to and fro between his summer quarters on the skirts of the mountains, and his winter ones near Shuster. After reigning for fifteen years, Shems ud din died, and left two sons, Yusuf Shah and Imal ud din Pehluvan, apparently also called Nejm ud din.† The former succeeded his father, but lived at Abaka's Court, governing his own country by deputy. He took part in the campaign against Borak, and for this, and for saving Abaka's life when he was attacked by a body of marauders from Dilem, he was rewarded by the Ilkhan.‡ On Abaka's death, and during Ahmed's struggle with Arghun, Yusuf Shah was summoned to his aid by the latter, and took with him 2,000 horsemen and 10,000 foot. On Ahmed's defeat the Lurs set out by the desert road of Tabas, to try and reach Luristan as speedily as possible, but a great number of them perished there of thirst. Arghun sent to summon Yusuf Shah, who duly went to the Court and married the daughter of the vizier, Shems ud din. He died in the year 680 HEJ, and left two sons, Afrasiab and Ahmed. Afrasiab succeeded him as ruler of Luristan, and sent his brother to live at the Ilkhan's Court. Hamdullah says he greatly persecuted the viziers (of Lur), the khojas Nisam ud din, Jelal ud din, and Sadr ud din, in whose family the viziership had frequently been since the days of Hazarasp. He brought down their beneficent houses, and when some of their relatives fled to Ispahan he sent Kizil after them, who was his father's uncle.§ Afrasiab had, during Arghun's reign, in spite of the remonstrance of the governor of Shiraz, attacked the mountain district of Kiluyeh, which was the frontier between Fars and Lur, had captured the fortress of Manjasht, and put his nephew Kizil over the newly-conquered district, while Kizil's eleven brothers were put at the head of as many bodies of troops. Presently, a dispute arose between the uncle and nephews in regard to the administration of the district. Kizil was defeated and fled to Shiraz, but presently returned and made peace with his uncle, who conciliated him by executing his vizier, Jelal ud din, and paying a handsome sum to him. At Kizil's instigation Afrasiab, during the troublous time which preceded Arghun's death, made a raid into Irak. He put to death at Ispahan the deputy of Jelal ud din, and also the Mongol governor, Baidu, the brother-in-law of Toghachar; and Kizil's brother Salghurshah, with a following of turbulent Lurs, took possession of the city. Salghurshah mounted the throne in the house of the Khoja Bahia ud din, and money was struck at Shiraz in the name of Afrasiab of Lur. His authority at this time extended from Hamadan to the Sea of Fars, over which he

* Ante, 140, where I have inadvertently given his name as Alp Arslan.
† Hamdullah *passim*. ‡ Ante, 240. § Hamdullah *passim*.

distributed his countrymen as governors. He now sent a body of 2,000 cavalry, under Jelal ud din, the son of the atabeg Tekele, of the Lesser Luristan, and Malik Nasret, against the tuman or division of the Mongol general Arghasun. In the struggle which ensued they were at first successful, and captured considerable booty, but the Mongols turned upon them and defeated them badly, practising, doubtless, the Fabian policy for which they were famous. In this struggle we are told that a Mongol heroine herself killed ten Lurs.* The council of regency now sent Doladai Aidaji against him with a tuman of soldiers, and ordered the Mongol and Mussulman troops in the governments of Ispahan and Shiraz to reinforce him. On his approach, Afrasiab's deputy at Ispahan fled. The town of Yezd, which had revolted under the atabeg Yusuf Shah, was sacked by the Mongols. Afrasiab himself sought shelter in the fortress of Manjasht, and Luristan was ravaged. Hamdullah says he was like a gnat tossed by a strong wind. He presently sent in his submission and was taken before Gaikhatu, who, on the intervention of Uruk Khatun and Padishah Khatun, pardoned him and restored him to Luristan, whither he went with his brother Ahmed, and put to death Kizil Salghurshah, and a number of his relatives and of the great nobles, and his licence was unrestrained.†

To revert to the Mongols. Five days after Arghun's death the generals sent the news to Ghazan in Khorasan. The next day Baitan was sent to Baidu, at Baghdad, and Lékézi, or Legsi, to Gaikhatu, in Rum. Lékézi was told to offer the throne to Gaikhatu, and to press him to go and occupy it, but after his departure several of the generals repented what they had done. Toghachar urged that Gaikhatu would prefer to surround himself with his present officers; nor did he favour Ghazan, whose vigorous and severe disposition he dreaded, but he declared for Baidu, the son of Tarakai and grandson of Khulagu. The various commanders of the left wing, viz., Singtur, Shamagar or Samaghar, Tuladai or Doladai, Bekta or Tekne, Ilchidai, Kunjukbal, Tughan, Timur buka, Toghdai, and Tugal, sided with him, and they sent an officer named Balizad to inform Gaikhatu of Baidu's threatened elevation to the throne. Gaikhatu put this messenger to the torture, forced him to disclose the names of the authors of the scheme, and sent a division under the orders of Baitmish Kushji towards the royal residence. Meanwhile, the generals had sent to summon Baidu, and to urge that the throne belonged to him by virtue of seniority. He was timid and prudent, and said that according to the yasa of Jingis Khan the throne belonged to the son or brother of the last sovereign, and he preferred to decline the honour. What could he say, was his reply, to his good ancestors, who had made of the State a bridge of gold, and had decided which member of the family should pass over

* Hamdullah. Ilkhans, i. 401-402. † Hamdullah *passim*.

first. He sent Gaikhatu the act of submission which the generals had forwarded to him, and advanced slowly towards Kurban Shira, whence he took the road to Kuit bulak (*i.e.*, cold spring). The various generals who went to do homage to him there, having learned his determination, withdrew disconcerted, having earned the resentment of Gaikhatu. Tugan, the most zealous partisan of Baidu, fled to Ghilan, but he was arrested and taken to the Court. Toghachar was arrested by order of the noyan Siktur. Kunjukbal withdrew towards Alatagh, and Tugal towards the Georgian frontier.

When news arrived that Gaikhatu was *en route*, the Prince Sugai, or Suka, son of Yashmut, son of Khulagu, the generals Choban and Kurumishi, the son of Alinak, and the ordus of the khatuns set out on the 23rd of May, by way of Alatagh, to meet him. They were followed by a chief of 4,000 men, and furtively by other leaders. Presently, the éyu oghlans (body guards) and the other generals went the same way. This movement in his favour was the work of Uruk Khatun, the widow of Arghun, and niece of Dokuz Khatun, the wife of Khulagu. She was therefore a Kerait, and doubtless a Christian.* As Gaikhatu neared Alatagh he was met by Khatai Oghul, the youngest son of Arghun, and by other princes. He was enthroned on the 22nd of July, 1291, in a place near Akhlat, where the various princes, khatuns, and generals had assembled. Soon after, the officers who had exercised authority during the regency were arrested. They were sharply questioned about the circumstances of Arghun's death, and that of his Jewish minister and other supporters. Gaikhatu was present at the first sitting of the court, and ordered Singtur, who was the highest in rank of the conspirators, to give an explanation of their conduct. "The generals are present," said Singtur, "for the Ilkhan to interrogate them. He knows my faults and those of the rest." The generals all agreed that Toghachar and Kunjukbal were the real authors of the plot, that they had induced Shamagar and Bekta to join them, and that these four had communicated their plan to Singtur, who had then offered to make common cause with them. "What could I do," said Singtur, "against so many powerful chiefs? If I had resisted, I should have met the same fate as Juchi and Ordu Kia." Gaikhatu admitted this excuse, and set him at liberty. The others having confessed their fault were also liberated, Toghachar and Kunjukbal receiving three strokes with a cudgel, according to the yasa. They eventually had their full of revenge, as we shall see. Toghachar's tuman, or division, was made over to Baiju Tetkaul (called Bighaul by D'Ohsson), that of Kunjukbal to the noyan Singtur, and Tugal's to Narin Ahmed. Tughan remained in prison, as the relatives of Juchi and Ordu Kia demanded his blood. Gaikhatu wished to pardon him also,

* D'Ohsson, iv. 61-66. Ilkhans, i. 396-398.

but Uruk Khatun urged strongly that such clemency would only encourage the guilty, and the Ilkhan said that Tughan in fact deserved to die, whereupon Akbuka and the Khatun Uruk went out and informed the sons of Ordu Kia, who speedily put him to death.* Gaikhatu returned to Alatagh on the 7th of August, and having received the homage of the chiefs he had pardoned, he assigned Khorasan to Anbarji, the son of Mangu Timur, and named the noyan Singtur as his lieutenant-general in the kingdom, with control both of civil and military affairs.

On the 1st of September he set out to repress an outbreak in Rum, where the Karamanian Turkomans had attacked the Mongol garrison. The continuation of Abulfaraj calls them the Augæian Turkomans.† The "History of Georgia" says he set out to suppress the revolt of the *Greek town* of Thonguzalo (called Tangezlu by the author just quoted). He was joined by David, the son of King Dimitri, with all the mthawars of Karthli, the latter having left his wife and home in charge of the noyan Elgoz. Gaikhatu posted Kutlugh Buka and the other Karthlian mthawars at Mughan, as he expected an attack from Kipchak, and having set out with David, as just mentioned, attacked Tonguzalo for four months. In the fifth month it was stormed, by David and his Georgians forcing their way in. In one corner of the place were the Christians, who implored the King to spare them and to plead for them with the Khan. The latter acceded and withdrew, after securing a kharaj and immense riches.‡ The continuation of Abulfaraj says he afterwards pursued and punished the Turkomans, who had fled into the country.§

The withdrawal from his capital so soon after his accession led to the forming of ambitious projects. Toghachar spread the rumour that Gaikhatu's army had been destroyed in Rum by the Karamanian Turkomans. This news was sent to Kutb ud din, brother of Sadr ud din Aḥmed Khaledi, the latter of whom was in league with Toghachar. Kutb ud din was then in the employ of Anbarji, the new ruler of Khorasan, whom it was wished to put in Gaikhatu's place. He told the false news to Jemal, Sheikh of Shiraz, who was a confidante of Anbarji. The latter was too prudent and circumspect to enter upon such a dangerous venture without due inquiry. He sent the Sheikh on a friendly embassy to Singtur. On the way the Sheikh met Toghachar and Sadr ud din. They urged him to turn back with them, and to persuade Anbarji to advance at once. He expressed himself as willing to do so, but said he wished first to pay his home a visit. On this excuse he made his way to Singtur, to whom he disclosed what he had heard. Singtur sent him back with a friendly message and presents for Anbarji, and proceeded to arrest Toghachar and Sadr ud din, keeping them in durance until he heard of Gaikhatu's return in triumph, when he sent Toghachar, guarded by an escort of 500

* D'Ohsson, iv. 84-85. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 398. † Chron. Syr., 626.
‡ Op. cit., 611. § Chron. Syr., 627.

men (D'Ohsson says 2,000) to Erzerum. Gaikhatu once more pardoned him and his accomplices.*

In reward for his services at the capture of Tonguzalo, Gaikhatu conferred on David the throne of Karthli, which had been filled by his father Dimitri, and had him conducted to Tiflis by Shahinshah, Kutlugh Buka, and all the didebuls. Beka was summoned from Samtzkhé. He refused to go, but sent his son Sargis, the general of Samtzkhé, with all the wealth which Dimitri had confided to him, including a very precious girdle. David was duly consecrated by the Catholicos Abraham. The Khan married him to his sister Oljaitai, the widow of Wakhtang. This is so said in the Georgian history, but Rashid apparently makes Oljaitai marry the noyan Tukal, and afterwards Kutlugh.†

Soon after his return to Alatagh, Gaikhatu was taken seriously ill. Ulemas and imaums, bishops and monks, as well as the Jewish rabbi, were summoned and ordered to pour out prayers for the Ilkhan's recovery. Meanwhile, abundant alms were also distributed.‡ On his restoration to health he was solemnly enthroned with the usual ceremonies. The installation had been postponed, because the astrologers declared the stars to be unpropitious. The festivities lasted a month. The treasury chests, which had been filled at the cost of much blood during Arghun's reign, were lavishly emptied. Gaikhatu distributed to the khatuns and princesses the precious jewels brought together by the Khans his predecessors, saying such things were only fit for women to wear. He ordered the prisons to be opened, alms to be dispensed, and exempted from all taxes the ulemas, the descendants of the prophet, and learned men.§

In the midst of these festivities news arrived that the fortress of Kalat ur Rum, situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, a little distance north of Biret, had been captured on the 29th of June by the Egyptians, commanded by Sultan Ashraf Khalil in person. Kelavun, his predecessor, had pursued with ardour the project of Bibars for expelling the Franks from Syria, and had captured Markab, the chief stronghold of the Hospitallers, and also Laodicea, and had demolished the flourishing town of Tripoli. He died at Cairo on the 10th of November, 1290, at the age of 68, when he was setting out to attack Acre, the strongest of the Christian settlements. His eldest son Salih was dead, and he was succeeded by his second son, Malik al Ashraf Salah ud din Khalil, who, in pursuit of his father's intentions, captured and sacked Acre in 1291, and followed this up by occupying Tyre, Sidon, Tortosa, Haifu, Athlith, and Beyrout, the last remaining possessions of the Crusaders in the East. The next year a holy war against the Mongols was preached three times by the Khalif at Cairo, and also in Syria, while at the head of the armies

* Ilkhans, i. 399-400. D'Ohsson, iv. 85-86. Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 627.
† Ilkhans, Genealogical Table. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 86. § D'Ohsson, iv. 86-87.

of Egypt and Syria the Sultan attacked Kalat ur Rum. The walls were bombarded with twenty catapults, and mines were also sprung. The amir Sanjar, naib of Damascus, fastened one end of a chain to the battlements of the citadel, while the other was firmly fixed in the ground, and his men clambered on to the walls by its means. The place was captured, after an attack of thirty-three days, on the 29th of June, 1292. The garrison, consisting of Mongols and Armenians, was put to the sword, and 200 men, with the women and children, were reduced to slavery. From the year 1268 Kalat ur Rum had been the seat of the Armenian patriarch. The patriarch's palace and church were burnt, and he himself, named Stephen IV., was taken with his monks to Jerusalem. According to some, says the continuation of Abulfaraj, he was crucified, and his companions were taken off in chains to Egypt. When the Armenians heard of this they elected a fresh Catholicos, whose seat was at Sis, in Cilicia, or Little Armenia. The name of Kalat ur Rum (*i.e.*, Castle of the Romans) was changed to Kalat ul Muslimin (*i.e.*, Castle of the Mussulmans). The news of its capture was received with great rejoicings at Damascus. The amir Sanjar was appointed naib of Syria, with the duty of restoring the fortress, one-fourth of which was in ruins. Novairi tells us that in the bulletin of victory published at Damascus there occurs the following sentence: "The way is open to us after this victory, if God pleases, to conquer the East (*i.e.*, Persia), Rum, and Irak, and to take possession of the land from the furthest east to the furthest west." Gaikhatu had sent some troops to the relief of Kalat ur Rum, but they arrived after its fall.*

Some months later an envoy arrived in Egypt from Gaikhatu, to say that he proposed to fix his residence at Aleppo, which had been conquered by his ancestor Khulagu, and threatened that if he were not allowed to do so he would occupy all Syria. The Sultan replied: "The Khan has similar intentions to my own. I intend to take Baghdad, and to put the garrison to the sword, for I hope to restore to its former eminence the capital of Islam. We will see which of us will first invade his enemy's land." Orders were sent to Syria to review the troops, and to prepare provisions.†

Let us now turn to Kerman. We saw how, in 1252, Rokn ud din, the ruler of that province, was displaced by his cousin Kutb ud din, by order of Mangu Khan.‡ After four months, according to Hamdullah, Kutb ud din married Kutlugh Turkhan, who had been one of the women of Borak the Hajib, the founder of the dynasty, by whom he had many daughters. Rokn ud din set out to win the Khalif over to his side, but hearing that the latter's people, fearing the resentment of the Mongols, were unwilling to give him an asylum, he determined to set out for Karakorum. His

* D'Ohsson, iv. 87-89. Weil, iv. 184. Makrizi. ii. 141. Chron. Syr., 626-628.
† Makrizi, ii. 150. ‡ Ante, 36.

cousin followed him there, and the two competitors pleaded their cause before Mangu, who decided in favour of Kutb ud din. He ordered that his cousin should be given up to him. Kutb ud din put Rokn ud din to death with his own hand in the year 651 HEJ, and returned to Kerman. At this time a man who resembled the last Khuarezm Shah, Jelal ud din, in figure, and was well informed in his affairs, gathered a number of people round him and rebelled. Kutb ud din marched against him and dispersed his people, after which he set out to punish the robbers of "Luch and Baluch," whose bands boldly paraded the highways with drum and flag. Kutb ud din surprised them at night, and slaughtered them. He reigned for six years, and spent his time, says Hamdullah, in justice and equity, and building lofty buildings. He died in Ramazan, 655 (*i.e.*, 1257). His son, Sultan Hajaj, received the investiture of the country from Mangu. As he was only an infant, his father's widow, Kutlugh Turkhan, was appointed regent, and exercised this authority for fifteen years. When Sultan Hajaj took the reins of power there arose a violent strife between him and Kutlugh Turkhan, who accused him, *inter alia*, of so forgetting the reverence due to her as on one occasion, at a feast, to have led her out in a dance. She went to implore Abaka's protection. Abaka had married her daughter, Padishah Khatun, and he gave her absolute authority in Kerman. Sultan Hajaj during her absence, we are told, had sought aid from the sons of Ogotai Khakan, of which she heard on her return. He now, in 669 HEJ., fled to Delhi, whence he returned ten years later with an army furnished him by the Sultan Jalal ud din Khalj, but died before reaching Kerman. This was in 1270. Kutlugh Turkhan reigned in peace for twelve years longer, when Jelal ud din Siyurghatmish, the second son of Kutb ud din, having done homage to the Ilkhan Ahmed, obtained from him, through the influence of his mother, Kutui Khatun, and of the noyan Sughunjak, the investiture of Kerman. On his arrival there, in 1282, Kutlugh Turkhan left and set out for the ordu. There she was supported by the khatuns, the amirs, and by the vizier Shems ud din Muhammed, who wished that she should be associated with Siyurghatmish. The partisans of the latter suggested that their patron, discontented with this arrangement, would join Arghun in Khorasan, and urged that the decision should be postponed until Siyurghatmish himself came to the Court to settle his affairs, when the matter could be arranged. Meanwhile Kutlugh Turkhan died at Tebriz, after having reigned twenty-five years in Kerman with great prudence and sagacity, and her daughter, Bibi Turkhan, conveyed her body back to Kerman. When Arghun mounted the throne he summoned Siyurghatmish to the Court, no doubt to be tried as a partisan of Ahmed's. He owed his safety to the good offices of Buka, who confirmed him in his government, while the revenues of Kerman were farmed to him for the sum of 600,000 dinars; 19,000 were devoted to the expenses of the administration, the rest being

assigned to Siyurghatmish for the expenses of his Court. He married Kurdujin, the daughter of the atabegin Abish, wife of Mangu Timur, son of Khulagu, who was herself the last of the house of the Salghurids, rulers of Fars. His sister, Padishah Khatun, was married to Abaka, as we have seen, so that he was very closely connected with the Mongol Imperial house. On Abaka's death Padishah Khatun had joined the harem of Gaikhatu, who apparently gave her some authority in Kerman, but her brother's vizier, Fakhr ul Malik Muhammed, who was the real ruler there, refused to admit her claims, and said, "If the Sultanate come to thee, thou mayest cut me in twain with a butcher's knife." This aroused her rancour. Gaikhatu now (*i.e.*, in 691 HEJ.) gave his wife the Sultanate of Kerman, while the late Vizier fled to India. She inveigled him back by fair promises, and then put him to death. She was witty, and wrote verses, among others the following :—

Was ever a fleck of musk seen on a ruby (lip)?
Or did ever civet taint the golden honey?
My soul, that black mole on thy lip
Is like the meeting of darkness with life's fountain.

She made her brother her vicegerent, but when she discovered that he was plotting to recover the throne she imprisoned him. His wife, Khudavand Zadeh Kurdujin and his daughter Shah Alam Khatun, sent him a coil of rope in a water skin into the castle, by means of which he escaped and went to the camp; but he was speedily seized and put to death, by his sister's orders, in 694 HEJ.*

We must now turn again to the affairs of Khorasan. We described the raid made by Nuruz, and the retreat of Ghazan to Damaghan, where he heard of his father's death. The citizens had left the town on his approach. Some fled to Girdkuh and others to the strong fort of Dih Muyan. He could therefore obtain neither provisions nor shelter there. He sent word to those who had fled to Dih Muyan to return, and as they refused he sent to attack them. They submitted after three days, and sent him plenty of provisions. The fort was razed, and only rebuilt again after Ghazan's accession. On Arghun's death the customary Mongol mourning was ordered by Ghazan, a feature of which was that all ornaments and feathers were discarded from their caps. Ghazan was now joined by the amir Mulai, who had come from Kuhistan across the desert to meet him. He was gladly welcomed, and given the sister of the amir Satilmish in marriage.

We have seen how, when Ghazan reached Tus on his retreat, several of his amirs asked for furlough and left him. One of these, Aighurtai, went over to the enemy's cause, and we are told that he set out from Sultan Meidan, traversed Kabushane and Jorjan, and went as far as Devin and Asterabad, proclaiming Kaidu as the supreme ruler of the land. As

* Hamdullah *passim*.

none of the great amirs were there, some of lower rank, named Saighan, Abaji, Mamluk, &c., undertook to drive him away. Ghazan now moved from Semnan to Firuzkiuh, and to the borders of Demavend, as far as Menshan. There the Princess Bulughan was confined, and died in childbirth.

When Gaikhatu mounted the throne, Ghazan sent the amir Kutlugh with his submission, and apparently also to inform him of the deplorable condition of Khorasan and to ask for help. The summer of 1291 he passed at Ezran, also called Nekatuilak, which was situated between Firuzkiuh and Semnan, where he passed the time in hunting and feasting; and in the autumn he went by way of Damaghan and Bostam to Kialpush, where Nisam ud din Yahya Kutlugh Khoja was called to account for various malpractices, and was imprisoned at Andemed. Ghazan then went on to Sultan Devin, near Asterabad, where he was joined by the Prince Anbarji, or Enbarji (a grandson of Khulagu, by his son Mangu Timur), and by the amirs Doladai, Kunjukbal, and Iltimur, who had been sent to his aid by Gaikhatu. They fixed their winter quarters at Karatughan.* The winter was not over when news arrived that Nuruz was approaching with the intention of releasing Nisam ud din Yahya. He contented himself, however, with plundering Juven. In the spring, Prince Anbarji was ordered to march by way of Dahistan, Yasu, Nissa, and Abjurd. There was a famine in the land, corn became exceedingly dear, and the army had to have recourse to hunting. Ghazan pitched his camp for a while at Jukjuran, on the river of Herat, but retired thence to Badghiz on hearing that the enemy was about. The pressure of famine became so great that the troops began to kill their horses. He therefore returned to Herat, and encamped near the bridge of Pulmalan. Shems ud din Kert, who had imprisoned his elder son, Fakhr ud din, in the strong fort of Hissar, sent the younger one, Alai ud din, to express his submission. Ghazan was very considerate with the people of Herat, who had suffered much during the recent famine, but he ordered the town of Fushenj, which had not furnished the provisions he had demanded for the troops of Irak, to be attacked. On its capture there was an overflow of booty and prisoners, but the women and children were presently released. Gaikhatu left the army of Khorasan without pay. He wished to go there in person, but afterwards changed his mind. When Prince Anbarji returned home with the troops of Irak and Azerbaijan, Ghazan went to the summer quarters of Shuturkiuh, and built the kiosk Murad. A mob having killed the sons of Malik Susen and several other grandees, at the village of Jizerd, near Khavas, the amirs Sutai and Mulai were sent against them. They were met by Shah Ali, the son of the ruler of Seistan, who had surrounded

* Ilkhans, ii. 17-18.

Khavas. Ghazan's troops fell upon him, and cut his army in pieces. We next read of the execution of Amad ud din, a preacher, of Nishapur, who had declared for Nuruz in the recent troubles. The winter of 1292 was passed at Devin and Asterabad, and in the spring the army moved towards Jorjan and the towns of Shereknev and Murjabad, and it was further decided to march through Azerbaijan. At Temish the amir Kutlugh was married to the daughter of Jinghutai. From this place to Shuril, a distance of thirty parasangs, was traversed in one night. Ghazan dispatched the amirs Satilmish and Khoja Said ud din to bring the revenues of Khorasan, Mazanderan, Kumis, and Rai, from Demavend. He also ordered provisions to be collected, and then set out for Tebriz, but at Abher he received orders from Gaikhatu, who was probably suspicious of his intentions, to return at once to his government. He took no notice of this, or of a second message, and it was only on receipt of a third, which reached him at Tebriz, that he withdrew, sending Gaikhatu word that he wished to see his uncle a hundred times more eagerly than his uncle wished to see him. He went to Yusagaj, where he married Eshel, or Ishil Khatun, the daughter of the amir Toka Timur, and a month later set out for Khorasan.*

We have seen how the Poli were sent from China in charge of a princess for Arghun, and how when they arrived in Persia they found him dead. This news they apparently learnt on their arrival at Hormuz. Having sent news of their arrival to Gaikhatu, he ordered them to conduct the lady to Ghazan, who was then living in the region of the Arbre sec (*i.e.*, of Khorasan), guarding the frontier with 60,000 troops. They did so, and then went to Tebriz, to Gaikhatu, and stayed at his Court for nine months.† Von Hammer, apparently quoting Rashid ud din, tells us that it was while at Abher that Ghazan received the lady Kukachin from the envoys he had sent to the Great Khan. The marriage festivities were celebrated with great splendour. She did not long survive, and died in June, 1296.‡ When the Poli left Gaikhatu's Court on their journey westward, the Khan gave them four golden tablets or paizahs, two of them bearing gerfalcons, one bearing a lion, and another plain, with inscriptions stating that the envoys should receive the same honour and service as was rendered to the prince in person, and that horses, provisions, &c., should be supplied them. And so it came about, as Marco Polo says, they frequently had as many as 200 horsemen to escort them. "And this was all the more needful," says our author, "for Gaikhatu was not the legitimate lord, and therefore the people had less scruple to do mischief than if they had had a lawful prince."§ The Poli now hastened on to Trebizond, Constantinople, Negroponti, and Venice.‖

* Ilkhans, ii. 19-20. † Yule's Marco Polo, i. 38 Note 6. ‡ *Id.* Ilkhans, ii. 20.
§ Op. cit., i. 35. ‖ *Id.*, i. 36.

Gaikhatu appointed Akbuka to be generalissimo of the forces, and nominated Singtur and Toghachar as his lieutenants. He confided his private domain to the charge of two of his favourite officers, Hassan and Taichu, while the post of vizier was conferred on Sadr ud din, of Zenjan, deputy of Toghachar, and a co-conspirator with him, as we have seen. Enriched by the spoils of the Mongol grandees who had perished at the close of the previous reign, he distributed large presents to those who could assist him, and had gained the patronage of Akbuka. A list of persons well fitted to fill the post of vizier had been prepared and presented to Gaikhatu. In this list the name of Sadr ud din Ahmed el Khalidi did not appear. Gaikhatu noticed this, and said that he knew no one more worthy than he. Thereupon the khatuns and grandees sang his praises. Von Hammer says he owed his promotion to the influence of Gaikhatu's favourite, Buzaljin Ikaji, and to Sherif ud din, of Semnan, who had great influence with Akbuka. He was duly installed as vizier, or sahib divan, on the 19th of November, 1292. He changed his name to Sadr Jihan, or president of the world. He was given a golden seal (*al tamgha*), with a lion's head on it, a tuk or horsetail standard, a drum, and command of a tuman of soldiers; while it was forbidden to the amirs, khatuns, or princes of the blood to interfere in any way with financial matters. The dignity of Kadhi ul Kudhat, or chief judge, was conferred on his brother, Kutb ud din Ahmed. He had control over everything relating to Muhammedanism—the administration of the wakhfs and the charitable institutions. He took the title of Kutbi Jihan, or pole of the world. His uncle, Kavam ud din, was appointed governor of Tebriz, with the style of Kavam ul Mulk (*i.e.*, the strength of the kingdom). Fakhr ud din Aidaji was nominated to look after the supply of food and the provisioning of the army. He begged to be excused, urging that he had already had this duty for thirty years, and had got into debt in consequence of the demands of the princes and princesses. Gaikhatu ordered three tumans to be devoted to paying off his debts, and afterwards treated him with the greatest liberality. Gaikhatu's aim was to emulate the mild administration of Ogotai Khan.*

He was extremely lavish in his expenditure. We are told he sometimes made presents to the khatuns to the amount of thirty tumans at a time. When he received presents from other princes, or from his great vassals, he made them over at once to his khatuns or the young princesses without looking at them, or he distributed them to his officers. He devoted himself to debauchery and lasciviousness; wine, women, and boys were his main delight. He abused without shame or restraint the sons and daughters of his grandees. Many women fled away to avoid his lust, while others sent their boys and girls to distant places in order

* D'Ohsson, iv. 95-97. Ilkhans, i. 400-401.

to escape him.* He abandoned the direction of affairs to the vizier, Sadr Jihan, whose authority became supreme, and who decided as he pleased, displacing the prefects and others according to his whim. He deprived Hassan and Taiju of the control of the private domain of the Ilkhan (*inju*), which he united with the public domain (*dêlaï*). These two officers, in concert with Daulat Shah and some of the notables of Tebriz, made an attempt to destroy Gaikhatu's good opinion of his Vizier. In November, 1293, when he was in one of his hunting boxes, they urged upon him that Sadr Jihan devoted the public revenue to his own private expenditure, and neglected the troops and the proper provision for the khatuns, adding that the treasury was empty; and as an example they cited the case of Tebriz, where they declared the Vizier had appropriated to his own use thirty tumans of the eighty which the taxes of the province produced. Gaikhatu was unmoved by these charges, told Sadr Jihan what they were, ordered his accusers, with their wives and children, to be made over to him for punishment, and issued an order that anyone in future accusing the Vizier of malpractices should be put to death without trial. The accusers of the Vizier, having confessed their fault and demanded pardon, were forgiven. A new edict was issued, re-affirming that the administration of the kingdom, from the Jihun to the borders of Egypt, was made over to Sadr Jihan, that he was authorised to appoint whom he pleased to public offices, and that all the deputies of the khatuns and generals were subject to him. It was also forbidden the princes of the blood and the military chiefs to take anything from the revenue for their sustenance, or the pay or keep of their people.† After the death of Arghun a disease called *yut* in Mongol had carried off the greater part of the cattle in the kingdom, especially in the districts of Baghdad, Mosul, Diarbekr, and Khorasan; meanwhile, the treasury was exhausted by the extravagance of Gaikhatu and his minister, the latter of whom, with the wish of conciliating everyone, distributed largess widely, especially to those devoted to religion. In the course of two years Sadr Jihan had to borrow about 500 tumans, the whole revenue of the kingdom being 1,600 tumans. Seven were required for the ordinary expenses of the government, and what remained was not sufficient to meet the prodigalities of the Ilkhan.‡ We are told by Wassaf that whereas the whole cost of the kitchen in the reigns of Abaka and Sultan Ahmed only amounted to 40 tumans, it now rose to 165 tumans. The continuation of Abulfaraj tells us that the needs of the treasury were so great that money was not forthcoming even to buy a sheep for Gaikhatu's table. A Jew, named Rashid ud daulat, was accordingly ordered to get what was needed for the Khan's table in whatever way he could. He applied himself diligently to this duty, and

* Chron. Syr., 628-629. † D'Ohsson, iv. 97-99.
‡ *Id.*, 99-100. Extract from Wassaf, Ilkhans, i. 423-424.

spent in it the greater part of his fortune, buying a large number of oxen and sheep, engaging cooks, &c. He had been promised that the money he advanced should be repaid him at the end of each month, but the treasury was empty, and the orders given him by the Vizier on the provinces were dishonoured, for there was no money there. The Jew having spent all his fortune, and unable to perform his commission any longer, fled.*

Amidst these difficulties a man named Iz ud din Mozaffer Ibn Muhammed Amid, who is referred to in terms of reproach and indignity by Wassaf, suggested to the Vizier that he had a plan which would restore the public prosperity and be without reproach. This was to put in circulation, in lieu of metallic money, a paper currency like the chao in China. The Vizier, pleased with this advice, repeated the proposition to Gaikhatu, who took counsel with Pulad Chingsang, the representative of the Khakan at his Court, and a plan was accordingly arranged for its issue. In vain the noyan Singtur, the most intelligent of the Mongol grandees, warned him of the dangers of the plan. Sadr ud din only suggested that Singtur had mercenary motives for his opposition, and in May, 1294, an order was issued for the creation of the chao. The 3rd of July following, the generals Akbuka, Toghachar, and Tamaji, and the Vizier, left for Tebriz, where the new money was to be made. On the sides of an oblong piece of paper were written several words in Chinese characters. At the top on both sides was the profession of the Muhammedan faith: "La illahi ill' Allahi Muhammedun rassul Ullahi" (There is no God but God, and Muhammed is his prophet); and below, "Irenchin Turji," or "Irichi Turichi," *i.e.*, the name which the bakhshis had given Gaikhatu on his accession.† In a circle in the midst of the paper was marked its value, the varieties being from half a dirhem to ten dinars, and then came the sentence: "The sovereign of the world has issued, in the year 693, this propitious chao. Whoever defaces it will be punished with death, with his wives and children, and his goods will be confiscated." A mint for the issue of the chao was founded in each province, which had its governor, scribes, cashiers, &c. The use of a metal currency was prohibited in all the kingdom, as was that of gold and silver for bowls, &c., and also for the manufacture of golden tissue, except what was needed for the Ilkhan's own wardrobe and those of his chief officers. The goldsmiths and others who were thus deprived of a living were given orders on the chao banks. These banks were ordered to exchange the old notes for new ones on payment of a discount of 10 per cent. The merchants of the Persian Sea who trafficked with foreign lands were alone to be allowed to exchange their notes for gold at the treasury, but orders were given to look after them closely.‡

* Chron. Syr., 631-632. D'Ohsson, 100. Note. † Vide supra, 283 and 355.
‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 102-103. Wassaf, Ilkhans, i. 428-429.

Gaikhatu had been told that when gold had been displaced by the chao there would be no more poor in the land, while provisions would be very cheap, and poets sang the praises of the paper money. The first issue of chao took place at Tebriz on the 12th of September, 1294, and it was accompanied by an edict declaring that whoever refused to accept it, whoever bought and sold for other money than chao, and whoever did not take his coin to the mint to be exchanged for paper money, was to be punished with death. This was shouted in the streets by criers.* The fear of punishment caused the order to be obeyed for eight days, but afterwards the shops and markets were deserted. Nothing was to be bought in the city, and people began to leave. The famished citizens rushed to the neighbouring gardens to get fruit. Gaikhatu one day traversing the bazaar, and noticing that the shops were empty, inquired the reason why. The Vizier said that a great magistrate was dead, and that it was customary with the citizens to leave the bazaars on such occasions. The authorities and troops had great difficulty in restraining the crowd. The Mussulmans met in their mosque on the Friday, and broke out into lamentations. Presently open murmurs were heard, and imprecations were flung at Iz ud din Mozaffer and the other authors of the innovation, and eventually attempts were made on the lives of the Vizier and his people. As in the famous panic at the time of the issuing of the French assignats, prices became quite arbitrary, and Wassaf tells us how the sellers of a horse not worth more than 7½ gold pieces asked 750 in paper. In the panic that ensued the Vizier's brother, Kutb ud din, was compelled to sanction the purchase of provisions with coin, and several were put to death for having taken part in the disturbances. The Vizier presently saw the ill effects of his experiment. An ordinance permitting the use of coin in buying provisions was issued, and coin appeared again in other commercial affairs. Finally, the chao itself was suppressed, amidst universal joy. For two months commercial dealings had virtually ceased, the shops were empty, the roads were deserted by traders, while wits and poets emulated each other in constructing lampoons and gibes at the expense of the paper money and its authors. Much money was wasted also in building the various mints, that at Shiraz having cost five golden tumans. In that town no one could sell a sheet of paper without the permission of the bank.† Prince Ghazan did not wish the chao to be introduced into his appanage, and when the official arrived with the paper and materials for its fabrication he sent word to the Ilkhan that the air in that part of the country, especially in Mazanderan, was so damp that arms and armour could not resist it for twelve months, while a piece of paper when used became as fragile as a

* Cont. of Abulfaraj, 632. D'Ohsson, iv. 104.
† D'Ohsson, iv. 106. Cont. of Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 632-633. Ilkhans, i. 432-433.

spider's web, and he ordered it all to be burnt. Von Hammer assigns this story to Oghul, and not to Ghazan.*

The dissipation and extravagance of Gaikhatu were wearying the whole nation, and opened a way for the ambition of Baidu, who had been a competitor for the throne with himself. The continuator of Abulfaraj tells us that in July of the year 1294 Baidu was at a banquet with Gaikhatu. They were eating, drinking, and laughing, when the latter, who was apparently drunk, said something insulting to his relative, who retorted, calling him a product of adultery. Gaikhatu, much enraged, ordered the attendants to take Baidu outside the ordu, and there to put him to death. Wassaf says he ordered one of them to hit him with his fist. They fell on him accordingly, and put him in a small tent with the intention of killing him, but Gaikhatu having awoke after a short sleep, relented, and sent his people to ask him how he had dared to say such a thing to the king of kings. Baidu professed to be still drunk, feigned not to understand what they said, and asked where Gaikhatu was. "Bring some wine," he said, "and let us drink. What has happened, and why am I here?" Gaikhatu was taken in by the artifice, and repented of the indignities he had put upon his relative, and determined to appease him. After he had slept for a while he sent some attendants to ask him if he knew what he had said when drunk. He said he did not, and that if anyone had struck him he was unaware of it, and pressed them to say whether they were joking or speaking seriously. They thereupon related what had happened. He appeared to be stupefied, and said, "Truly, Gaikhatu is most good to me, or he would have ordered me to be cut in pieces on the spot." When this was reported to the Ilkhan he was much touched, went to Baidu in person, took him to the ordu, and dressed him in royal robes. Wassaf says he took off his kulah or cap, and put it on Baidu's head. The latter declared himself a guilty criminal, cursed drunkenness, and said, "I am not conscious of having committed the offence. I did it unwittingly. I beg you to give my flesh to the dogs without pity." Gaikhatu was now more effusive than ever, and gave him in three or four days things of the value of forty tumans, in gold and silver, in dresses of golden tissue, precious stones, horses, and mules. For this he was reprimanded by his courtiers, who told him he ought not to have wounded Baidu's honour, nor illtreated him, nor handed him over to brutal people, who had pulled him by the hair, cuffed and wounded him; but that having done this, neither his caresses nor his gifts were of any avail, and that he must be on his guard against him. Some suggested that he should put him to death, or he would do him harm; others that he should be retained as a prisoner for the rest of his life in the ordu. Gaikhatu determined to

* D'Ohsson, iv. 106. Ilkhans, i. 405.

insist on Baidu leaving his son with him as a hostage. Having sent the boy, he withdrew to the mountains of Hamadan, as if on a hunting excursion, and sent to inform Ghazan of the indignities he had suffered.* Rashid ud din says Baidu's life was spared at the entreaty of Gaikhatu's nurse, Borakchin Igaji, who had considerable influence. In the spring following, Baidu returned to his winter quarters at Dakuka, nursing his revenge. He opened his grievances to several generals who had their quarters in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, such as Tudaju, the superior judge; Jijek Gurkan Legsi, the son of the famous administrator, Arghun; and Iltimur, the son of Hindukur Noyan, and made a conspiracy with them. Jemal ud din of Destajerd, the chief secretary of the treasury at Baghdad, went over to him, and thus secured him provision for his men. Having collected some troops, he marched upon Mosul, where he had the governor seized and put to death. His people also went to Baghdad, to put to death Muhammed Sikurji, who governed the town in the name of Gaikhatu, and the standard of revolt was openly unfurled.† The continuator of Bar Hebræus tells us emissaries were sent to inform the Khakan himself,‡ to tell him that Gaikhatu had abandoned the customs of the Mongols and contemned Jingis Khan, that he gave himself up to debauchery and extravagance, and that the grandees had therefore determined to put him away, and to raise him (*i.e.*, Ghazan) to the throne. The latter replied, according to the continuation of Abulfaraj, in biblical phrases, telling Baidu that he was greatest in Israel, and that he was ready to submit to him, and to follow his counsel. He bade him do what seemed best to him to rescue the State from its condition of decrepitude. It behoved their future king to eschew a lascivious life, gluttony, drinking, &c., extravagance and inordinate gifts, and to protect the kingdom.§

Let us revert shortly to what had passed recently in Khorasan. We have seen how, after his unfortunate campaign against the rebellious general, Nuruz, Ghazan set out to pay Gaikhatu a visit, and how when he refused to see him he returned. When he reached Firuzkuh he learnt that his general and *locum tenens* during his absence, Kutlugh, had defeated Nuruz, and compelled him to seek shelter in the mountains of Nishapur. Kutlugh met him at Bostam with a considerable booty, and they went along the road from Huirmabehrud towards Jorjan, and encamped at Sultan Devin, near Asterabad. It is quaint to read that at this place the amir Kutlugh, having become ill through drinking to excess at a feast, took a pledge not to drink wine any more, and kept it. Kia Salah ud din, who had once before rebelled, submitted, and been forgiven, was again rebellious. He was defeated, and a considerable booty was divided among the army. Ghazan passed the spring and summer

* Cont. of Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 629-631. D'Ohsson, iv. 107-109. Note.
† Cont. of Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 633. Ilkhans, i. 405-406. D'Ohsson, iv. 107-110.
‡ Clearly a mistake for Ghazan, as D'Ohsson has read it. § Op. cit., 634.

near Damaghan, Sultan Maidan, and Firuzkuh. The amirs Mulai and Hirkudak having reported that the people of Nishapur behaved haughtily, and took no heed of his messengers, he set out in October, 1294, for that town, and encamped at Moeyedi, close by. The Khoja Said ud din negotiated with the deputies of the town for the surrender of the peace-breakers, but as the townsfolk refused to give them up it was determined to attack the place. A large portion of the citizens sheltered in the mosque Migh, whose walls were undermined. They now implored mercy, which was granted them. Having put down the rebellion, Ghazan returned to Jorjan, and wintered at Sultan Devin.*

Meanwhile Nuruz had quarrelled with his patron, the Khakan Kaidu. After his defeat by Kutlugh Shah he had retired to Seistan, where he was supported by the so-called Nigudarians, or troops who had followed the rebellious Prince Nigudar. Thence he sent several expeditions into Khorasan. At the end of 1294, discontented with Kaidu, he agreed with Prince Uzbeg Timur (called Uruk Timur by Von Hammer), who was his brother-in-law, to drive Kaidu's troops beyond the Oxus. They marched together against Yassavur, but, obliged to give way before superior forces, they went towards Herat. Notwithstanding this check, Nuruz continued to make himself feared in Khorasan, and sent orders in various directions in the name of Uzbeg Timur, which he had countersigned. The two proceeded to assail Nishapur, which was about to surrender when they quarrelled. Uzbeg Timur, fancying that Nuruz meant to supersede him, left with his men. Nuruz, who was thus in a difficulty, was persuaded by his wife Tuganjuk to send his submission to Ghazan. He accordingly sent his relative Satilmish, and presently a number of officers. He asked for pardon and oblivion as to the past, and promised to be faithful in future. Ghazan was pleased to secure such a redoubtable person as a friend, and offered to pardon him. The messenger then begged him to advance with his troops as far as Mervchak, so as to protect Nuruz if his opponent should attack him. Ghazan said he would go in person, making pretence of a hunting excursion, and sent them away with tokens of his goodwill. The Mongol new year was spent at Sarakhs, and afterwards Ghazan, with the generals Nurin and Kutlugh Shah and a large body of troops, went towards Merv, hunting. At Bagshur (called Mori Shiburghan by the Mongols, Von Hammer calls it Yaghshu), Nuruz, with his wife Tuganjuk (Von Hammer says with Prince Tughan), went to meet him, and offered him nine beautiful horses. Ghazan promised him every favour if he were faithful to him, and they swore an eternal friendship. The feast lasted for three days, but as there was little wine the healths were drunk in water. In token of the reconciliation one of the memorial cairns called *obo* by the

* Ilkhans, ii. 20-21.

Mongols was set up.* Nuruz took the road of Shahrevan and Mervchak, while Ghazan marched to Fariab by Anjui. There the troops of Transoxiana had established their magazines. A large quantity of cattle was captured and taken off towards Shiburghan. Ghazan went himself by way of San and Harik, and encamped on the banks of the river of Shiburghan. The amirs who went in pursuit of the enemy inflicted a severe defeat upon him in the neighbourhood of the mountains of San and Harik. This was on the 19th of January, 1295. The enemy lost many men and much booty, and the magazines were filled with grain. Having waited there for twenty days, Ghazan went to Firamarsan, and thence by way of Sarakhs to Karatepe. There he was met by Boghdai Aidaji, Gaikhatu's messenger, who brought news of the revolt of Baidu, already described.†

Meanwhile Gaikhatu's son-in-law, Ghurantai, or Gartebai Gurkan, informed his father-in-law of the conspiracy, and warned him that the generals Doladai Aidaji (*i.e.*, the butler), Kunjukbal (who had married Arghun's eldest daughter, Oljatai), Tukal (the husband of Arghun's second daughter, Oljai Timur), Ilchidai (chief falconer and huntsman, according to Stephen Orpelian), and Ildar, a grandson of Khulagu (Von Hammer omits Ildar, and mentions Bukdai), who were at his Court, were in league with the rebels. Gaikhatu had them arrested at Kiawabari, or Gaupari, and sent to Tebriz. His close friends, Hassan and Taiju, counselled him to nip matters in the bud by putting the rebel amirs to death. Toghachar obtained a reprieve for them on the plea that it would be well first to see what Baidu intended doing, and that if the latter were summoned to the Court, and refused to attend, it would then be time to push matters to extremity with the generals. Gaikhatu agreeing to this, they were handed over in chains to Toghachar, who conveyed them to Tebriz. Khurumchi, we are told, was confined for a while in the Armenian monastery of Tathef, and regaining his liberty, was restored to his post by a miracle of the Church. Tukal went to Georgia. Meanwhile Baidu was summoned to the Court, while Toghachar sent him word that if he hastened thither his partisans would seize Gaikhatu, whereupon he set out with his troops. Orders were now sent to Baibuka, who commanded at Diarbekr, to seize Baidu. When the messengers reached Irbil, they learnt that Baibuka had already been seized by Baidu's people. They thereupon returned hastily to inform their master.‡ Fancying that Baidu would make for Khorasan to join Ghazan, troops were sent to seize the roads leading thither. Tughachar (doubtless the Tagrus of the continuator of Bar Hebræus) was sent to prevent Baidu crossing the mountains of Sheharzur, and shortly after Akbuka, who was Gaikhatu's father-in-law, was sent with another army in the same direction. Other writers tell us that Taitak was sent ahead

* D'Ohsson, iv. 118-120. Ilkhans, ii. 21. † Ilkhans, ii. 22.
‡ Ilkhans, i. 406. D'Ohsson, iv. 111. Hist. de la Siounie, 259-260.

with an advance guard of 5,000 men, while Akbuka and Toghachar each commanded a tuman. Near Hamadan there was a struggle of outposts. Toghachar meanwhile marched ahead of his colleague, and when the latter sent to inquire his reason, he replied that he was obliged to hasten, because of the want of pasture. As he continued to draw away, Akbuka reminded him that he was acting against his master's orders. Toghachar now threw off the mask. "Hitherto," he said, "Akbuka has ruled the kingdom in the name of Gaikhatu; henceforward I shall rule it in the name of Baidu." The continuator of Abulfaraj tells us that this took place at the foot of the mountain Sheharzur. Akbuka now found himself deserted by most of his men, and returned with barely 300 men to Gaikhatu, who was encamped at Abher. That prince wished to fly to Rum, but his courtiers urged him not to run away while he still had so many resources. He summoned Berim, one of his officers, and entreated him not to desert him, and presented him with a robe. He then withdrew to his ordu in Arran, accompanied by a few horsemen, leaving his permanent quarters to be pillaged by Berim. He was soon abandoned by Hassan and Taiju, the former of whom went over to Baidu, whose example was followed by other Mongols. At Mughan he alighted in the quarter of his equerries. He fancied that Kunjukbal and Doladai, who had been unfaithful to him, were at this time in prison at Tebriz, but Toghachar had already released them, and they had made their way to the royal ordu with the intention of plundering it, while the amirs Irinjin and Taijik having handed themselves with others, released Baidu's son Kipchak (who, as we have seen, had been left at Gaikhatu's Court as a hostage), and sent him to his father.

Three days after the skirmish outside Hamadan, above-mentioned, Taitak and Toghrulji had another struggle with Baidu's people, commanded by Bashmak Oghul and Karaju, in which the victory rested with Taitak. But at this time Tukal, who had collected an army in Georgia, drew near. He sent word to the various amirs that he had declared for Baidu, and bade them join him on the Kur. A body of one thousand men, who were at Pilsuvar, apparently under the Berim already named, now seized the unfortunate Khan, and handed him over to the amirs who had revolted.* Abulfeda calls the place Salasalar, in the district of Mughan. He begged for his life, saying he had never been ambitious to occupy the throne, and had only done so at the instance of his generals, and that if they wished to dethrone him his duty was to obey. This was not the kind of language to inspire much respect among the Mongol soldiery, whose chiefs had been made of very different stuff. They replied with gross insults. They dragged him into his tent, where he was strangled with a bowstring, on (according to Rashid) the 23rd of

* Cont. of Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 635-636. Ilkhans, i. 407-408.

April, 1295.* Marco Polo says he was poisoned.† He was buried at Karabagh by order of his successor Baidu.‡ Wassaf, drawing his simile from one of Gaikhatu's vile habits, in describing the catastrophe by which his life and reign came to an end, has an extraordinary rhetorical outburst. "A la fin l'empire montra a Gaikhatu ce qu'il aimait, c'est a dire *le derriere*." His singular weakness and overstrained clemency, which probably lost him his throne, are attributed by Wassaf to an opinion of the Shamans, who being asked by him how it was that Arghun had enjoyed such a short life, replied because he put to death so many princes, officers, and soldiers.§

All the authorities agree in describing Gaikhatu as a dissolute and lecherous person. This is the character Marco Polo gives him. Haithon's graphic denunciation has been well translated by Colonel Yule. "A man without law or faith, of no valour or experience in arms, but altogether given up to lechery and vice, living like a brute beast, glutting all his disordered appetites; for his dissolute life hated by his own people and lightly regarded by foreigners."‖ This opinion of the Christians is for once fully shared by the Muhammedans, Wassaf, Abulfeda, &c. In the "Shajrat ul Atrak," after reciting his dissolute habits, the author adds: "It may be stated in his favour that he was the most generous of all the descendants of Khulagu Khan, and that during his reign he never caused the execution of an innocent man, or permitted the punishment of the guilty otherwise than was prescribed by the law.¶

Gaikhatu had six wives, viz., Aisha, daughter of Tughu, son of Ilkai Noyan; Dundi, daughter of Akbuka, son of Ilkai; Ilturmish, daughter of Kutlugh Timur Gurkan, the Konkurat; Padishah Khatun, daughter of Kutb ud din, the ruler of Kerman; Bulughan, and Uruk. He left three sons, Alafreng and Iranshah by Dundi, and Jiuk pulad by Bulughan. He also left four daughters.**

De Saulcy published two gold coins of Gaikhatu, and Mr. S. Poole has published three silver ones. On these coins his name is replaced by the formula, Arinchin Turji (very precious diamond), previously discussed.†† These coins bear the Sunni symbol, and were struck at Baghdad and Tebriz, between the years 691 and 693.‡‡

BAIDU KHAN.

On the murder of Gaikhatu, Akbuka, Tamaji, Sertak, and several others of his favourites were put to death. Taiju was conducted to the ordu and there examined. Baidu accused him of having received many favours from Gaikhatu, notwithstanding which he had not

* D'Ohsson, iv. 113. Hist. de la Siounie, 260. † Yule's Marco Polo, 474.
‡ Shajrat ul Atrak, 270. § D'Ohsson, iv. 113-114.
‖ Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 474. ¶ Miles, op. cit., 270. ** Ilkhans, i. 400.
†† Ante, 283 and 356. ‡‡ Journ. Asiat., 3rd ser., xiii. 129-130. Poole Cat., vi. 32.

helped him in his distress, and he suggested that he himself might expect the same treatment, and he had him put to death. Hassan was condemned to death for the same reason, but was pardoned. Baidu summoned Ayet-Kali, who had struck him at the banquet by order of Gaikhatu, and apostrophised him about his audacity. He replied that Gaikhatu being his sovereign, if he had ordered him to kill his brother or his son he should have felt bound to obey him, and that now he was the servant of Baidu he should feel obliged to obey him in the same way. His excuse was accepted, and he was allowed to retain his post.* The throne on which Abaka and Arghun had been enthroned was brought from Tebriz and set up at Aujan, where Baidu was duly proclaimed in April, 1295. Stephen Orpelian says the installation took place in the plain of Srav. After the usual festivities Baidu set out for Siahkuh, and issued an edict, and had it sent to various parts of the empire, in these words: "As Gaikhatu had a distaste for the affairs of government, and acted contrary to the yasa of Jingis Khan, we have dethroned him, in concert with our akas and degus,† with the khatuns and the amirs. May the pensions and payments fixed by our father be paid punctually to those who are entitled to them."

The noyan Toghachar was appointed generalissimo and head of the administration, while Kunjukbal, Tugan (the Tukal of Von Hammer), Chichak, Legsi Gurkan, and Tudaju were appointed his deputies. Jemal ud din of Destarjirdan was put over the finances, and adopted the title of vizier in lieu of that of sahib divan, deeming it would bring him good fortune. Considering that the amirs were discontented with Gaikhatu because they were not employed in the administration, he gave them the government of the provinces, recalling the fact that during Abaka's reign, when each province was controlled by one of the ruler's familiars, order and tranquillity generally prevailed, and the troops were quiet. Baghdad was confided to Tudaju, Rum and Diarbekr to the noyan Toghachar, Irak Ajem and Lur to Doladai Aidaji, and Shiraz and Shebankiareh to Kunjukbal. Each was absolute in his own province. ‡

Let us now revert shortly to the doings of Ghazan in Khorasan. When he heard that Baidu had revolted he took no notice of it, but having permitted Nuruz to leave for his camp, he himself went to Badghiz, and after a halt of some time repaired again by way of Eshja, Shevkian and the valley of Kharir to Radkian, to hunt. Envoys now arrived from Baidu with the news that the amirs and other grandees had adjudged him the throne. Ghazan consulted with his amirs, and sent for Nuruz, whom he appointed governor of Khorasan, with powers equal to those held by his famous father, but took no other immediate steps. After

* D'Ohsson, iv. 116.

† *Akas*, a term which in Mongol and Turk means elders; *degus*, the Turkish *ini*, means the younger members of the royal stock; together, all the members of his family.

‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 115-118. Ilkhans, i. 408-410.

spending some time at Radkian and the springs of Kebseb, he went to Duber, where he was met by Nuruz. Meanwhile, Prince Suka, with the greater part of Gaikhatu's troops in Mazanderan, went by way of Shehreknev and Jorjan to Sultan Devin, where they joined Ghazan, and feasted for several days.* Before leaving Sultan Devin, Ghazan sent word to Baidu that he was coming to see him, and then advanced by way of Jehardih to Damaghan. He would have stayed to rest at Girdkuh, but was urged to go on by his amirs, who pronounced it to be of unhappy augury if he stayed to sup there. The sons of Taj ud din Ilduz, the former commander, were brought out of the castle, and the astronomer Said ud din Habesh was told to look after them. At Semnan they were met by Ardubuka, who had been sent by Gaikhatu with a sack of paper money, and machinery for making it. Ghazan ordered it to be burnt. At Hetran (D'Ohsson says at Khailbuzurg, between Rai and Kazvin) he was met by Timur Aidaji, whom he had sent to Baidu, and who brought word that he had mounted the throne, and that the amirs Toghachar, Kinduskul (? Kunjukbal), Doladai, &c., had declared for him. At the council which was now summoned Nuruz said it was not wonderful that the amirs who had usurped power should have declared against him (Ghazan), as they were afraid he would avenge the death of his uncle Gaikhatu, of Ordu Kia, and of Juchi; but they feared still more his great qualities, and wished to retain the power in the hands of a feeble and timid prince, whom they could control as they pleased. He advised Ghazan to send successive envoys to Baidu, and to act according to their report of what took place. As he had never dreamt there might be a struggle, Ghazan had only brought a few troops and very little baggage with him. He determined to send the two amirs Mulai and Yaghmish to say he was coming to have a personal interview with him, assuring him of his goodwill, but also saying that according to the yasa of Jingis Khan it was forbidden for karajus (*i.e.*, those not of royal blood) to shed the blood of princes, and demanding the surrender of the guilty beys, so that they might be tried and punished. When he reached Akkhoja, near Kazvin, he was met by Shadi Gurkan, the son of Bukua, and the Princess Yelturmish, who came on behalf of Baidu, to say that he had not desired the throne, but as on the death of Gaikhatu he (Ghazan) was so far off, the khatuns, generals, and noyans, to put an end to the confusion which was desolating the country, had united in electing him, that all would be well. Ghazan was further urged not to fatigue his troops, but to turn back home again.†

Ghazan, who had a very small force with him, was for returning, but Nuruz urged him to go on. "Man must end by dying," he said. "As death is certain, let it be honourable." Ghazan decided to follow the

* Ilkhans, ii. 22. D'Ohsson, iv. 121. † D'Ohsson, iv. 121-122. Ilkhans, ii. 23-24.

counsel of Nuruz, and to advance with his little army of 6,000 men.* He assigned to each officer his part in the coming struggle, and promised to reward them each with the command of a district or a province if they should prove victorious, while he urged on his men that it was better to go on than to retrace the long journey they had already made. On arriving at the station of Robat Moslim, the place was summoned, and Shadi Gurkan was sharply questioned about the usurpation of Baidu. Prince Ildar, the second son of Kiukurtai, son of Khulagu, who was with Shadi Gurkan, boasted when drunk that if Ghazan would not submit to Baidu, there would be open war between them. The envoys were now dismissed. The amirs Nurin and Kutlugh Shah were told to have the army ready, and Isen Buka, who was a subordinate judicial officer, was sent to Baidu with the laconic message, "We are coming." Ghazan advanced by way of Tuka, Turuvan, and Sipidrud.† Baidu learnt at Heshtrud, near Meragha, that his rival was approaching. He sent his equerry, Bughdai, to report, and as he did not bring encouraging news, a council was called, including the amirs Toghachar, Doladai, Kunjukbal, Ilchidai, and Tugal, and it was determined to offer battle. The two armies were before one another on the 19th of May, near Kurban shira (which was a few leagues west of the Sipid rud, *i.e.*, the White River), and Karieh Shirguiram. Nuruz advised an immediate attack. Prince Ildar and the amirs Ilchidai and Chichek commanded Baidu's right wing, and Kutlugh Shah and Nurin Aka the right wing of Ghazan. The Princes Suka and Buralighi, with Nuruz, were with Ghazan in the centre. The battle began by Kutlugh Shah charging Ildar before the great trumpet sounded. Ildar and eight hundred of his men were killed, while Arslan Oghul (Von Hammer calls him Arslan Arghun) was captured, and led with a cord about his neck before Ghazan. Prince Burultai was for cutting him down, but Ghazan would not permit it, and ordered a kaftan, a cap, girdle, and trousers to be given him out of his wardrobe. He also ordered medicine to be distributed to the wounded. All the army of Khorasan was about to charge, when the equerry Bugdai rushed in between the two forces, and prostrating himself before Ghazan, said, "Prince Baidu sends to tell you that relatives should not fight. If you will divide the kingdom you may have Khorasan and Mazanderan, Irak, Kerman, and Fars."‡

The continuator of Abulfaraj says nothing about any battle, but that Ghazan sent to inquire why he had been summoned, and why, further, having been so, Baidu had not awaited his arrival, so that he might mount the throne with his consent. He adds that the latter consented to make over to him Khorasan, Shiraz, Behrin, and Shirvan, and also gave him the camp and effects of his father Arghun, reserving only one tent for himself. Nurin and Kutlugh Shah pressed Ghazan to accept the offer, but Nuruz

* D'Ohsson, iv. 121-123.

† Ilkhans, ii. 24.

‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 124. Ilkhans, ii. 24.

advised him to take advantage of his rival's weakness to attack him suddenly at night. When his men were duly mounted, however, a terrible hurricane came on, and they lost themselves and each other, and when daylight broke they were very weary, and much disturbed at finding themselves close to Baidu's people, who marched out to attack them. Ghazan seeing the position of affairs agreed to a truce.* Thereupon the two princes advanced to meet one another between the armies, accompanied by ten men each. With Baidu were Toghachar, Doladai, Kunjukbal, and Ilchidai; while Ghazan was accompanied by Nuruz, Nurin, Kutlugh Shah, and Sutai. They all dismounted on the battle-field, and the two princes embraced one another. Thereupon Baidu repeated what he had already sent as a message to Ghazan several times, and they promised in future not to disturb the public peace by their quarrels, and in the usual Mongol fashion wine, in which gold was mingled, was drunk from golden cups. Nuruz refused to drink wine in swearing, pleading that he was a Mussulman. The generals on each side followed the example of their masters in swearing friendship. It was decided that Baidu should be duly enthroned the following day. He promised to do all that Ghazan should require, and in the evening the two princes returned to their camps. The two armies marched together as far as Kurban Shira, but there was continual watchfulness and jealousy on either side, and each man kept his hand on his bridle. Meanwhile the Sheikh Hurkasan, who was one of the pages of the Princess Bulughan, had gone over with a considerable following and joined the party of Ghazan. As the latter's troops were passing through a narrow defile, Kukatu and Kunjukbal urged Baidu to close the entrance, and thus catch them in a trap, but he refused to do so. At length, by the intervention of the officers on either side, it was arranged that the two princes should have another interview in a royal tent pitched between the two armies. To this they repaired with the same grandees who had accompanied them before. This interview was brought about by the invitation of Tudai Khatun, the widow of both Abaka and Arghun, whose yurt was in the neighbourhood, and who wished the reconciliation to be effected in her own presence. A long debate took place, lasting from morning till sunset. It was arranged that all the property of Arghun, including that of the Princesses Bulughan and Uruk, and of Prince Khudabendeh, Ghazan's brother, should belong to the latter, and that he should control the country beyond the Sipid rud, viz., Irak Ajem, Khorasan, Kumuz, Mazanderan, and one-half of Fars. The "Shajrat ul Atrak" adds Khoristan (?) and Luristan. Baidu was to keep Irak Arab, Diarbekr, Azerbaijan, Iran, Armenia, Georgia, and Rum. Ghazan was to retain the royal domains there. He asked in addition for the tuman of

* Cont. of Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., 637-638.

Karaunas commanded by Toghachar, which had been attached to Arghun's appanage, but Baidu urged that Arghun, who had treated him as one of his own sons, had assigned him the tuman of the Karaunas of Baghdad for his retinue. The amirs urged that the matter should rest as it had bee fixed. While the negotiations were in progress the army of Baidu was being continually reinforced. There arrived troops from Baghdad and from Mughan, and his generals urged him to take advantage of his opportunity to put an end to Ghazan. Tugal was so discontented with his refusal to entertain this that he hurriedly returned to his quarters in Georgia. Nor would Baidu listen to those who demanded the blood penalty for the relatives who had been killed by Ghazan's people. Kunjukbal, we are told, urged that, as in case of Baidu's discomfiture the amirs would turn to Akbuka, who was in chains, it would be well to put him to death. Baidu was apparently quite loyal to the arrangements he had made. He sent Doladai with meat and drink to attend upon Ghazan, and to offer him the cup.

Ghazan, alarmed at the increasing forces of his rival, determined to withdraw by way of Siah kuh, Sipid rud, and Sukurluk, but Baidu feared that the Karaunas who were encamped in that direction would desert to him, and also that he would lose a considerable treasure which was there, and he sent the famous amir Pulad Chingsang to urge him to return by the same route he had come. The next day, Baidu's son Kinjak (called Kipchak by D'Ohsson) went to Ghazan's camp at Kurban Shira to offer him the cup again, and to invite him to a parting feast, after which he might return to Khorasan. Ghazan was naturally suspicious. We are told his generals swore mutual oaths, Nurin, Kutlugh Shah, and others doing so by drinking out of gold cups, while Nuruz, Buralkai, and Mulai did so with their hands on the Koran. Nuruz pressed his patron to become a Mussulman, saying he would thus attract all the followers of Islam to his side. He presented him with a beautiful ruby ring, of the weight of ten miskals, on his knees, and said that although it was not seemly for a karaju, or subject, to make such presents to a prince of the blood, he had been made bold by his goodness to him, and begged him to retain the ring as a memento of the promise he had made. Baidu pressed for another interview, but the generals of Nuruz, fearing some treachery (the "Shajrat ul Atrak" says Baidu's amirs had determined to put Ghazan to death next day at a display of fireworks), urged him to refuse, and he sent word that the astrologers had declared the day fixed for the interview to be unpropitious, but that he would be at the rendezvous the day after. During the night, however, he hastily left with the advance guard, and marched so quickly that he had crossed the Sipid rud before morning, and taking the road Dih Minar, reached Zenjan. He left Nuruz and Tuktimur behind to receive the act of investiture of the provinces of Irak and Fars, and to superintend the removal of the ulusses of the wives

of his father and uncle, as well as of the troops belonging to the military establishments of Arghun and Abaka. They were also to try and learn Baidu's plans, and to prevent him from pursuing. From Mosellim (called Robat Moslim, on the Kur, by Von Hammer), Ghazan sent word to Baidu, begging him to execute the treaty they had made, and to make over to his generals what he had promised to give him. Meanwhile Kunjukbal, Ilchidai, and Doladai went in pursuit of him with 5,000 men. When the latter reached the river Kiuh (not Kiere, as D'Ohsson reads it, says Von Hammer), called Turkan Muran, or the Turk's river, by the Mongols, east of Kazvin, there came Kesher Bakhshi with a message from Baidu, expressing his concern that they had not had another interview. Ghazan sent him back his spear bearer, Ibrahim, to again urge the fulfilment of the treaty. It seems Baidu had ordered Jemal ud din to deliver up a part of Fars to Ghazan, but when the latter's officers went to take possession a counter order was produced. He now went on to Demavend to await Baidu's answer. Nuruz and the other officers of Ghazan who had been left behind went with Baidu to Sheruyas (Sultania). They were arrested, and menaced with all kinds of threats, but Nuruz remained unmoved. Thereupon Baidu's officers changed their tactics, and charged his brother Legsi to try and win him over. But promises were no more effective than threats ; nor was he to be induced to break his oath to Ghazan when the amirs went to him in troops to threaten him. He, on the other hand, tried counter intrigue. He succeeded in gaining over Toghachar, and even persuaded Baidu that he was friendly to himself, and promised solemnly to hand Ghazan over to him bound hand and foot. The continuation of Abulfaraj says he promised to send him his head on a charger. He was released, while his son was given the amirship of Yezd, with an assignation of 10,000 dinars on the revenues of that town. Ghazan's amirs were also allowed to leave, and Baidu himself encamped in his yurt of Sughurlik. Nuruz now hastened, with Tuktimur, to rejoin Ghazan, and traversed the distance from Meragha to Firuzkuh, near Demavend, in four days. He told him that to save his own life he had feigned an intention to betray him. In order to keep his word to Baidu he sent him a cauldron, bound in cords, in a sack. (Ghazan means, a cauldron.) On receiving this, Baidu and his people were naturally outraged, and regretted having let such a dangerous enemy escape them.

At a council which Ghazan now called, Nuruz again urged him to become a Mussulman. "The astrologers, doctors of the law, and other holy people have foretold," he said, "that about the year 690 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1291) there will appear a ruler who will protect the Muhammedan faith, will restore to it its ancient glory, will bring prosperity to his subjects, and will reign for many years. I have always thought that this meant you. If you will embrace Islam you will become the ruler of Iran. The Mussulmans raised by you from the degradation they have suffered

at the hands of the pagan Tartars will be devoted to your cause, while God, recognising that you have saved the true faith from extinction, will bless your arms." Ghazan was moved by this address. He sent for the ruby which Nuruz had given him, and which he had kept as a gauge of his promise. He gave a great feast on the 19th of June in the meadow of Lar-Demavend, near a country house where his father had often lived. Having purified himself by a bath, and dressed himself in new clothes, he entered the house, where, standing at the foot of the throne, he repeated several times the profession of faith which was recited by the Amir Sadr ud din Ibrahim, the son of the great Sheikh Said ud din, descended from Hamuyah, the disciple of Mohiyeddin Arabi, the pole star, says Von Hammer, of Arabian mystics, who was born in 1164, and died in 1240. Sadr ud din Ibrahim was the contemporary of Sadr ud din of Konia, and the author of some famous mystical works, as the "Kitabi Mahbub" (*i.e.*, the book of lovers), the "Sijilol-ervah" (*i.e.*, the records of spirits), and of many mystical verses. The example of Ghazan was followed by his officers and soldiers. He distributed largess to the imaums, sheikhs, and seyids, or descendants of Muhammed, and gave rich alms to the poor. He visited the mosques and tombs of the saints, asking God to grant him victory over his enemies. Couriers were sent with the news of his conversion to Irak and Khorasan, whence many imaums and sheikhs hastened to his camp. He observed the fast of Ramazan, and every evening had many Turks and Persians to sup with him at his table. The auspicious event took place on the 16th of June, 1295.* According to the "Shajrat ul Atrak" the adoption of Islam by Ghazan took place at Firuzkuh. It adds that in commemoration of the event, Nuruz raised a white marble pillar on the spot, which, it says, is between Ubeh (?) and Gurgistan, or Georgia, which stone was known as Mir Nuruz's pillar when the author wrote.† Ghazan now adopted the name of Mahmud. He had been up to this time a devoted Buddhist, and had built a large Buddhist temple at Khabushan. His conversion on the present occasion was doubtless in a large measure due to political rather than to religious considerations, but with whatever motive the result was exceedingly important and fraught with the greatest consequence for the history of the East. Not only did it re-arrange entirely the forces of politics in Persia, but it drew into the service of the State in much closer fashion all the best elements and the greatest political insight in the East at this time. Its immediate effect on Ghazan's own fortunes were naturally very marked.

Baidu made Toghachar governor of Rum, and appointed as his assistant the vizier Sadr ud din, of Zenjan, surnamed the Chaoyian, or introducer of paper money. This was a virtual deposition of the latter officer, whose

* Ilkhans, ii. 24-29. D'Ohsson, iv. 122-133. Shajrat ul Atrak, 273, &c.
† Op. cit., 273.

post as vizier was given to Jemal ud din, of Destarjerd, who owed the greater part of his fortune to him, but nevertheless became his open enemy. The deposed vizier saw that his best chance of revenge was to join the party of Ghazan, and he incited Toghachar, who was at this time irritated in consequence of a quarrel with Todaju, one of Baidu's generals to join him. They determined to act in concert. At this time there was at the Court an envoy of Ghazan's, named Ariktimur, who had gone to urge the departure of the Princess Bulughan, whom Baidu had detained on the ground that she ought not to make the journey in that unfavourable season. Sadr ud din persuaded the princess to send the sheikh Mahmud, of Deinavar, to Ghazan, to make her excuses. He was also instructed to assure him secretly of the goodwill of the amirs Toghachar, Choban, Kurumishi, and Bogdai, as well as of the ayu-oghlans (meaning good fellows in Turkish, and probably connoting pages.*) The sheikh set out with an officer named Kutlugh Shah.† On his arrival he delivered the message from the princess openly and before his colleague, and then had a private interview with Ghazan, and told him how all the military chiefs, except Kunjukbal, Tugal, Doladai, and Ilchidai, who were too guilty to expect pardon, were ready on the news of his march to join him. Ghazan was delighted with this unexpected news, and asked for information about what was passing at Baidu's Court. At this time the forces of Transoxiana made au invasion of Khorasan, but withdrew again on the approach of Nuruz, who marched against them. On the return of the sheikh to the Court he reported this invasion, which had necessitated the departure of Nuruz. The news was welcome to Baidu, who disbanded his troops. The sheikh also reported to the generals the result of his secret interview with Ghazan. He had been one of Arghun's companions, and disliked Baidu because he favoured the Christians, and supported Ghazan in the interests of Muhammedanism.‡ Sadr ud din, pretending that he was on his way to Rum, stayed at Tebriz. He sent to fetch his brother, Kutb ud din, or Kutb Jihan, from Kazvin, and fled with him and his cousin, Kavam ul Mulk, with all the gold and silver which he could carry. He was pursued by the troops of Kunjukbal, and his baggage was pillaged, but he arrived safely at Firuzkuh, where he was received with great honour by Ghazan. He promised that Toghachar, over whom he had great influence, would faithfully keep his promise of joining him with his troops when he should advance, and obtained a promise from Ghazan that he himself should be made vizier if their plans did not miscarry.

Kutlugh Shah was again sent by Baidu to Ghazan's camp. He was arrested, and under torture confessed that he had gone to report whether it was Ghazan's intention to advance. He was imprisoned in

* D'Ohsson, iv. 155. Note.
† Not the general of that name, who was one of Ghazan's amirs.
‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 133-135. Ilkhans, ii. 29.

the fort of Hebl rud, and Ghazan set out on the 26th (Von Hammer says the 28th) of August for Rai. Nuruz, with Kutlugh Shah, or, according to the "Shajrat ul Atrak," Sadr ud din, and Khoja Ahmed Khabdi, went on with the burunghai, or advanced guard, of 4,000 horsemen, and with them marched Sadr ud din, of Zenjan. After the flight of the latter, the generals Choban and Kurumishi Kurkan, son of Alinak, who were attached to the tuman of Tudaju, asked permission from that chief to go and exercise their horses, so as to have them ready, since news was continually arriving of Ghazan's march. They accordingly took 500 horses, and setting out at nightfall went and joined Ghazan at Hebl rud, and were rewarded by him with kaftans and jewelled girdles. At their request they were sent to join the advance guard. A few days later Ghazan reached the river Kiuheh (called Kuma by D'Ohsson). Nuruz was intrusted with the organisation of the army. By his advice news was spread abroad that he (Ghazan) was marching at the head of twelve tumans to secure his father's throne; that the sword having been drawn, those who opposed him would be put to death with their families. This proclamation had the desired effect. The advance guard stopped all whom they met, so that news of the march might not reach Baidu. Nuruz hastened on to Sijas and Sohravrad, on the banks of the Sipid rud. This was reported to Baidu by Doladai, who commanded his advance guard. After the promises which had been made to him, he was very indignant, and especially resented the conduct of Nuruz, who had so completely deceived him. He at once sent to inform Toghachar, his generalissimo, and to ask his advice. He reassured him, and promised to disperse the enemy if he marched against him. But during the night he furtively escaped with some of his officers and joined Nuruz. This defection was followed by that of numerous soldiers. When Baidu learnt of this the following day he lost heart and fled. Leaving the Sipid rud, he reached Maidan Sulimanshah the same day with some officers. The next day Eltimur, with his tuman, and Khodabandeh, brother of Ghazan, went to join Nuruz. Learning this new defection, Baidu continued his flight towards Aujan and Merend with the amirs Kunjukbal, Chichak, and Ilchidai, and several officers, with the intention of reaching Georgia, where he hoped for support from Tugal.

Ghazan meanwhile reached Sijas, where he received the submission of Khodabendeh and Ildar. Further on, on the Sipid rud, he was joined by the generals Doladai, Iltimur, and others. He then went to Merend, to await the return of Nuruz and Kutlugh Shah, who had gone towards the Aras in pursuit of Bajdu. Nuruz advanced very rapidly, and his horses being worn out, he dispatched Kurumishi and Shadi with 4,000 men, who overtook the fugitive near Nakhchivan, in Armenia. When he was brought before Nuruz, that unscrupulous believer in blood and iron jeered at him, saying: "Did we not agree that I would bring you to Ghazan?

You see I meant what I said. I have kept my word, but why have you not kept yours? Why did you turn your back upon us when we came?" Baidu begged to be conducted before Ghazan, who had halted at Aujan. News was sent on to the latter that his rival had been captured, and would arrive the following day, escorted by 200 men. Ghazan, who was not anxious for an interview, sent one of his equerries with some troopers to put him to death. They met him and his escort near Tebriz, and having in the Mongol fashion given him a feast, which lasted until night, and during which he was treated with the honours due to one of his rank, put him to death on the 5th of October, 1295. His son, Kipchak Oghul, was put to death at Keshur, near Meragha. Ildar fled towards Rum, and Tugal to Georgia.*

Baidu had barely reigned eight months. The continuation of Abulfaraj praises his good qualities, and tells us he was free from the debauched habits and unnatural offences of his predecessor. He was prudent, gentle, and modest, and patronised the distinguished men of every country, giving them splendid presents and robes. He had passed much time in the society of the Greek wife of Abaka, the Princess Despina, from whom he had acquired a good opinion of the Christians. He had allowed a Christian church to be set up in his camp some years before, and also allowed the bells to be rung. At this time many of the Mongols had become Mussulmans, were circumcised, and practised the ablutions and said the prayers enjoined upon the faithful; and, we are told, to please them Baidu also became a Mussulman, but according to the continuator of Abulfaraj, he was really a Christian, and wore a cross suspended about his neck. Although a nominal Muhammedan, he did not join in their services, but to please the faithful he sent his son to pray with them.†

Haithon has a notice confirming these statements of Bar Hebræus. He says he was a good Christian, rebuilt the Christian churches, and forbade the preaching of Muhammedanism among the Tartars, and as there were many of them who had become converts to that faith, they were much opposed to him. This was why they made secret overtures to Ghazan, and why when Baidu marched against him those who were Muhammedans went over to him.‡

Abulfeda's notice of Baidu§ adds nothing to the accounts already given, which were derived by D'Ohsson and Von Hammer from Rashid ud din and Wassaf.

In the Georgian history a very prominent *rôle* is assigned to Tukal, or Tugal, who, as we have seen, had his camp in Georgia, and whose doings it confuses with those of Baidu. It calls him khan, and says he lived in the mountains of Ararat, where he summoned the

* D'Ohsson, iv. 133-140. Ilkhans, ii. 29-30. † Op. cit., 642-643. D'Ohsson, iv. 141.
‡ Op. cit., xl. D'Ohsson, iv. 141-142. § Op. cit., v. 121-126.

Georgian king to go and see him. He treated him courteously, and gave him Dmanis, the widow of Kutlugh Buka, brother of Mangasar, in marriage. This authority makes Nuruz and Kurumishi, the son of Alinak or Alikan, flee from Tukal, who had killed the latter's brother Buka, and go over to Ghazan in Khorasan.* They united their forces with his, while Tukal, we read, joined Baidu, and the rivals came to an issue near the little town of Zangan. The result was indecisive. Ghazan was not present at this fight, but was represented by Nuruz and Kutlugh Buka. Nuruz was captured after a severe struggle by Jalirman, and Ghazan withdrew to Khorasan.

Stephen the Orpelian says Baidu was a Christian, but was persuaded by his generals to become a Mussulman. He says he was a feeble administrator. He sent Jelal, son of Darsaij, with some Mongol troops to Amaras, the former residence of the Catholicos of Arran, situated south-east of Gantzasar, in the district of Haband and the province of Artsakh, and carried off "the cross" of St. Gregory, grandson of St. Gregory the Illuminator, and another richly jewelled cross. The Greek princess, Despina, who had been foster mother to Baidu, begged it, and it was sent to Constantinople.† The same authority tells us that when Ghazan marched against Baidu he did so at the head of the troops of Khorasan called Gharavunas (*i.e.*, the Karaunas), under the command of Kutlugh Shah, who was of Armenian origin.‡

Baidu left a son named Ali, whose son Musa at a later date became Ilkhan. In the British Museum there is a silver coin of Baidu's, dated in the year 694, and struck at Tebriz, and a copper one without mint or date.

Note 1.—*The Karaunas.* Under this name we have constant reference in the historians of the Ilkhans to a body of freebooters whose exact nationality is not easy to fix. Their name has been connected by Von Hammer § with Karaun Jidun, by which the Mongols knew the mountains separating the Gobi desert from China and Manchuria. In this district were encamped the Turkish tribe of the Kunkurats, one of whose branches is called Karanut by Rashid ud din. The "t" in this name is merely the Mongol plural, and if we remove it we have a name singularly like that of the Karaunas. In support of this view it may be mentioned that Niki Behadur, a grandson of the *Kunkurat chief*, Tukujar, whom Jingis Khan left in command of his ordus when he marched against China, is expressly said to have commanded a hezareh of the Karaunas which was encamped at Badghiz.‖ Von Hammer says they were employed in working the machines for throwing naphtha, in which they were much skilled.¶

In 1278 we find Abaka visiting Herat, and receiving the submission of the amirs of the Karaunas.** Arghun passed the winter of 1283 at Baghdad,

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* Op. cit., 613-614. † Hist. de la Siounie, 260. ‡ *Id.*, 261. § Ilkhans, i. 309.
‖ Erdmann Temudschin, 200. ¶ Ilkhans, i. 17 (note) and 309. ** *Id.*, 309.

where 10,000 Karaunas, described by Wassaf "as a kind of demons, the fiercest of the Mongols," were posted.* The next year, when Arghun was at war with Ahmed Khan, the former sent word to Nuruz to send him a tuman of Karaunas. They arrived too late to take part in the battle of Ak Khoja, but ravaged that district and burnt Damaghan.† Later in the year the rebels against Ahmed sent Buri to Ispahan to the Karaunas to tell them to seize Ahmed.‡ When Ahmed fell, we are told these robbers plundered his harem at Sughurluk, and drove out his wives and mother naked.§ Under a leader named Aladu they plundered the camp of Nuruz in 1289, and later in the year we read of their going to Herat with their leader Tekne to pay their respects to Ghazan. Their summer quarters at this time were at Shuturkiuh (*i.e.*, the Camel mountain).‖ In 1290 a party of these robbers were driven away from Juven, and later in the year they seized on Merv.¶ Somewhat later Ghazan removed a body of them from Jorbed to Jajerm and Bostam.** Baidu claimed that the tuman of the Karaunas at Baghdad had been made over to him by Arghun.††

D'Ohsson treats the Karaunas as identical with the Nigudarians,‡‡ the latter name being taken from their original leader. Although this view is disputed by Von Hammer there is some probability in it. They were both robbers, and both apparently infested the same district, and it is certainly curious that Marco Polo should identify them in his not very satisfactory account of them. He says, speaking of the plain between Kerman and Hormuz, that the villages there were protected by lofty walls of mud, against the banditti, who are very numerous, and called Caraonas. "This name," he says, "is given them because they are the sons of Indian mothers by Tartar fathers." He describes them as producing darkness when they pleased, by their enchantments. They knew the country well, and rode abreast, keeping near one another, sometimes to the number of 10,000, and thus extended across the whole plain they were harrying, and secured everything. They killed the old men, and sold the young ones and the maidens into slavery. "The king of these scoundrels," he says, "is called Nogodar, who went to Jagatai's Court with 10,000 of his men, and abode with him, Jagatai being his uncle."§§ The details he gives of this Nogodar's adventures I shall return to on another occasion.

To revert to the Karaunas. I am not at all certain that they are not to be identified with the Kara Tartars, who are mentioned in Khorasan at the break up of the power of the Ilkhans, and whom I shall mention presently. Von Hammer suggests that the word carbine, for which no satisfactory etymology is forthcoming, was derived from the naphtha-using Karaunas, whose name he writes Karavinas. Colonel Yule says that a link in such etymology is perhaps furnished by the fact that in the 16th century the word carbine was used for some kind of irregular horseman.‖‖ Marco Polo's own etymology of Karauna is possibly a confusion founded on the existence of an Indian term, Karani, for children of mixed parents.¶¶

* Ilkhans, i. 344. † *Id.*, 348. ‡ *Id.*, 357. § *Id.*, 358. ‖ *Id.*, 13-14.
¶ *Id.*, 14-15. ** *Id.*, 16 †† *Id.*, 26. ‡‡ Op. cit., ii. 516.
§§ Op. cit., ed. Yule, 99-100. ‖‖ Yule's Marco Polo, 103. ¶¶ *Id.*

Note 2.—*Paper Money.* In describing the experiment in paper money made by Gaikhatu, I mentioned that it was a close imitation of that used in China, and that it was known by the same name, *i.e.*, chao. My friend M. Terrien de la Couperie says the Chinese traditions date the first introduction of paper money in China as early as the beginning of the Empire, in 2697 B.C. The statement in the annals is that Pöh ling, minister of Hien yüen (*i.e.*, Huang ti), began to make use of fabrics (pa pöh) as substituted money (ch'u pi).* But, as M. de la Couperie says, this refers rather to the use of various forms of material used in lieu of coin, and not to a paper currency as we understand it. The first paper money, properly so called, was issued in the reign of the Emperor Hian tsung, of the Tang dynasty, about the year 806 A.D., and a specimen of it from the Tamba collection is preserved in the British Museum, and consists of an oblong piece of paper, less than two inches long, with the representation of an ordinary Chinese coin (cash) on it, and the inscription "current value of the Tang's counting-houses."†

This paper money of the Tang was called *fei thsian*, or flying money. It was introduced to remedy the scarcity of copper coin, which had also led to an order forbidding the use of copper for making vases, bowls, &c. People were allowed to deposit what copper money they had in the Government banks, and received in exchange these notes, which were cashed on presentation elsewhere, thus obviating the necessity of merchants and others having to carry large quantities of coin about the country. For some reason they were withdrawn from circulation in the capital within three years of their issue, and only allowed to circulate in the provinces.‡ Tai Tsu, the founder of the Sung dynasty, who mounted the throne in 960, issued similar notes on the same terms. They were called *piau thsian*, or convenient money. They were much used. In 997 A.D., the issue of such notes amounted in value to 1,700,000 in silver, and in 1021 to 1,130,000 ounces.§ Meanwhile the plan was abused, and we read how in the district of Shu in Sechuan, one called Chang yung introduced notes answering to assignats, having no deposits to represent their value. These were introduced to replace the iron coinage, which was deemed too clumsy and inconvenient. These assignats were called *chi tsi*. During the reign of Chin Tsung, of the Sung dynasty (997-1022), this example was followed, and notes called *kiao tsu* were issued, which were redeemable in three years. Each kiao tsu was worth a string of a thousand cash, and represented in value an ounce of pure silver. Sixteen wealthy houses undertook the operation, but speedily became bankrupt, which led to much litigation, and an order forbidding private individuals from issuing notes was promulgated, and a public bank for this money was founded at I chau. In 1032 there had been issued 1,256,340 ounces in value of kiao tsu. False ones having appeared, the makers were punished in the same way as those forging Government orders. Presently banks for assignats were founded in different provinces, those of each province not circulating outside it, and the terms of payment and mode of circulation were frequently changed.¶ In 1131, during the reign of Kao tsung,

* Numismatic Chronicle, 3rd ser., ii. 337. † *Id.*, 334-336.
‡ Klaproth, Mems. Relatifs a l'Asie, 378-379. La Couperie, op. cit., 334-335.
§ Klaproth, op. cit., 379. ¶ *Id.*, 380-381.

certain notes called *kuan tsu* were issued at U Chau for the payment of those supplying the army with provisions, which were cashed at a special bureau; but they were liable to abuse, and caused discontent. They were nevertheless issued in other provinces. In 1160 a new kind of assignats was issued in Chekiang and its neighbourhood, called *hoei tsu*. Eventually these also were issued generally. The paper for them was first made at Hoei Chau and Chi Chau in Kiang nan and afterwards at Ching tu fu in Sechuan and Lin gan fu in Che kiang. At first each hoei tsu was worth 1,000 cash, but presently others were issued of the value of 200, 300, and 500. Between 1160 and July, 1166, as much as 28,000,000 ounces in value of these assignats had been issued, while in November of the same year they had been augmented by 15,600,000 ounces. During the continuance of the Sung dynasty the number continually increased, as did that of the kiao tsu and other provincial issues, and the value constantly fell, while that of provisions rose, notwithstanding the efforts of the Government to prevent it. In 1264 the minister, Kia szu tao, tried to substitute a new form of assignat, apparently redeemable in silver, and called *in kuan*, offering one of these for three of the discredited notes; but the depreciation continued.*

Meanwhile the Sung dynasty lost hold on Northern China, which became subject to the Kin Tartars. There, also, copper money became very scarce, in consequence of the disturbed state of the country, and assignats were introduced. These were of the value of 100, 300, 700, and 900 cash respectively and others of two, four, eight, and ten strings of 1,000 cash each. They were to be in circulation for seven years, when they were to be exchangeable for new ones. There were banks in all the provinces, and the Government, to cover their cost, retained 15 cash out of every 1,000 presented for exchange.

The Mongols having conquered a large part of China, soon adopted this ready expedient of raising money. Khubilai Khan issued in the period Chung tung (1260-1263) notes, which were called *pao chao*, or precious paper money. Fresh notes, issued between 1264-1294, were exchanged for the previous issue at one-fifth of the value, those of 1,000 cash replacing the notes of 5,000 cash. This process was again repeated during the years Chi ta (1308-1311), showing how fast they depreciated. The total issue during the 34 years of Khubilai's reign was equivalent to 249,634,290 ounces, or 124,827,144 pounds sterling The issue was continued during the Ming dynasty, but was gradually replaced by metal coinage again. So far had the depreciation gone that in 1448 the chao of 1,000 cash was worth only three.† There is no further mention of paper money in China after 1455.‡ No paper money of the Yuen period survives, but some of those of the Ming do, and one has been figured by Colonel Yule.

Marco Polo has a graphic account of these notes which I shall transcribe He says: "The Emperor's mint is in the city of Cambaluc (*i.e.*, Khanbaligh or Peking), and the way it is wrought is such that you might say he hath the secret of alchemy in perfection, and you would be right, for he makes his money after this fashion: He makes them take the bark of a certain tree, in fact, of the mulberry tree, the leaves of which are the food of the silkworm

* *Id.*, 381-383. † Yule's Marco Polo, 412-414. ‡ Klaproth, op. cit., 387.

Then what they take is a certain fine white bast or skin, which lies between the wood of the tree and the thick outer bark, and this they make into something resembling sheets of paper, but black. When these sheets have been prepared they are cut up into pieces of different sizes. The smallest of these sizes is worth a half tornesel; the next, a little larger, one tornesel; one, a little larger still, is worth half a silver groat of Venice, another a whole groat, others yet two, five, and ten groats. There is also a kind worth one bezant of gold, and others of three bezants, and so to ten. All these pieces of paper are issued with as much solemnity and authority as if they were of pure gold or silver, and on every piece a variety of officers, whose duty it is, have to write their names and to put their seals, and when all is prepared duly, the chief officer deputed by the Kaan smeareth the seal entrusted to him with vermillion, and impresses it on the paper, so that the form of the seal remains printed upon it in red. The money is then authentic. Anyone forging it would be punished with death, and the Kaan causes every year to be made such a vast quantity of this money, which costs him nothing, that it must equal in amount all the treasure in the world. With these pieces of paper, made as I have described, he causes all payments on his own account to be made, and he makes them to pass current universally over all his kingdoms and provinces, and territories, and whithersoever his power and sovereignty extends; and nobody, however important he may think himself, dares to refuse them on pain of death, and indeed everybody takes them readily, for wheresoever a person may go throughout the Great Khan's dominions he shall find these pieces of paper current, and shall be able to transact all sales and purchases of goods by means of them, just as well as if they were coins of pure gold, and all the while they are so light that ten bezants worth does not weigh one golden bezant."

Polo adds that merchants who brought gold, gems, &c., from India and elsewhere were prohibited selling to anyone but the Emperor, who paid a good price for their wares in paper money, with which they could trade in any part of the Empire. "And it is a truth that the merchants will, several times in the year, bring wares to the amount of 400,000 bezants, and the Grand Sire pays for all in that paper, so he buys such a quantity of these precious things every year that his treasure is endless, whilst all the time the money he pays away costs him nothing at all. Moreover, several times in the year proclamation is made through the city that anyone who may have gold or silver, or gems, or pearls, by taking them to the mint shall get a handsome price for them, and the owners are glad to do this, because they would find no other purchaser give so large a price. Thus the quantity they bring in is marvellous. Those who do not choose to do so may let it alone; still, in this way nearly all the valuables in the country come into the Kaan's possession. When any of these pieces of paper are spoilt—not that they are so very flimsy neither—the owners carry them to the mint, and by paying three per cent. on the value they get new pieces in exchange; and if any baron or anyone else soever have need of gold or silver, or gems, or pearls, in order to make plate, girdles, or the like, he goes to the mint and buys as much as he lists, paying in this paper money."*

* Klaproth, op. cit., 409-411.

CHAPTER VIII.

GHAZAN KHAN.

KHULAGU and Abaka were two important figures in Asiatic history. They conquered and controlled a vast empire with vigour and prudence. Their successors, until we reach the reign of Ghazan, were for the most part weak and decrepit rulers, whose authority was gradually disintegrating. Had it not, in fact, been for the utter desolation and prostration caused by the campaigns of Jingis and Khulagu in Persia, they would undoubtedly have been driven out and displaced; and, as it was, a very little more aggressive vigour on the part of the Egyptian rulers who controlled the various forces of Islam would no doubt have led to the collapse of the empire of the Ilkhans. With the accession of Ghazan that empire entered upon a new lease of power. He was not only the greatest of the Ilkhans, but also one of the most important figures in Eastern history, while he was fortunate in having as his vizier the famous historian, Rashid ud din, to whom we are indebted for so many details of the Mongol polity, and we consequently have abundant materials for illustrating his reign. He was the son of Arghun, by Kultak, the daughter of Bitekji Kehin, of the tribe Durban (D'Ohsson calls her Kutluk Igaji), who was very beautiful, and thus matched her husband, of whom Haithon says: "Iste vero Argonus fuit aspectu pulcherrimus."* He married her when but twelve years old, and was very fond of her. We are told that he would have gone out to meet the bridal procession on its way to the camp, contrary to Mongol etiquette, but for the advice of his amirs, Sertak and Jujegian. Von Hammer's eastern phrase, "the oyster of purity bore the pearl of royalty," means that she was the mother of Ghazan, who was born at Abisgun (D'Ohsson says at Sultan devin), on the borders of Mazanderan, on the 4th of November, 1271 (D'Ohsson says the 30th), when the horoscope showed the conjunction of two lucky stars. His nurse was Moghaljin, the wife of the Chinese Ishik, who came to Persia with Kultak. She was an *usenin* (*i.e.*, one well versed in old songs and tales), and had a pleasant expression. It was a rule among the Mongols that one

* Op. cit., lib. 38.

who was suckling a prince was to keep away from her husband, but as, notwithstanding this prohibition, she was found to be pregnant, the child was removed from her and given in charge to the mother of Hasan, who became the chief of the Tukjis or standard bearers. When the boy was three years old he mounted a horse for the first time. When his grandfather, Abaka, heard of this he sent for him. Arghun took him himself to Konghuralank,* where Abaka was, and the latter met him, took the boy off the horse, and seated him beside himself on his own saddle. He took such a fancy to him that he asked Arghun to allow him to undertake his education, and he was given in charge of the famous Princess Bulughan, who had no son, and only a daughter named Malik, and who was delighted, saying it was a present from God, and that she would take care of the child as if he were her own son. Arghun took him accordingly to Sughurluk, where Bulughan lived, and leaving his two dependants Kukamachar and Kalkai Altun Buka with him, he returned to Khorasan. Abaka had the boy constantly by him when hunting, and at his meals when he was feasting or drinking. The boy did not care for boys' games, but loved weapons and horses, and we are told that, like Napoleon, he engaged in mimic fight with his companions. D'Ohsson says they made puppet soldiers of felt, and ranged them against one another. They also used to imitate courts of justice. When he was five years old he was handed over to the Chinese Barik Bakhshi, to learn the Mongolian and Uighurian writing, and the other studies in the Lamaist curriculum. At ten he changed the pen and the ruler for the bow and sword, in using which, and playing at mall or polo, he afterwards greatly excelled.†

When Abaka marched against the Karaunas in Khorasan he was met at Semnan by Arghun, who was much pleased to again see his boy Ghazan. In the mountain of Akhid, between Semnan and Damaghan, Abaka engaged in hunting, and Ghazan, who was but eight years old, killed a stag, and was duly smeared with its fat in the approved Mongol fashion by the famous hunter, Kurji Buka. This was celebrated by a three days' feast. As it was still winter, Abaka went off towards Bostam, while the Princess Bulughan, with Ghazan, took the route of Mazanderan towards Nervbirun, and joined Abaka again near Radkian. The Ilkhan now went towards Kutujan and Herat, and having sent Arghun towards Ghur and Garja to oppose the Karaunas, Ghazan asked to be allowed to act as his father's cup-bearer. Abaka was pleased with the boy's request, and we are told the ceremony of installation as cup-bearer, equivalent among the Mongols to the western conferring of knighthood, was gone through in the garden of Husein, near Tus.

Abaka commended his grandson to Seljuk, the wife of Arghun, and to

* D'Ohsson calls it Kunkur ulong. † Ilkhans, ii. 1-5. D'Ohsson, iv. 153-154.

the Chinese Okbakhshi, so that he might under their teaching improve his writing, while he was in summer quarters at Demavend. In the autumn he rejoined his grandfather at Rai, who used sometimes to put on an old cap and creep away furtively to his tent to romp with him. On the advice of Isht Ikaji he was not allowed, as was usual with Mongol princes, to have a cushion on his saddle. He became, as the Mongol proverb has it, "like a tooth in tender flesh," and was named in consequence, Ghazan, or the tooth.* When his grandfather died he was ten years old. He spent the next winter with Bulughan at Baghdad, and in the spring went to his father in Khorasan. The latter now married Bulughan, as we have seen, and Ghazan lived with them. When Ahmed Tekudar marched against Khorasan, Arghun sent Ghazan to meet him at Semnan, and got permission to return to Bostam. When on one occasion Ildar made some false accusations against Arghun in Ahmed's presence, Ghazan answered him so eloquently that they were all surprised. When Arghun mounted the throne he was accompanied to Azerbaijan by Bulughan, leaving Ghazan as his deputy in Khorasan, with the ogruks, his personal effects, and also the ayu-oghlans (*i.e.*, good boys, or pages). On Bulughan's death Arghun took to himself some gold and silver vessels which belonged to her, but her pearls and jewellery were made over to Ghazan, as Abaka had arranged. These were very valuable, since Abaka was in the habit of presenting her with the most valuable objects he secured in his campaigns. D'Ohsson says these objects were made over by Arghun to another of his wives, named Bulughan, who was the daughter of Utuman, a Konkurat, and not to Ghazan, as Von Hammer says.† On Arghun's accession to the throne Ghazan was made governor of Khorasan. The history of his administration there, and of his struggle and eventual reconciliation with Nuruz, has been related in the account of the reigns of Gaikhatu and Baidu.

We will now resume our story. We have seen how Ghazan sent his generals in pursuit of Baidu. He himself set out from Aujan, and made his solemn entry into Tebriz on the 5th of October, 1295. Sadr ud din of Zenjan, the vizier, who had monopolised a great deal of power, set out to meet him, surrounded with great pomp. The amir Doladai, or Tuladai, told him to put this aside, and as he took no heed, that truculent general struck him over the head with a whip and compelled him to return.‡ Prince Sukai and the chief judge, at the head of a number of imaums, sheikhs, ulemas, and seyids, went out to meet Ghazan. He alighted at the palace built by his father in the meadows of Shems. Von Hammer calls the palace Shenb, and tells us that a suburb there still bears this name. His first edict commanded his people to live in peace with one another, forbade the grandees to oppress those below them, and enjoined upon all

* So says Von Hammer, but Ghazan, as we have seen, meant a kettle in Mongol.
† Ilkhans, ii. 5-8. D'Ohsson, iv. 154-5. ‡ Ilkhans, ii. 30.

the observance of the precepts of religion. Orders were issued to destroy all the idol temples, the churches, synagogues, and fire towers, in fact, all buildings prohibited by the Mussulman law. The idols were broken and tied to pieces of wood, and promenaded through the streets of Tebriz.* Nuruz had already, before this, when pursuing Baidu, given orders to destroy these buildings, to kill the Buddhist priests, to treat the clergy with contumely, and to insist on their paying taxes like other people. Christians were not to appear in public without having a zonar, or peculiar girdle, about their waist, nor Jews unless they wore a special head-dress. The people of Tebriz destroyed all the churches in that town, and it is impossible, says the continuator of Abulfaraj, to enumerate the indignities the Christians had to endure, especially in Baghdad, where none of them dared appear in the streets. Their women used, in consequence, to do all the buying and selling, as they could not be distinguished from the Muhammedan women, but if they were recognised they were insulted and beaten. The Christians were asked jeeringly: "Where is your God? We will see if you have a protector or a liberator." The same persecution extended to the Jews and to idolatrous priests, says the same author, and it was particularly hard for the latter, who had been so tenderly treated by the Mongol sovereigns, who used to spend immense sums in making gold and silver idols. Many of these priests now became, at least outwardly, Mussulmans, though secretly favouring the old faith. Presently, Ghazan issued a yarligh, and sent commissaries to destroy the churches and monasteries. His emissaries were easily bribed not to do their duty. Thus, at Arbela, or Irbil, they waited for twenty days to see if anyone would offer them some money, and as no one came, not even the metropolitan, they allowed the rabble to begin their work of destruction, and on one day, the 28th of November, two beautiful churches, one belonging to the Jacobites and the other the Nestorians, were destroyed. At this news the people of Mosul were much disturbed. When the commissaries reached the latter town they were met by those who offered them a large sum of money. To make this up they took the sacred vessels, the censers and crosses, and stripped the volumes of the Gospels of their rich coverings, and also took money from the Christians in the neighbourhood, and thus got together a sum of 15,000 dinars, with which they redeemed the churches, and none of them were in consequence injured.† During these troubles the Mussulmans seized the church which the Nestorian patriarch Makika had had built in the palace of the Devatdar, at Baghdad, and which had been made over to him by Khulagu. Haithon says these harsh measures against the Christians only characterised the beginning of his reign, and were meant to conciliate the Mussulman faction, to which he owed his elevation to the throne, and

* D'Ohsson, iv. 144-145. † Chron. Syr., 644-645. D'Ohsson, iv. 145-147.

he was afterwards much more tolerant.* Stephen the Orpelian gives a grim account of their immediate effect. He says many churches were destroyed and priests killed, and those who escaped were plundered, while their wives and children were made slaves of. At Baghdad, Mosul, Hamian, Thavrej, and Meragha the persecution had most dire results. In Armenia the churches and monasteries of Nakhchivan were plundered, their doors broken, and the altars overturned, but out of respect for their Georgian allies the churches were not destroyed. The metropolitan church of Siunia, of which the chronicler was then bishop, paid a ransom for its safety. The Nestorian Catholicos of Meragha was captured and put to great indignities. Ter Tiratsu, bishop of the Church of the Apostles (probably that of Dadi Vank or Kutha Vank, dedicated to St. Thaddeus,) was tortured and robbed, while his monastery, in which reposed the remains of St. Thaddeus, was ruined.†

As we have seen, Ghazan had built several Buddhist temples at Kabushan, or Kaushan, where he spent much of his time talking, eating, and drinking with the Bakhshis, and worshipping the idols. After the Mongols settled in Persia there went thither a great number of Lamas from Kashmir, India, Uighuria, and China, who had built Buddhist temples in many places, and Buddhism for a while threatened to resume the status which it possessed six centuries before, when it was driven out by Muhammedanism. Rashid argues that Ghazan's conversion was not one of mere policy, and quotes a conversation he himself had had with the Khan, in the course of which he said: "There are sins which God never forgives. The greatest of these is the worship of idols. I have been guilty of this myself through ignorance, but God has enlightened me. Those who first made an idol only wished to commemorate the memory of some man more perfect than the rest. Full of confidence in his merits, they accepted him as their intercessor, and supplicated him to secure their prayers being answered, forgetting that this man when alive had never asked for such deference, nor would he in fact have permitted that anyone should prostrate himself at his feet. Living in humility, he would have thrust down into the nether regions those flatterers who give birth to pride in the heart. They address their prayers to him, but how can he tolerate men who adore the image of his body? It will not hear them. The body is nothing without the soul which animates it; one is the image of hell, the other of paradise. An idol is only fit to be used as a threshold upon which travellers may tread. The soul will be delighted to see the image of the body in that position of humility by which it attained its perfection when they were united. Men would thereupon say, 'Since the body belonging to a soul so perfect is reduced to dust, and its very image to a doorstep, what should our body

* Op. cit., xli. † Hist. de la Siounie, 261-262.

be to us, who are so far from perfection?' Such reflections will cause them to neglect their perishable bodies. They will think only of the soul—of life eternal, and where the blessed dwell. It is thus they may improve the present life, for man was only made to pass from this land of shadows to the land of light." This prince, says Rashid, frequently spoke thus, in a more lofty strain than any of the philosophers.*

Ghazan having learnt that many of the bakhshis, as was natural, still clung to their old faith, gave permission to such of them as wished to go back to Kashmir, Tibet, &c., to return, while those that remained he insisted should honestly conform to Islam. Anyone who made a fire altar or an idol temple was to be put to death. As many still remained unchanged he said that his father, who had lived and died an idolater, had built himself an idol temple, which he (Ghazan) had reduced to ruins. They were at liberty to go and live there upon the income which had been devoted to its service. The amirs and princesses then addressed him, saying, "Your father built a monastery, on whose walls was painted his portrait. Now that the building is decayed the rain and snow are ruining these pictures. Send some Lamas to live there, and thus secure repose for your father's soul." This advice having been rejected, it was suggested that it should be converted into a palace. He said, "I intended building a palace, but I would not build one in a place where idolatrous monks have lived." Eventually he forbade the Lamas, on pain of death, practising their religion openly. Otherwise they might continue to live in the country, and many of them accordingly did so.†

When Ghazan was safely seated on the throne he proceeded to punish several chiefs who had compromised themselves in the troubles of the previous years. Among these was Ilchidai Kushji, who went to swear allegiance with Prince Alafreng, the eldest son of the Khan Gaikhatu, and was put to death without trial. Stephen the Orpelian calls him an excellent man in all respects, and commander of 10,000 men. Nuruz and Kutlugh Shah arrived on the 12th of October from their expeditions towards the Aras, in pursuit of Baidu's officers, several of whom they took back with them in chains. Bulughan, Ghazan's wife, interceded vigorously for Kunjukbal, but Nuruz, who had to avenge his father-in-law Akbuka's death, as well as a private grievance, in that the amir had urged Baidu to put him (Nuruz) to death, pressed for his head so eagerly that he was executed on the 15th of October.‡ Tukal, who as we have seen had filled an important position in Georgia, and had been closely allied with its king, David, also suffered the same fate. We are told he had fled to Beka, a Georgian prince who was practically independent of David, and sent his son to the latter. Ghazan sent to David and Beka, demanding the surrender of Tukal. Twice they refused to give him up, and pleaded

* D'Ohsson, iv. 147-150. † Quatremere, 195. Note. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 150.

for him. At length, Ghazan having given his word and sent his ring as a proof of good faith, he was sent towards Tebriz, but he was waylaid *en route* at Nakhidur, by Kurumchi (*i.e.*, Kurmishi), who killed him. David also surrendered Tukal's son, with all the wealth he had deposited in the fortress of Ateni, in charge of Barejan, mthawar of Ossethi. Prince Ildar, who fled towards Karin, hid away in the house of a Sheikh, but was also put to death.* Doladai, Chichak, and Idaju were released after being bastinadoed.†

Ghazan now went for a short time to Kara tepe, whence he returned to Tebriz. The amir Mulai was appointed governor of Diarbekr and Diar Rabia, while Nuruz was given charge of all the uluses from the Oxus to the Euphrates, as the lieutenant-general of Ghazan, who set off for Mughan, in Arran, where, on the 17th October, 1295, he married his father's widow, Bulughan, with Muhammedan rites. A halt was made at Puli Khosrau (D'Ohsson says at Karabagh), where Nuruz with the various princes and princesses arrived, and a formal installation took place on the 3rd of November, 1295 (the 23rd day of the 9th month of the year of the sheep), which had been fixed by the astrologers. Ghazan took the title of sultan, and the name Mahmud. The festivities lasted eight days. When Nuruz was promoted as I mentioned above, Ghazan told him to ask some favour. He knelt down and asked that in future the name of God and the Prophet should appear at the head of all the royal ordinances, while the altamgha, or royal seal, should in future be round, and not square, the circle being the most perfect figure. He also asked that their various ranks should be assigned to the different members of the divan. This was granted, and in future the coinage also bore the profession of the Mussulman faith, and according to the author of the "Shajrat ul Atrak" the names of the Rashidi Khalifs, who during the rule of the Abbasidan Khalifs were included in the kutbeh after the two professions of faith were restored.‡ Ghazan appointed Sadr ud din of Zenjan vizier, and Sherif ud din of Semnan ulugh bitkiji, *i.e.*, secretary or keeper of the seals.

After the installation, Toghachar, whose activity was considered somewhat dangerous at head-quarters, was sent to command the troops in Asia Minor. Meanwhile the Mongols of Transoxiana, taking advantage of the defenceless state of Khorasan, invaded that province. News of the invasion reached the Ilkhan's Court on the 8th of December. Prince Sukai, son of Yashmut, the third son of Khulagu, with the amir Nuruz, were ordered to oppose them. Sukai had meanwhile withdrawn to his yurt, and did not come when sent for, nor until Ghazan dispatched the amir Hirkudak to fetch him. He had used some treasonable language when drunk, but Ghazan took no notice of it, and treated him very

* Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 615-616. Hist. de la Siounie, 261.
† D'Ohsson, iv. 150-151. ‡ Op. cit., 278. D'Ohsson, iv. 151. Ilkhans, ii. 31.

graciously. The recent change of rulers and the lavish expenditure of the late Court had denuded the treasury. A special requisition in advance had therefore to be made in the various provinces, and especially Fars, and two out of every ten of the cattle there were appropriated, while the officials at Tebriz had to furnish several tumans of gold in advance. Nuruz now set out. With him went Prince Sukai (to whose person were attached two chiefs of tumans, viz., Barula the Olkonut, and Arslan Oghul, the grandson of Juchi Khasar, Jingis Khan's brother), and the general Hirkudak, Nuruz's brother Hajfu Narin, Satilmish, and others of his old and faithful supporters, were appointed their substitutes.* Sukai and Barula, who marched with the advance guard, having halted on the river Kiuhe (called Kéré by D'Ohsson), also known as Turkan muran, or the Turkish river, made a plot to kill Nuruz and to dethrone Ghazan, whom they reproached for having become a Muhammedan. Sukai was to be put on the throne. They sent a message to Prince Taiju, son of Mangu Timur, to join them. He pretended to join them, but in reality informed Nuruz, who put his troops in ambush and left his camp. The conspirators assailed his tent, whereupon his men came ou from their ambush. Barula was killed, and Sukai fled towards Kharkan and Sava. Hirkudak was sent in pursuit, and captured him near Kharkan, and ordered Sari, who had had a hand in the conspiracy, to put him to death in the mode prescribed for Mongol princes, but Sukai ran a knife into his stomach. This weapon was taken from him by Beitimur, a follower of Hirkudak, who dispatched him in turn. On the 7th of March, 1296, the Prince Ildar, son of Kunkuratai, ninth son of Khulagu, fled with 300 men. Shadi Gurkan was sent in pursuit of him with 3,000 men. He overtook and put him to death at Erzenrum. Yedutai, the son of Tashiminku, who had created a disturbance at Diarbekr, and Buralghi Katai, the lance bearer, were also put to death. These executions were doubtless the result of the conversion of the Court to Islam.

Ghazan had set out from Abubekrabad on a hunting expedition to Aktagh, when he heard of Sukai's outbreak. He at once returned, stopped at the bridge of Mangu Timur, and sent the amirs Kutlugh Shah, Satilmish and Sutai, who were with him, to the assistance of Nuruz, and in order to capture Issen Timur, the brother of Ildar, and Kurmishi, the son of Barula, who had taken up arms to avenge the deaths of their relatives. They were brought to trial and executed, as were also Chichek and Doladai, who had been implicated in the revolt. Of the various rebels, Arslan Oghul, who is described by Stephen the Orpelian as of royal blood, alone remained at large. He marched and encamped with his people near the palace of Mansuriah. (Stephen says at the Ilkhan's palace at Mughan.) Ghazan did not feel himself strong enough to oppose him,

* D'Ohsson, iv. 156-157. Ilkhans, ii. 32.

but as he knew that his only safety was in showing a bold front, he acted as if he was unaware of the enemy's proximity, ordered his men to engage in hunting, and himself followed leisurely, performing his usual occupations. His dissimulation and firmness saved him, for before his men were aware of their danger he was joined by a large contingent under the amir Choban. The latter, with Sulamish, Toghrilji, Taitak, and Kurmishi, son of Alinak, attacked Arslan near Bailekan. They were beaten, but having received a reinforcement of 2,000 men under Hirkudak, were prepared to renew the fight, when the rebels submitted. Many chiefs had fallen on both sides, but victory leaned to Ghazan's men. Arslan Oghul and Prince Tulek, the son of Aujan, were captured and put to death. This was on the 28th of March. In the short space of one month five princes of the blood and thirty-eight amirs were executed, thus clearing away a large number of competitors for power, and also the most energetic and restless spirits in the army.*

While these proceedings were going on in one part of Ghazan's dominions, a horde of Uirats, or Kalmuks, encamped in the province of Baghdad (Rashid ud din says in Diarbekr), passed into Syria. Their leader, Targai Gurkan (called Tukai by Von Hammer, Tongai by Quatremere, and Taragaih by Abulfeda), who had the position of chief of a tuman, and had married a grand-daughter of Khulagu and daughter of Mangu Timur, whence his title of Gurkan, had been threatened with death for having assisted Baidu against Gaikhatu, and Mulai, the new governor of Diarbekr, had received orders to arrest him and the other leaders of the Uirats. He thereupon crossed the Euphrates, and when pursued by Mulai defeated and killed many of his men.† The continuator of Abulfaraj tells a different story. He calls the Uirats Avirathei, and says they wintered near the monastery of Mar Matthew, and that during the reign of Baidu they had taken from the Turkomans a great number of cattle, horses, sheep, swine, mules, and camels. Ghazan issued orders that this plunder should be restored on pain of death, but inasmuch as a large proportion of it no longer existed, the Uirats, who were hard pressed by the commissaries of Ghazan and of the Turkomans, put them to death, and then migrated, to the number of 10,000 warriors, with their families and property.‡ The Egyptian historians tell us that the fugitives numbered about 18,000 tents. The Sultan Ketboga, when he heard of their arrival, sent orders to the naib or viceroy of Syria to dispatch the amir Alem ud din Sanjar, the devatdari, to the town of Rahbeth to meet them, and sent two of his officers, viz., Kara Sonkor Mansuri and Seif ud din Alhaj Behadur Halebi, the hajib, from Cairo, to meet them at Damascus. There the leaders of the Uirats, to the number of 113, arrived on the 30th of January, with Tugai, Alus, and Kakbai at their

* D'Ohsson, iv. 155-159. Ilkhans, ii. 32-34. Hist. de la Géorgie, 620. Note.
† D'Ohsson, iv. 159-160. Abulfeda, v. 127. ‡ Chron. Syr., 646. D'Ohsson, iv. 160. Note.

head. The naïb and amirs went out to meet them amidst considerable pomp. They then set out for Cairo, conducted by Kara Sonkor. The Sultan received them very graciously, and conferred on several of them the rank of grand amir; but they remained idolaters, nor did they take heed of the feast of Ramazan, and the orthodox Egyptians shrank from taking their posts beside them when on guard at the entrance of the castle. They fed on the flesh of horses which had not had their throats cut, and which had merely had their limbs tied and were then killed by being struck over the head. The people grumbled at the honour paid to these strangers, and the prince was blamed for showing them so much consideration. Orders were given to settle the horde in the province of Sahel. When they reached Damascus they were encamped outside, and provision dealers were ordered to go to them and plant their booths in the meadows near the village of Damin, and at Kisueh. The Uirats were forbidden to enter Damascus itself. The amir Sanjar remained with them. Many of them died. We are told that their children were beautiful, and that the officers and troopers adopted the boys and married the girls, while the men were distributed among the various troops, and having become Mussulmans were speedily absorbed.* Abulfeda tells a different story, and says these Uirats, urged by their leader, became Mussulmans, and that they were settled at Cacun, which was a place near Cæsarea, in Palestine, called Caco by William of Tyre.† In regard to the invasion from Transoxiana, we are told that the enemy withdrew with a great booty on the approach of Nuruz.

Ghazan was now visited by the King of Cilicia, or Little Armenia. Leon III., the king of that country, had died on the 7th of January, 1290, leaving five sons—Haithon, Thoros, Sambat (or Sempad), Constantine (called Condin by Abulfeda), and Ushin.‡ Haithon succeeded him, and is known as Hethum or Haithon II. When the Egyptians captured Tyre, in 1291, he had sent to the Pope and the other principal rulers of Europe to ask for aid. The Pope sent a special request to King Philip of France, and also dispatched a general summons to the Western Christians, to go to the assistance of their brothers in the East, but it was in vain. In 1293 the Egyptian Sultan Ashraf marched upon Armenia. The King sent envoys to implore his pity. The Sultan insisted upon the surrender of Behesna, Merash, and Tel Hamdun, as the price of peace. The demand was immediately granted. Behesna had, before the invasion of Khulagu, belonged to the rulers of Syria, but at that time the officer who commanded in these parts for Nasir sold it to the Armenian king for 100,000 dirhems. After reigning for four years Haithon surrendered the crown to his brother Thoros, and went into a monastery of Franciscans, and took the name of John. There Thoros and the great chiefs used to

* Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 29-30. D'Ohsson, iv. 161-162.
† Abulfeda, v. 129, and Note 84. ‡ *Id.*, v. 139. Journ. Asiat., 5th series, xvii. 385.

go, however, to consult him on matters of State policy, and at length, under pressure from Thoros and the other grandees, who had assembled at Sis to celebrate the marriage of his sister Isabella with Amauric, Count of Tyre, brother of the King of Cyprus, Haithon in 1295 resumed the reins of government. Having heard of Baidu's accession, and of the favour he showed the Christians, he set out to pay his respects to him. After a journey of about two months he reached Siah kuh (*i.e.*, Sughurluk). At this time Baidu was being hard pressed by Nuruz, and sent word to Haithon to return to Meragha and wait there till things were more pacified. Haithon had only been there a few days, where he was subjected to some insult. Baidu was finally defeated. Ghazan having pitched his camp at Tel Ukhama, or Okma (*i.e.*, the black hill), near Dihburkan, Haithon went to him, bearing magnificent presents. Ghazan reproachfully said that he had gone to see Baidu, and not himself. Haithon diplomatically replied that it was his duty to pay homage to the whole family of Jingis Khan, and to pay his respects to the person who occupied the throne. Ghazan, who laid the blame of much of the recent action against the Christians upon Nuruz, was pleased at this answer, and presented him with some royal robes, gave him a diploma of investiture, and ordered that his wishes were to be carried out. Although orders had gone out for the general destruction of churches, Haithon urged that these buildings should be spared, since they were used in the worship of God. Ghazan consented to their being spared, issuing commands at the same time that the idol temples were to be converted into mosques and colleges. Haithon left the ordu again on the 9th of October, 1296, well satisfied with the services he had rendered to the Church.*

Nuruz was now all powerful. He proceeded to depose the vizier, Sadr Jihan, on the pretext that during the recent troubles he had taken upon himself to issue orders in his own name, although he had acted faithfully in his office, and devoted the taxes obtained to the payment of the troops. He was replaced by Jemal ud din of Destarjerd. His brother, Haji Bey, was made general controller of finances and head of the royal chancellery, while another brother, Nasir ud din Satilmish, was appointed to countersign his private dispatches with a red seal. Sadr ud din soon felt another reverse of fortune. He himself told the historian Wassaf that he had dreamt on the night of his arrest, and when he expected to be put to death, that a bright figure with a halo of light about it alighted in the hand of death! At all events, being accused of complicity with the rebels, and this charge being supported by the employés of the Divan, who feared that he knew of their incapacity and dishonesty, he was arrested, put to the torture, and orders were given to put him to death without further trial. Two men accordingly seized him, and

* Hist de la Siounie, 262. Cont. of Abulfaraj, 643-644. D'Ohsson, iv. 162-164.

led him, naked and bound, on a pack-horse to the place of execution, which was in a thick forest. Fortunately, his two conductors were under obligations to him for some good service he had rendered them in the reign of Gaikhatu. They delayed his execution till night, when he saw the same apparition which had appeared to him in his dream, and fell from his horse to the ground. At this fortunate moment the amir Hirkudak, who was returning from his expedition against Sukai, came by, and inquired what had taken place. He ordered the execution to be stayed. The next day a list of the rebels was presented to Ghazan. Sadr Jihan's name was not among them, and he was accordingly pardoned, at the instance of the Princess Bulughan, and assigned a residence near the ordu.*

Hirkudak, who had been appointed governor of Fars, set out on the 13th of April, 1296, to arrange the affairs of that province. Its finances he specially confided to Jemal ud din, the mufti of Shiraz, while he himself went to Hormuz, to quell the disorders which had arisen there.† At this time the struggle between Toktu Khan and Nogai, which I have described elsewhere,‡ was rife, and we are told that in consequence of it Chini, the wife of Bukai (? Nogai), with his younger son Turi, fled to Ghazan, who received them well and treated them with honour. Ghazan himself, on the 31st of May, 1296, married his sister Oljaitu (called Oljai Timur by D'Ohsson), the widow of the amir Tukal, to the amir Kutlugh Shah.§ This statement is, however, contrary to the Georgian history, which makes her marry David, King of Georgia.

We have seen how the energetic Toghachar was appointed governor of Asia Minor. Ghazan was not satisfied of his loyalty. The author of the "Shajrat ul Atrak" says he suspected him of having fomented the revolt of Sukai and Arslan. He determined therefore to put an end to him. Khurmenji (called the amir Jirmchi by the author just cited) was charged with this delicate duty. He was first to gain over the military chiefs in Rum, and to lull Toghachar into security by presenting a friendly letter from himself, and then to destroy him. Ghazan's policy was as cold and selfishly calculating as Napoleon's, and on this occasion, according to Rashid ud din, he related to his courtiers a story how, in former times, two princes contended for the throne of China. One of them being defeated fled before his enemy. An officer having found him, took pity on him, and hid him away in a dry well. When the soldiers who were in pursuit arrived at the place, uncertain which way to take, since a violent wind had covered the tracks with sand, the officer urged that further pursuit was needless, and they all accordingly left. Presently the concealed prince came out of his hiding place, collected a body of followers, and defeated and killed his rival. He thereupon promoted the

* D'Ohsson, iv. 165-166. Ilkhans, ii. 34. † Ilkhans, ii. 35.
‡ Ante, ii. 143, &c. § Ilkhans. ii. 45.

officer to whom he owed his life to high honour. One of the courtiers having expressed his surprise that he should have rewarded, and not punished, a man who had betrayed his prince and caused his overthrow, he, after thinking a moment, ordered his favourite to be put to death. "It is I who saved your life," said the officer. "I feel you have reason to complain," said the emperor, in tears, "I am greatly distressed, but justice and the interests of the empire demand your death," and the order was carried out. "It costs me much," said Ghazan, "to put anyone to death, but if a ruler is not severe when the good of the State demands, he cannot reign." It must be said that he did not scruple to carry out his philosophy with rigour. The execution of Toghachar did not prevent the outbreak of a rebellion in Rum. Baltu, son of Tebsin, son of Khulagu, had held a command there since the days of Arghun, and had been very powerful, especially after the death of his colleague, the amir Shamaghar, who, according to the Syrian chronicle, was a Christian. He had been summoned several times to the Court, but had always excused himself, and on the death of Toghachar he rebelled. Kutlugh Shah was sent in 1297 against him, at the head of three tumans. He defeated Baltu in the plain of Amasia (Von Hammer says at Maliyeh), and then returned to Arran, leaving Sulamish behind to pursue him.* On the 1st of June, 1296, Ghazan set out from Pil Suwar for Tebriz, and Ainabeg, who had been brought from Khorasan, was put to death. A report on the state of that province was made to him by the amir Oladu and he afterwards went to the place called Sain (*i.e.*, the good), between Sireh and Irbil, where he held a kuriltai.†

Ghazan's theory about breaking his subordinates was now going to be tested in the person of no less a grandee than Nuruz, to whose help he owed so much, and whose arrogance had been aroused with his success. He naturally created enemies. Among these was Nurin Aka, the military governor of Khorasan and Mazanderan, who was a great favourite of the Ilkhan, owing to his reputation and his descent, for he belonged to the famous stock of the Kiats. Nuruz complained that he had slighted his brother Uiratai. He attributed the success of the recent invasions of Khorasan to the negligence of Nurin, and in careless conversation let fall some bitter phrases about him, and hinted that Prince Taiju, the son of Mangu Timur, who at this time arrived at Temisheh, in Mazanderan, had gone there to report about himself. This caused them both to have an ill feeling towards him. On the 6th of June he sent Taiju and Nurin to Radkian, where an outbreak had taken place, and then suddenly left his post in Khorasan, and set out for Azerbaijan, with the excuse that he wanted to see his sick wife (Tughan, Abaka's daughter and Ghazan's aunt), and also the Ilkhan. A number of troops whom Ghazan had sent

* D'Ohsson, iv. 168-169. Ilkhans, ii. 38. Shajrat ul Atrak, 279-280.
† Ilkhans, ii. 35-36.

to reinforce him thereupon dispersed, or went with him, and, *inter alios*, the amir Sum returned to his yurt at Irbil with 400 horsemen. Ghazan was much displeased at this, and gave orders that he was to return. He, however, asked to see his wife, and arrived at the Court on the 23rd of June, 1296, where he was received by his master with at least outward courtesy. Kutlugh Shah and other amirs urged that he was too dangerous and ambitious a person to be allowed to retain the government of Khorasan, while the sons of the judge Nogai, whom Nuruz had put to death, clamoured for the blood penalty. Ghazan resisted these importunities, saying he could not violate his word on simple suspicion. He was ordered to return to Khorasan, and soon after his wife, the Princess Tughan or Tughanjuk, died, and Nurin returned to the Court, and was well received by Ghazan, who appointed his own brother, Khodabendeh, commander of the troops of Khorasan.* On the 11th of July Ghazan left Sain, and went by way of Naurdul to Tebriz, where he began the building of a country house and garden. Executions meanwhile continued to be frequent. On the 2nd of September, 1296, Dundi, the widow of Gaikhatu and mother of his son Alafreng, and Baighut, son of Shiramun, son of Charmaghan, the famous pioneer of Mongol conquest in Western Asia, were put to death at Sehkünbed (*i.e.*, "the three domes"), in Mazanderan.†

We must here shortly digress to consider the affairs of the Lesser Luristan. We have seen ‡ how this principality, on the death of Bedr ud din Masud, in the year 658 HEJ., was divided between his two sons Jemal ud din Bedr and Nasir ud din Omar, who struggled with Taj ud din Shah, the son of Hosam ud din Khalil, the brother and predecessor of Masud. The two former were put to death by order of Abaka, who nominated Taj ud din as ruler of the country. He was a famous caligraphist and a good ruler, and was also put to death in the year 677 HEJ., by order of Abaka Khan, who divided the Lesser Lur between Falak ud din Hasan and Iz ud din Hussein, sons of Bedr ud din Masud. They ruled the country for fifteen years, and were very successful in struggling with their neighbours, and we read that the country from the province of Hamadan to Shuster, and from Ispahan to the frontiers of Arabia, was subject to them. They had an army of 17,000 men. Hasan, we are told, was wise, witty, and devout, while his brother was revengeful, and had no pity for criminals. Both died in the year 692, during the reign of Gaikhatu Khan. Each of them left a son, but by orders of the Ilkhan the province was intrusted to Jemal ud din Khizi, son of Taj ud din Shah. He was opposed by a considerable party of his relatives. They surprised him at a hunting party, and slew him and his family, so that the stock of Hosam ud din Khalil was exterminated. The leader of the rebels, Hosam ud din Omar, the son of

* D'Ohsson, iv. 172-174. Ilkhans, ii. 36-37. † Ilkhans, ii. 38. ‡ Ante, 140.

Shems ud din, succeeded to the throne, but the usurper was in turn opposed by several princes, who declared he had no right to it, not being of royal blood, but that the kingdom really belonged to Samsan ud din Mahmud, son of Bedr ud din Muhammed, son of Iz ud din Gurshasp, the predecessor of Khalil, above named. He was a soldierly man, and brought an army from Khuzistan to Khoramabad. It seems that Hosam ud din only controlled part of the country, Shihab ud din Elias, one of his co-conspirators, and apparently of the royal stock, having also a large authority. Hosam ud din was persuaded to resign. Shihab ud din fought for his position, but was defeated, and fled to a snowy mountain, whence he was brought down after some trouble and was slain. Samsan ud din was now acknowledged as ruler of the Lesser Luristan. Meanwhile, a grandson of the Sheikh Kamuyah Buzurg reported to Ghazan the recent revolutions. Samsan ud din and Hosam ud din were summoned to the Court to answer for the deaths of Khizr and Elias. They were both executed, and Iz ud din Mahmud, son of the amir Iz ud din Husein, was appointed atabeg of the Lesser Lur. This little dynasty survived till the sixteenth century.*

On the 18th of September Ghazan set out from the neighbourhood of Meragha by way of Hamadan, to his winter quarters at Baghdad. He halted at Rek, near Hamadan, for a month, and displaced Jemal ud din, of Destajerd (who had been appointed vizier under the auspices of Nuruz), by Sherif ud din, of Semnan. At this time Afrasiab, the Prince of the Greater Lur, went to him to obtain confirmation of his position as atabeg of Great Luristan. Unfortunately for him, as he was returning home after a successful visit, he was met by the General Hirkudak, who was on his way from Fars, and who compelled him to return with him to the ordu. He complained to Ghâzan that when he passed through Afrasiab's territory, while on his way to Fars, he had not supplied him with a measure of barley or a bundle of hay, that his officers had treated the tax collector whom he had sent into the mountains of Kiluyeh with incivility, and refused to allow him to collect the taxes there, saying they belonged to their master. He also recalled the troubles the atabeg had formerly caused, and expressed his astonishment that he should be allowed to return home. Ghazan ordered his execution, which took place before the Royal tent. This was in the year 669 HEJ. The principality was given to his brother, Nasir ud din Ahmed, who restored prosperity to the province, and, we are told, made it the envy of paradise. Ahmed reigned for 38 years.†

Two days later, Jemal ud din of Destajerd, the former vizier, was put to death. His fall made the fortune of Jemal ud din of Shiraz, whose financial skill is described by Wassaf in hyperbolic terms, and who at this

* Hamdullah *passim*. Ilkhans, ii. 37-38. D'Ohsson, iv. 171.
† D'Ohsson, iv. 169-170. Ilkhans, ii. 38-39.

time went to the Court to vindicate his conduct of the finances and to silence his accusers. The latter charged that he had levied 200 gold tumans, or more, in taxes on land and sea, and had similarly levied a sum of 1,500 tumans from the pearl fishery. During the six years he had had the farming of the taxes he had received by order of Arghun forty-two tumans, and in addition had arbitrarily taken thirty-three tumans, making altogether seventy-five tumans. Jemal ud din replied that in the best years the pearl fishery only supplied 750 pearls, in ordinary years 450, and in the worst ones only 250. Ghazan and the judges of the court, the amirs Nurin and Satilmish, as well as the inaks Sutai and Taremtas, were convinced of his innocence, and the diploma he had received from Arghun was renewed. One hundred tumans of the revenue were to be forthcoming at the new year, and Jemal ud din was made controller of all the taxes in Irak for three years, as well as of those of Shebankyareh and Shiraz. He was given a robe of golden tissue, five round golden paizahs of the first order, marked with the lion's head, three of the finest sonkors or falcons, together with a golden tent, and his reward was proclaimed three times at Baghdad, Shiraz, Kaiz, and Bahrein. While Ghazan was at Hamadan he sent his brother Khodabendeh as his deputy to Khorasan. At Baghdad he alighted at the palace Mobni, and hunted for four-and-twenty days in the neighbourhood of Naamaniyeh and Hilleh, whence he returned again to Maasaniyeh. He visited the tomb of the Imaum Abu Hanifeh, and was present at the Friday prayer in the mosque. At this time, viz., on the 14th of March, 1297, his son Oljai Kutlugh was born at Shehraban.*

The enemies of Nuruz continued their intrigues against him. When Jemal ud din of Destajerd was tried, it came out that at the time Nuruz was very zealously working for the conversion of Ghazan, and to secure him the throne, he had sent as his agent a Baghdad trader, called Alem ud din Kaissar, who often went to and fro between Syria and Egypt, to invite the co-operation of the Egyptian Sultan, as a good Mussulman, on behalf of his *protégé*. When the messenger returned, Baidu had been deposed, and Ghazan was on the throne. The answer of the Sultan was apparently not quite what Nuruz expected, and he determined not to show it to his master, but persuaded Jemal ud din to compose another answer in the Sultan's name. This having been transcribed by a clever writer, was duly presented to Ghazan. The enemies of Nuruz having heard of the deception, and of the journey of Kaissar, accused Nuruz of having had secret intrigues with the Sultan. Nuruz had noticed when last at the ordu that he was not in favour, and when he got to Khorasan he sent one of his confidantés, named Sadr ud din, son of the mufti of Herat, to be his agent at the Court. Ghazan determined to employ him to counteract the supposed plot of Nuruz. He first sent him to Baghdad,

* Ilkhans, ii. 39-40.

where he invited Kaissar to a banquet, and having mixed some soporific with his food, he fell into a profound sleep, and he and his suite were bound with cords.

Sadr ud din, of Zenjan, the vizier who had replaced Jemal ud din, and who was among Nuruz's bitter enemies, now in concert with his brother, Kutb ud din, forged letters addressed to the Egyptian amirs, stating that although Ghazan was a Mussulman, his officers were not, and thwarted the faith in every way, and inviting the Egyptians to march and put down the infidels, and to seize upon Iran. He promised his assistance and that of his brothers Haji and Legsi, and said he sent some robes as a present. These letters, with seventeen complete sets of robes, were furtively concealed among Kaissar's effects, and were found among them when he was arrested. Sadr ud din also forged a letter from Nuruz to his brother, Haji Narin, and concealed it among the latter's things when he paid him a visit. When the presumed plot was divulged to Ghazan, he at once returned from near Hamadan to Shehraban, covering a distance of thirteen parasangs in one day. He arrived there on the 17th of March, 1297. There Kaissar arrived, guarded by Sheikh Mahmud and Kutb ud din. His effects were examined, and the letters and robes were duly found; the former it was declared were in the handwriting of Haji, the brother and secretary of Nuruz. Ghazan, in a great rage, ordered Kaissar and his three companions to be pounded to death with maces, while Nurin and Tainchar were ordered to put to death all the relatives of Nuruz and their dependants. As Von Hammer says, this was a very strong step, for the family of Nuruz comprised the most powerful amirs in Persia. His father, Arghun Aka, the famous governor of Khorasan, left nine sons, who were naturally very influential people. Two of them had married royal princesses, viz., Nuruz, whose wife, as we have seen, was Ghazan's aunt, and Lekesi (or Legsi), who married Baba, the seventh daughter of Khulagu. The other seven were Satilmish, Haji Narin, Barghun Haji, Bulduk, Kerrai, Erdhaighan, and Mengb Baba. The execution began with those about the Court. Satilmish, who represented Nuruz there, was put to death, with his son Kutlugh Timur and Ordubuka, the son of Nuruz. Haji Narin was arrested at Khanikin, and was at once compromised by the forged letter found in his portfolio; he was paraded naked about the royal ordu, and then put to death, his goods being pillaged. His young son, Taghai, fled to the amir of the camp of Bulughan, Ghazan's wife, who was a granddaughter of Arghun Aka. There he was concealed until Ghazan's revenge had been satiated by the slaughter of his relatives. Legsi was executed in the square of Mardesht; Keshlik and Yul Kutlugh, nephews of Nuruz, were killed in the square which was afterwards called after Kutlugh, and the amirs Shidun and Ilbuka were executed near Kasr Shirin.*

* Ilkhans, ii. 41-42. D'Ohsson, iv. 174-177.

Ghazan now summoned several of the amirs. His brother Khodabendeh went to Bisutun from Khorasan. Kutlugh Shah joined him at Esedabad from Mughan, and the amirs Choban and Pulad Kia from Rai. Kutlugh Shah was dispatched from Esedabad with an army to arrest Nuruz; his subordinates, Sunatai and Hirkudak, each with a tuman, marching in advance. When he reached Damaghan he learnt that the generals just named had already put to death the commanders who had been left at Rai, Veramin, Khawar, Semnan, and Bostam, by Nuruz. At Izferain he was met by the sons of Buka Timur and Alghui, who demanded the vendetta for their father's blood, whom Nuruz had slain. His troops were conducted by Danishmend, a deserter from Nuruz's service. The latter having been defeated in a struggle near Ispahan, in which his two sons, Ahmed and Ali, were taken and killed, his camp and treasures fell into the hands of his pursuers. Pursued by Hirkudak, he arrived at night at Jam, where his horse-herds were. Having put his people in ambuscade behind some high walls, he awaited the approach of his pursuers, and when they rushed at the horses he fell upon them with his people and killed many of them, after which he again took flight towards Herat, where the Malik Fakhr ud din Kert offered him an asylum.*

It will be well here to make a short retrospect, and to see what had taken place recently at Herat. We have seen how Abaka having got rid of the famous Malik Shems ud din, nominated the latter's son, Rokn ud din, in his place. After Abaka's death Rokn ud din withdrew to his stronghold of Khaisar, appointing his son Alai ud din (D'Ohsson says Ghiath ud din) as his deputy at Herat, with the title of naib. The following year the young prince was visited by Arghun Khan. An important occurrence presently again created ill blood. Hindu Noyan, one of Arghun's principal generals, having revolted, sought shelter at Khaisar. Ordered to surrender him, Rokn ud din did so, and was rewarded with a khilat, a drum, and standards, the insignia of royalty. The relatives of Hindu Noyan did not forgive him, and knowing they were intriguing against him he determined not to leave his fortress, and also withdrew his son from Herat. Abandoned in this way, the town was given up to disorder, the richer inhabitants migrated, while a leader of the Nigudars, named Amaji, at the head of a number of his truculent people, fell upon the place, pillaged and virtually ruined it. Quarters where previously there had been 100 kétkhôdas remained with only two or three.

When Ghazan received Khorasan as an appanage, in 1291, he sent Nuruz with 5,000 men to restore order there. He took a quantity of cattle which he had captured in the neighbourhood of Dereguez thither,

* D'Ohsson, iv. 178. Ilkhans, ii. 42-43.

and sent orders to Esfizar, Ferrah, and Seistan, to recall those who had migrated, and exempted the place from the payment of taxes for two years. Nuruz having thus somewhat restored prosperity to the place, sent to Rokn ud din to come down from Khaisar and take charge once more of the city. He excused himself on the ground that he had quite determined to withdraw from the world.* Rokn ud din's eldest son, Fakhr ud din, had been a turbulent person, and had in consequence been imprisoned at Khaisar for seven years. He had then broken his chains, killed his guards, and fled to the mountain which dominated Khaisar, saying he meant no longer to obey his father. Nuruz having heard of this, and of the vigorous qualities of the young man, sent his brother, the amir Haji, with a letter to the malik, to ask him to forgive his son. Rokn ud din replied that his son was very foolish, and that if he was set at liberty he would cause great trouble. Haji, notwithstanding, went to the young prince and informed him of the good offices of Nuruz. He would not leave his retreat, however, until he was assured that he would not be seized by his father. The malik only consented to give him permission to go to Nuruz on receiving an undertaking that he would not be held responsible for anything the young prince might afterwards do. Nuruz replied that he himself undertook to be responsible for Fakhr ud din's behaviour. Fakhr ud din now went to Herat, where Nuruz received him with open arms, and gave him proofs of his goodwill in the presence of the military chiefs and the grandees of Khorasan. Rokn ud din continued to live at Khaisar until September, 1305. The young prince soon gave proof of his capacity. Muhammed Jeji having revolted in the district of Khaf and ravaged it, Fakhr ud din joined the amir Dendai, brother of Nuruz, who marched against the rebel with 5,000 men. Muhammed thereupon withdrew to his fort of Jejd, where he was attacked for four months. Fakhr ud din proved himself very energetic in this campaign, and restored the district of Khaf to obedience. In reward for his services he was nominated ruler of Herat, and Nuruz gave him his niece, the daughter of his brother Tergan Haji (the Barghun Haji of Von Hammer), in marriage.† At this time malik Inaltekin, wishing to revenge his brother, Jemal ud din, who was kept prisoner by Nuruz in a fortress of Gharjistan, left Irak with a large army, and appropriated several of his towns and killed a great number of his partisans. He then fortified himself at Ferrah, but dreading a struggle in which he would be opposed by Fakhr ud din, he undertook to submit if the latter would in turn undertake to obtain the release of Jemal ud din, which was secured without difficulty.‡ We now hear of an inroad made upon Khorasan by Dua, the chief of the ulus of

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 455-456. D'Ohsson, iv. 183-184.
† D'Ohsson, iv. 184-186. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 473-474.
‡ Journ. Asiat, 5th ser., xvii. 473-474.

Jagatai, who sent his relative, Béréket, to get the submission of Fakhr ud din in Gharjistan. Béréket, with a number of his officers, was seized and taken to Nuruz, who was at Tus, and who conducted them to Ghazan's camp in Irak. Fakhr ud din was also presented to the Ilkhan. He was rewarded with a splendid royal robe, a diploma confirming him as Lord of Herat, a drum and banner, a tent, a special pavilion for his harem, a Mongol regiment of 1,000 men, and ten tumans in money, while Nuruz was ordered to show him every attention.*

This digression will show that Fakhr ud din was under deep obligations to Nuruz, and it is not strange that he should have sided with the latter when he revolted. He was captured in a struggle by Ghazan's general Sunatai (a name otherwise given as Sutai and Sukai), but managed to escape, and made his way to Herat, where he offered Nuruz shelter, as we have seen. The latter's officers tried to dissuade him from trusting himself with the malik, but he replied that it was three days since he had said the "namaz," and that he could not put it off any longer. Thereupon several of his adherents left him, and he entered Herat with 400 men. The malik took him to the citadel, which was called Ikhtiar ud din.† Four days after his arrival at Herat there appeared before the town the amir Kutlugh Shah, with 70,000 horsemen. On his way thither he had visited the famous tomb of Ali Riza, the eighth imaum of the family of Ali, near Tus, and said a namaz of two rek'ats,‡ praying God to let his enemy fall into his hands. He invested Herat, but the town was so well fortified and presented such a bold front, while the heat was so excessive, that some of his chiefs advised him to withdraw. But he was not made of yielding material. He caused a letter to be written to Fakhr ud din by the latter's father-in-law, the mufti of Jam, and sealed with his seal, summoning the malik to surrender Nuruz if he wished to prevent the destruction of Herat, and sent it by a spy. Fakhr ud din at once showed the letter to his guest, who was thus convinced of his good faith. Haji, the secretary of Nuruz, nevertheless urged his master to seize the malik and to make sure of him, and although Nuruz refused, their conversation was overheard and reported to Fakhr ud din, who took alarm and advised with his ministers and the chief people in the town. However this was, feeling that sooner or later the place must fall and their wives and children be carried off captive, and that Nuruz had broken his solemn promise never to take up arms against his master, the malik determined to surrender him to his enemies. He told Nuruz that the garrison was discouraged, and that he had better distribute his men in different parts of the town, so as to encourage the citizens. He fell into the trap, and distributed two of them among each ten men of Fakhr ud din, remaining

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., 475. D'Ohsson, iv. 186-187. † D'Ohsson, iv. 178-179.
‡ D'Ohsson explains this. He says the five namaz, or daily prayers, consist of from four to eight rek'ats or attitudes, but travellers or soldiers on the march need only say a namaz of two rek'ats.

almost alone in the citadel. His guards were suddenly arrested, and he himself was bound with cords. "What harm have I done you," said Nuruz to his host, "that you desire my life? At least leave me my horse and my sword. I will rush naked among my enemies and perish sword in hand." "Henceforth," said the treacherous and ungrateful malik, "you will only see a sword in the hands of other people." He then sent the head of Haji to Kutlugh Shah, with the news of the arrest of Nuruz and his people, and demanded in return, by the oath which Ghazan had sworn to him, that Herat should be spared. This assurance was sent to him by the amir Fulad Kia, the khoja Alai ud din, and the mufti of Jam. Thereupon Nuruz was sent bound, with an escort of Ghurian troops, to the camp of Kutlugh Shah. The latter put some questions to his prisoner, who replied haughtily, "It is Ghazan, and not you, who have the right to question me." He was thrown on the ground and cut in two. Fulad Kia set out at once to take his head to Ghazan, whom he found at Baghdad. The head of the brave and turbulent chief, to whom Ghazan was so much indebted, was suspended for some years in front of the prison in that town. His brothers Arghun Haji and Kulduk were also executed. Three days after the death of Nuruz Kutlugh Shah raised his camp and returned to Irak. This is the account given by Rashid ud din.*

Mirkhond has a somewhat different version of the concluding episodes of the life of Nuruz. According to this author, Fakhr ud din having determined to surrender Nuruz, told him that the garrison was composed of such a mixed body of troops that any one of them might treacherously give up one of the gates of the place, and to be secure in that respect he urged Nuruz that his people should be employed in the work. Accepting this as a fresh proof of the malik's friendship, Nuruz sent his people as desired, and remained almost alone. Thereupon the malik charged four of his officers, viz., Taj ud din Ilduz, Jemal ud din Muhammed Sain, Saraj ud din Omar Harun, and Muhammed Na'man, to take a body of Ghurians and arrest him. They approached the citadel by a covered way, each one with a cord in his hand. The amir, having only four companions with him, was engaged in firing some arrows at the besiegers, but his bowstring broke, and he threw it down angrily. Seeing his four assailants, he addressed them, saying, "Pehluvans, what are you come to do, and why these cords?" Ilduz replied that the malik had sent them to build a shelter, behind which he might be safer from the enemy's weapons. Nuruz pointed out to them where he would like it to be, and proceeded to mend his bow. Ilduz now advanced, and struck him on the head with his mace. Muhammed and Omar then bound him and conveyed him to a house. The malik, who was at this time hiding close

* D'Ohsson, iv. 187-192. Ilkhans, ii. 42-44.

by with 200 horsemen, sent word to Nuruz's men that their master wanted them. They went accordingly to the citadel, and were forthwith killed by the Ghurians.*

Fakhr ud din was liberally rewarded by Ghazan for his recent services. He sent him one of his own robes, and again confirmed him as malik of Herat and its dependencies, and granted him, at his request, the privilege of omitting to pay the usual visits to the ordu, on his promising to remain a faithful vassal and to furnish his quota of troops when the Ilkhan should be at war. But presently he conceived the notion of breaking the Mongol yoke. Trusting in the fortifications of Herat, which he had strengthened, and in his forces, which reached the number of 60,000 men, he began by evading the payment of his annual tribute, and excused himself on various pleas from furnishing the requisitions demanded by the troops of Kutlugh Shah. A more daring act of rebellion at length brought him under the scourge of the Mongols. Ghazan had assigned the famous Nigudarian bands, whom we have described, summer quarters in Seistan and winter quarters in Irak Ajem, and exacted from these robbers an undertaking to cease their raids, and declaring themselves worthy of death if they violated it. They were nevertheless accused of the various outrages that took place in Irak, and harassed by the charges and fear of punishment, they moved without leave into Kuhistan, and then asked Fakhr ud din to give them shelter within his principality. He acceded to this, gave them horses, arms, and clothes, and employed them in his service, and sent them to make raids into the districts he meant to appropriate, where they killed many people. Deputations from the sufferers went to Ghazan, who ordered his brother Khodabendeh to take with him the troops of Mazanderan and Khorasan, and to demand the extradition of the Nigudars. If the malik refused to comply he was to attack Herat, put the turbulent Nigudars and Ghurians to the sword, but to spare the innocent inhabitants. Khodabendeh having reached Nishapur duly demanded the surrender of the Nigudarian chiefs. Fakhr ud din had exacted a promise from them—solemnly made, according to their custom, upon their swords—that they would not leave him without permission He then presented Khodabendeh's messenger with one of his robes and thirty prisoners, and told him to tell his master that Buka and the other leaders of the Nigudars had set out on an expedition, but that on their return they would be surrendered. Khodabendeh having received this answer from a prince whose resolute character he well knew, resolved to march at once upon Herat. This was in the summer of 1299. He pitched his camp on the river, close by the walls, and had begun the siege, when he learnt that the malik had left for the fortress of Amankuh, now called Ishkéléji, and he proceeded to invest it. Having postponed

* D'Ohsson, iv. 191-192. Notes.

his attack for four days, in the hope that the malik would submit, he ordered an assault to be made, which cost him many men. The following night Fakhr ud din made a sortie and traversed the Mongol lines, re-entering Herat. Having confided its defence to the amirs of the Ghurians and Khallajes, he himself set out for Ghur with 100 horsemen. The next day Khodabendeh renewed his assault, but again unsuccessfully. Hearing that the malik had left the fort, he returned to Herat, and began to besiege that town. Under him were the generals Reis Kutlugh, Hulaju, Hirkudak, Mulai, and Danishmend Behadur. The malik's chief officers, Iftikhar ud din, Muhammed Haruni, Jemal ud din Muhammed Sam, Ilchi Khoja, Omar Shah Khuarezmi, Pehluvan Yar Ahmed, and others, left the place with a large force, and fought a terrible battle outside. The struggle was more or less continuous for seventeen days, and several thousand men perished on each side. Eventually, the Sheikh ul Islam Shihab ud din Jam went to Khodabendeh's camp and told him, after much peaceful entreaty, that there were 50,000 men capable of bearing arms in the place, who had decided to resist to the death; that it was probable the town could not be captured, which would be a disgrace to the royal forces, and that it would be better to make some arrangement. His proposal having been accepted, he sent to tell the chiefs that the prince was ready to pardon them, and they must send him 100,000 dinars. The town duly sent 30,000, and undertook that the remainder should be forwarded when Khodabendeh had raised the siege. Fakhr ud din returned to Herat, and proceeded to repair and increase its fortifications.* In the year 1301 Fakhr ud din put down the revolt of Hosam ud din, the governor of Esfizar. That chief died just as he was going to be attacked, and his son Rokn ud din concentrated his forces in the citadel of Dubah. The malik summoned some Mongol mercenaries and 3,000 Ghurians, and captured Esfizar, and those of its inhabitants who escaped death were removed to Herat.†

Fakhr ud din, *inter alia*, built two great bastions at Herat of the height of fourteen guez, separated by a slope of six guez wide, and also laid out a vast open space, surrounded by a circular wall, outside the city walls, where popular fêtes, &c., could be held. He also built a monastery in the royal square, and repaired the mosque of Abd Allah, son of Amir, as well as that called Tereh Farushi, on the Amankuh, and also founded the famous market-place, afterwards known as the royal market. Every month 1,000 dinars were distributed to the poor and the dervishes, and 1,000 blankets were given them at the beginning of winter; 10,000 menn of bread and ten sheep were also divided daily among the indigent. These measures made the malik very popular. In the year 700 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1300) he forbade women to appear in public under the penalty of being promenaded about

* D'Ohsson, iv. 193-196. Ilkhans, ii. 73-75. † Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 480, &c.

the streets and markets in black veils. He also forbade the use of wailers and chaunters at funerals, as prescribed by the Koran. Those who engaged in gambling were led through the streets with their beards and hair shaven. Drunkards, besides suffering the penalty ordered by the religious law, were to have their feet manacled, and to be made to work in the tile works at Herat. Poets and learned men were patronised, and Seifi Heravi, who composed 80 odes and 150 rubais or quatrains in his honour, says in his chronicle that forty poets lived at his Court.* Among all these poets the only name which has reached us is that of Mola Sadr ud din, of Fushenj, surnamed Rebii, whose career is a curious instance of the Bohemian lives which men lived at the Courts of the great Mongol vassals in the 13th century. He filled the post of pulpit orator or preacher at Fushenj, when he was summoned to Herat by Fakhr ud din, and commissioned to write the Kert nameh, on the plan and in the metre of the Shah nameh of Firdusi, in which he sang of the doings of the malik and his grandfather. He received a salary of 1,000 pieces of gold (Von Hammer says of silver) as Court poet, but, like many other poets, he was given to intemperate habits, and his orgies scandalised Fakhr ud din. To avoid punishment, he sought refuge in Kuhistan with Shah Ali, son of Nasr ud din Seistani. There he one day allowed himself to abuse the malik so violently that Shah Ali gave him 200 dinars and, telling him he was not his man, ordered him to take his departure at once, and when the courtiers expressed surprise at this treatment of the first poet of Khorasan, he replied, "Rebii has all the gifts of intelligence, but he lacks a heart. If he now abuses one who has for ten years covered him with favours, do you think he will in the future spare my name?" The poet now went to Nishapur, where he led a precarious life for a while, and then went to Irak. Afraid that he might use his talents to discredit him with the Ilkhan, Fakhr ud din sent him an invitation to return, and having obtained a safe conduct, signed with the malik's own hand, he did so. The latter was not given to forgiving injuries, and having heard of the poet's biting sarcasms, which were in everybody's mouth, sought an opportunity to destroy him. One day the poet, who gave himself up more than ever to debauchery, invited some of his young friends to a feast. Here many indiscreet things were said. Among others, Rebii declared that if they would support him he would in a few days become the ruler of Herat. This statement was applauded, a mock coronation was gone through, and the hero of the evening distributed dignities and ranks among his companions. This performance having been reported to Fakhr ud din, the culprits were summoned to his presence. They all pleaded guilty, but urged that they had been drunk. The malik, however, was inexorable. Some of them were flayed alive. Others had their

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 478-479.

tongues and ears cut off. Rebii himself was thrown into a dungeon. During his long captivity he composed many odes and *mesnevis* in honour of the king, but without moving him. We do not read what became of him, but it is probable that he died in prison. Von Hammer has translated a number of his verses. They depend, like most Persian poetry, upon assonance and other graces, almost impossible to translate, and sound very vapid, stilted, and invertebrate in another language.*

We have seen† how the Padishah Khatun, the wife of Abaka and Gaikhatu successively, was made ruler of Kerman by the latter, and how she put to death her brother Siyurghatmish. He left but one daughter, Ismet ud din Aalemshah, who married Baidu Khan, and who, with her mother, Kurdujin, determined upon the overthrow of their strong-minded and truculent relative. On Baidu's accession they accordingly marched an army to Fars, and put Padishah Khatun to death. This was in 694 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1295). Hamdullah philosophises in verse on this event—

> If thy cross be thorns, verily thou hast sown them;
> If it be China silk, verily thou thyself hast spun it.

Next year Ghazan nominated Muhammed Shah, the son of Hijaj, brother of Siyurghatmish, who was then fifteen years old, as her successor. The young prince lived at Ghazan's Court, while the country was administered by the judge Fakhr ud din of Herat. He treated the young prince's brothers, Mahmud and Hasan Shah, with scant courtesy, and reduced their allowances tenfold, whereupon they rose against and killed him. Ghazan then sent Timur Buka as governor of Kerman, who summoned troops from Irak and Fars. The siege lasted for a year and a half, and famine began to press the garrison. But as it held out bravely the amirs sent to Ghazan to beg him to send Muhammed Shah, to whom they thought the citizens would give it up. Meanwhile the town surrendered. The Khoja Sadr ud din of Abher was now given charge of Kerman. He sent one of the rebel princes, Mahmud Shah, to the Court. As he was going there he met Muhammed Shah at Ispahan, and as the latter refused to see him, he took poison. When Muhammed reached the city he put to death all those he could lay his hands upon who had fomented the outbreak. He also seized his brother, Siyuk Shah, whom he sent to Tebriz, where he was put to death with torture. Sadr ud din of Abher, Muhammed Shah's atabeg or guardian, began to grow suspicious of him, and taking advantage of his absence on a hunting excursion he fled to Shirkhan, whose governor assisted him, and he thus reached Fars. Muhammed sent the vizier Bahai ul Mulk to persuade him to return, and he did so and was well treated, but he still felt uncomfortable, and presently secured an appointment as Muhammed's deputy at Ghazan's Court, where he closely watched his master's interests. Muhammed Shah

* *Id.*, 479 and 480. Notes. Ilkhans, ii. 75-78. † Ante, 365.

died of excessive drinking, in the year 703 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1304, the same year as Ghazan), after a reign of eight years.*

We will now turn to the affairs of Fars, which are omitted by D'Ohsson, while Von Hammer's account in the "Ilkhans" is fitly described by Colonel Yule as frightfully confused. During the supremacy of the Salghurid atabegs of Fars, Hormuz formed one of their subordinate governments. When that dynasty came to an end, Mahmud Kalhati, who had been governor of the island, established himself as prince of Hormuz. He is called Rukn ud din Mahmud in Teixeira's extracts from the chronicle of Turan Shah. He is said to have reigned from 1246 to 1277, and to have been succeeded by his son Saif ud din Nazrat, who reigned apparently till the year 1290, when he was put to death, with his wife, by his brother Rokn ud din Masaud (called Amir Masaud by Teixeira). Thereupon Bahai ud din Ayaz, a Mamluk in Nazrat's service, who had been appointed vizier of Kalhat on the Arabian coast by his master, took up arms to avenge him, assisted by Siyurghatmish, the ruler of Kerman; while the Mufti, who had had to seek temporary shelter in the island of Kish, was similarly helped by Jemal ud din, the governor of Fars, who assigned him 12,000 gold pieces annually out of the revenues of the province for the furnishing of his army. Having driven out Masaud, and secured a treasure of 200 tumans, in gold, silver, and rich stuffs, he had Fakhr ud din Ahmed ibn Ibrahim al Thaibi (apparently a relative of Jemal ud din of Fars, already named) proclaimed as ruler of Hormuz. A MS. history, quoted by Ouseley, assigns to this Fakhr ud din the foundation of New Hormuz, on the island of Jerun, the old one having been deserted in consequence of the attacks of predatory neighbours.† In regard to the Arab family of Al Thaibi, of which Fakhr ud din was a scion, Colonel Yule remarks that they seem to have been powerful at this time on the shores of the Indian Ocean. One of them, Jemal ud din Ibrahim, was farmer-general of the taxes of Fars, and quasi-independent prince of Kais and other islands in the Persian Gulf. We shall have more to say about him. Fakhr ud din above named, as he is called ibn Ibrahim, was no doubt his son. His brother Taki ud din Abdur Rahman was vizier at Marzban, in Maabar.‡ Von Hammer says that Jemal ud din went to Hormuz, and that a quarrel arose between him and his son, Fakhr ud din. A struggle ensued, in which Bahai ud din Ayaz took the part of his former patron, Jemal ud din, and Fakhr ud din was driven from the island. He was sent in 1297 as his envoy to the Great Khan at Khanbaligh by the Ilkhan, and died on his return voyage, on the Coromandel coast, in 1305.§ Bahai ud din now seems to have occupied Hormuz, whence Jemal ud din tried to drive him out, but the latter was defeated, and his opponent, who

* Hamdullah. Ilkhans, ii. 49.
† Yule's Marco Polo, i. 124-125. Pauthier, *id.*, i. 86. Note. Ilkhans, ii. 50.
‡ Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 316. Note. Elliott, Hist. of India, iii. 32.
§ Yule, op. cit., i. 125. Ilkhans, ii. 50.

seems to have been more or less of a piratical chief, landed upon and plundered the island of Kais. This defeat, and the fact that the season was approaching when the trading vessels would return from Maabar, induced Jemal ud din to make advances to Bahai ud din, and an accommodation was the result. We are told that Jemal ud din, the tax farmer of Fars, carried on an active trade with the district of Maabar. Fourteen hundred horses (Von Hammer says 400) were by agreement sent annually from the island of Kish or Kais. Horses were similarly exported from the other islands, viz., Hormuz, Bahrein, Khatif, and Lahsa. The price of each horse was fixed from old times at 220 dinars of red gold, and those which died *en route* had their value paid out of the treasury. In the reign of the Salghur atabeg, Abu Bekr, 10,000 horses were so sent to Maabar, Kambayat, and other ports, and their value, which amounted to 2,200,000 dinars, was paid for out of the funds belonging to the Hindu temples and the tax upon courtesans attached to them Wassaf says, instead of being fed on raw barley, these horses were given roasted barley and grain dressed with butter, and boiled cow's milk to drink, and he adds his appropriate commentary in verse—

Who gives sugar to an owl or a crow?
Or who feeds a parrot with a carcase?
A crow should be fed with a dead body,
And a parrot with candy and sugar.
Who loads jewels on the back of an ass?
Or who would approve of giving dressed almonds to a cow?

The Indian climate was very fatal to these horses, which became rapidly weak and worn out from the heat, &c. "Their loss," says the chronicler, "is not without its attendant advantage, for it is a providential ordinance of God that the West should continue in want of Eastern products and the Eastern world of Western products, and that the North should with labour procure the goods of the South and the South be furnished in like manner with commodities brought in ships from the North. Consequently, the means of easy communication are kept up between these different quarters, as the social nature of human beings necessarily requires and profits by :—

"Thou wert called a man because thou wert endowed with love."*

Jemal ud din made a treaty with the Diwar of Maabar, which secured him trading rights there. When he was intrusted with the government of Irak and Fars, the messenger who took the news was sent to the Diwar with a present of a falcon. Wassaf has preserved the letter written on this occasion, which has been translated by Von Hammer, and is a good specimen of the hyperbole then fashionable in diplomatic correspondence. The Diwar sent a still more elaborate and pompously phrased reply, and with it some singers and musicians. This reply was written in Shaaban, in the year 700 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1300), and was

* Elliot, Historians of India, iii. 33-34. Ilkhans, ii. 51-52.

duly acknowledged by an answer written in October of the same year. The letters are a mere farrago of stilted phrases, and absolutely wanting in historical details.* "Notwithstanding the immense wealth he (*i.e.*, Jemal ud din) acquired by trade," says Wassaf, "he gave orders that when commodities and goods were imported from the remotest parts of China and Hind into Maabar, his agents and factors should be allowed the first selection, until which no one else was allowed to purchase. When he had selected his goods he dispatched them on his own ships, or delivered them to merchants and shipowners to carry to the island of Kais. Even then it was not permitted to any merchant to contract a bargain until the factors of Malik ul Islam had selected what they required. Then the merchants were allowed to buy whatever was suited to the wants of Maabar. The remnants were exported on ships and beasts of burden to the isles of the sea and the countries of the East and West, and with the money obtained by their sale such goods were purchased as were suitable for the home market. The trade was so managed that the produce of the remotest China was consumed in the furthest West. No one has seen the like of it in the world."†

Jemal ud din, the Mufti of Shiraz, to whom we have so frequently referred, was styled Sheikh ul Islam (*i.e.*, the Sheikh of Islam), and also Melikol Islam (*i.e.*, the farmer-general of Islam), because he had the farming of the various taxes in Irak and Fars. Through the favour of the Vizier, Sadr ud din, he was two years behind in his payment, but in November, 1298, when the Court was at Jukin, he was summoned there and ordered to pay up the arrears immediately. This he did to the amount of 45 tumans, each consisting of 10,000 dinars. The taxes of the province were now arranged on a more equitable basis. The whole province was divided into sixteen parts, and was assigned a tribute of 1,000 tumans, of which 10,800,000 dinars were set aside for the costs of collection, &c. Orders were sent to Fars that 20,000 portions of land (*fedan*), as Crown lands, had been exempted from taxes. Of these 3,000 were to be assigned to the governor and 3,000 more to the tax farmer, who were to pay to the treasury 61 gold pieces and 4 daniks (?) for each estate or portion. Whenever the taxes were put up for sale, these lands, with their appurtenances of seed and agricultural implements, were to be surrendered by the previous farmers, who were to be paid 85 dinars for each plough ox, and the seed which was reckoned with it. The rate at which exchange was to be valued in collecting taxes was that the gold miskal was to be counted at four dinars and the silver miskal at one dinar. The gold and silver money in the provinces was to be accepted at the same value as in the capital, and the payment of earnest money for difference of exchange was forbidden. The farmers-general were to produce the wealthiest and most considerable amirs as bail. The

* Ilkhans, ii. 52-63. † Elliot, iii. 35.

amirship and government of the land was confirmed to the Terkhan Sadak. Sherif ud din, of Semnan, was made supreme director of the taxes. He was to hear the complaints of the people, and to see that the tax collectors did their duty honestly. These reforms were due to the vizier, Sadr ud din.*

Let us now return again to Ghazan. His reign was marked by a terrible roll of executions, and, as D'Ohsson says, there is hardly a page of Rashid ud din at this time without a notice of the execution of some public functionary. In August, 1297, the rebel governor of Rum, Baltu, who had fled, was captured by the generals Sulamish and A'rab, who took him to Tebriz, where he was executed on the public square, on the 14th of September, the day after Ghazan's return to his capital, after spending the spring and summer at Alatagh. Having been told that some person had predicted that Prince Taichu, son of Mangu Timur, would be on the throne before forty days were over, he had him, together with the prophet and all those who were present when he made the prophecy, put to death.† On the 5th of October, 1297, Ghazan laid the foundations of the famous tomb in the garden Aadiliyeh, in the suburb of Shem, whose ruins still form the most precious monument at Tebriz. He superintended the workmen himself, and as the base rose above the ground, the architect questioned him about where he should put the windows so as to light up the cool room or cellar (*serdat*), which was under the ground.

On the 2nd of November, 1297, Ghazan and his Court formally adopted the Muhammedan head-dress (*i.e.*, the turban), which, according to Mussulman tradition, was the head covering of Abraham, who is accounted a Hanefi (*i.e.*, one acquainted with the true faith). This ceremony was followed by a feast. On the 7th of the same month the Ilkhan set out for his winter quarters in Arran. *En route* he heard that an outbreak had taken place in Georgia.‡ We have seen how David, the sixth son of Dimitri II., obtained the throne of Karthli from Gaikhatu Khan, and how he was patronised by the officers of Baidu. Although he had sent back Tukal and his son at the bidding of Ghazan, he did not like to venture himself in person to his Court. He had been restrained by his fear of Nuruz, who was such an aggressive enemy of the Christians. The "History of Georgia" tells us that Nuruz seized the aged Nestorian bishop of Meragha and had him beaten and cruelly tormented, in order to make him abjure his faith, and when he found this was unavailing he exiled him, notwithstanding his great age. He also sent one of his relatives to lay waste all the churches of Georgia, including the church of the Virgin at Vardzia, and to carry off the rich plate, &c., belonging to them. He went to Nakhchivan, but was miraculously struck by lightning and consumed, even to his bones, as he was about to lay his hands on the

* Ilkhans, ii. 65-68. † D'Ohsson, iv. 196-197. ‡ *Id.*, 197.

cross in the church of Vardzia, just named.* Stephen Orpelian says that through the efforts of Nuruz many churches were ruined, priests killed, and Christians put to death, and those who escaped death were robbed of their goods, while their wives and children were sold into slavery. At Baghdad, Mosul, Hamian (? Hims), Thavrej (? Tebriz), and Meragha, and in the countries of Rum and Mesopotamia, the persecution caused great troubles. The churches of Nakhchivan were sacked and the priests sold into slavery, the doors of the sanctuaries were demolished and the holy tables overturned, but the buildings themselves were spared out of consideration for the Georgian troops, who were held in high honour by the Mongol chiefs. At Noravank, the capital of Siunia, they would have overturned the churches, but were appeased by presents, &c., while that part of Armenia beyond the Araxes was entirely spared. The Syrian Catholicos at Meragha (*i.e.*, the Nestorian dignitary before named) was captured and reduced to great stress by the cruelty of the Mongols, while Ter Tiratsu, bishop of the Church of the Apostles, was put to outrageous tortures and pillaged of his goods, and his monastery (*i.e.*, that of Dadi Vank), where the apostle Thaddeus was buried, had its walls completely overturned and destroyed. Haithon, King of Little Armenia, having gone to complain to Ghazan, the latter said all this had been done without his orders, and he took measures to stop the devastations. This author also states that Ghazan married the daughter of the King, but according to Langlois he really married the niece of Haithon, daughter of his brother Sempad.† The "History of Georgia" tells us that the King of Georgia, having received a fresh summons to go to the ordu, set out as far as Hereth and Kakheth, where the didébuls and aznaurs met him, and among others the famous warrior, the eristhaf Samadaula. He consulted with them as to whether he should go on or no. They advised him to do so, but he was afraid, and went to Mthiuleth, and established an entrenched camp at Jinwan, whence he sent his young brother Wakhtang as his envoy to the Khan, Othakha, grandson of Batu (*i.e.*, Toktogu, Khan of the Golden Horde), and offered to open him a road by way of Derbend if he would attack Ghazan. He was well received, and promised troops, lands, and riches. Having heard of David's defection, the Ilkhan sent his general or beglarbeg, Kutlugh Shah, with a considerable army against him. He went to Tiflis, whence he dispatched messengers to David, to urge him to send some responsible people with his submission and a promise to be faithful. The king accordingly sent the Catholicos, Abraham, Joané Bursel, and the Kadhi of Tiflis, who in turn asked for hostages. The Mongols, we are told, not only gave an oath according to their faith, but also sent the son of Kutlugh Shah, named Sibuchi; Arpa, brother of Kurumshi, and some other sons of noyans, and also offered Ghazan's ring as a gage for the King's safety. Thereupon David went to

* Hist. de la Géorgie, 616-617. † Hist. de la Siounie, 261-262.

them and promised to repair to the ordu. Kutlugh Shah received him honourably, and on his return he released the hostages, to whom he had given great presents.* Stephen Orpelian, in relating these events, says that David, when summoned by the Ilkhan, fled with all his nobles to Mthiuleth, and entered the impregnable fortress of Maslénakhé (Modan-akhé, *i.e.*, "come and see me.") He also seized the gate of the Alans, formerly called Dariala, and now, says our author, Jasanin Cap, whence he expelled the Tartar garrison. It then belonged to the successors of Bereke. Stephen says their chiefs at this time were Thutha Mangu and Nukha (*i.e.*, Tuda Mangu and Nogai), grandsons of Batu and Sartakh. They sent him several envoys, and made protests, but he refused to leave. Thereupon Kutlugh Shah entered the country with a numerous army, and posted himself in the plain of Mukhran, near the impregnable citadel, where the King had retired to. It was only when he sent his own son Shipauchi (the Sibuchi above named) and three other considerable personages as hostages, that the King, when he had put them under a strong guard, ventured to go to his camp with rich presents, which were reciprocated. The Georgian patriarch acted throughout as mediator. After the King's return home, and the release of the hostages, Kutlugh Shah went to his winter quarters in the plain of Ran (*i.e.*, Arran).†

On the approach of spring, Ghazan again summoned David to the ordu, but being still afraid, he re-opened negotiations with the Khan Othaka (*i.e.*, Toktogu), through his brother Baadur. When Ghazan heard of this he once more sent Kutlugh Shah, who went to Somketh and again urged the King to go, sending him rich presents. He sent the Catholicos Abraham, the Kadhi of Tiflis, and Joané Bursel, and promised to go himself. Seeing he made these constant excuses, the Tartars put Bursel to death, letting his two companions go free. They then marched to Mthiuleth, and ravaged Somkheth, Karthli, Thrialeth, and Ertso, and planted themselves successively at Mukhnar, Kherk, Bazaleth, Ertso, and Thrialeth. They made so many prisoners that their number was unknown, and they committed great slaughter and devastation. This year (*i.e.*, 1298) there appeared a great comet, in the shape of a lance, in the north, where it was visible for four months—a presage, says the chronicler, that the Georgians would perish by a weapon of this shape. The Tartars now offered terms on condition that the King would not offer a passage through his territory to the ruler of the Golden Horde. After solemn reciprocal promises, David sent the Queen (his mother), his young brother Manuel, the Catholicos Abraham, and his wife Oljath,‡ who were received with honour by Kutlugh Shah; and having made over Georgia and its capital, Tiflis, to the King, he set out for the ordu with Oljath. In the spring of 1299 a messenger or spy was sent by the Mongols to see if

* Hist. de la Géorgie, 618-619. † Hist. de la Siounie, 263-264.
‡ We have seen that the Persian authors make her the wife of Kutlugh Shah.

David was keeping his word. He reported the overtures the King had made to the Khan of the Golden Horde, through his brother Baadur, offering him a passage through Georgia. Ghazan was naturally enraged, and dispatched Kurumshi and Alinji, one of his favourites, together with Shahinshah Mkhragrdzel. Their mission was to depose the King, and to set up his young brother Giorgi, who we are told was like the unicorn, the only son of his mother. She was the daughter of the Beka already named. Beka had become a very powerful person, and ruled over the country from Tasis-Sar to Sper, and as far as the sea, including Samtzkhé, Adshara, Khavkheth, Klarjeth, and the valley of Nigal. Alexis II., Comnenus Emperor of Trebizond, who mounted the throne in 1297, had apparently married his daughter,* and had made over to him all Janeth. He thus possessed the greater part of Tao, Artan, Kola, Karnéphora, Kars, and all the surrounding land and fortresses, including Artanuj and the hermitages of Klarjeth. All the didébuls, arznaurs, and monasteries were dependent on him. He paid tribute to the Mongols, and furnished them with a contingent of auxiliary troops. His grandson Giorgi, David's half brother, was living with him. The Khan's messengers asked that he might be sent with them to be installed as King of Karthli. He was accordingly sent, escorted by a large army, and notwithstanding his youth was duly crowned at Tiflis.†

These events took place in 1299. In the following spring Ghazan again sent Kutlugh Shah with several noyans and a large army, who once more ravaged Karthli. David had taken refuge at Khada. His dependant, Chalwa Kwéniphnéwéli,‡ eristhaf of Ksan, submitted to the invaders, and in fact acted as their guide through the valleys of Tzkhrazma or Lomisa, and the mountains of Tzkhavat. Informed of his treason, David withdrew to the impregnable fort of Tzikaré. Kutlugh Shah went successively to Khada, Khévi, and Gwéleth (or Gélath), where he expected to find David, and laid siege to the town of Stéphan Tsmida, where David was supposed to be. Having failed to capture this place, they agreed to descend again to Khada on being supplied with some provisions. Meanwhile David, in his safe retreat, was supported by Ahmada Suramel (the first chamberlain), Jila Abazas-Dze, and the aznaurs of Karthli and Somkheth. Kutlugh Shah determined to overwhelm the rebel King. He sent two divisions to attack Tzikaré. Five hundred Tartars were waylaid in a defile, and either killed or captured. A struggle now ensued close to Khada. The Tartars again suffered severely, since it was not possible in this hilly ground to fight on horseback. They were assisted by Shahin Shah, son of Ivané, by two troops of Meskhes sent by Beka and other Georgians. The difficulty of the ground prevented either side from properly assailing

* The Georgian Chronicle wrongly calls the emperor Kir Michael.

† Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 620-622. Lebeau, xix. 86. Note.

‡ *i.e.*, The master of Lower Iphnev, a place on the left bank of the Upper Ksan.

the other, and the Tartars withdrew to Khada. Seeing it was not possible to penetrate to Tzikaré, Kutlugh Shah returned once more to Karthli, and killed or made prisoners all whom he found there, after which he rejoined his master, Ghazan. The spring following (*i.e.*, in 1301) he again invaded Georgia. He went to Tiflis, intending to march upon Mthiuleth. The didébuls of the country wishing to preserve what still remained undevastated, urged David to repair to the ordu after receiving proper hostages. Kutlugh Shah undertook that he should return safe and sound if he would only go and visit his master; but although the people of Karthli, of Hereth, and Kakheth urged him strongly that he would be well treated, he dared not trust himself there, but remained at Gwéleth. His chief didébuls, however, went with his consent. They were well received by Kutlugh Shah, who, having again harried the land, except Mthiuleth, returned once more to the ordu.

David now determined to revenge himself upon the traitor Chalwa, marched into the valley of Tzkhrazma, and devastated it. Chalwa, driven to straits, asked Ahmada Suramel, the head of the eristhavs of Karthli, to intercede with the King for him, who pardoned him, but made over his appanage to Ahmada. At this time David's brother, Wakhtang, became troublesome. He had married the daughter of Shabur, and chafed at having no heritage of his own. He accordingly went to Ghazan's ordu, who conferred the Georgian kingdom upon him, and had him escorted to Tiflis by Kutlugh Shah with a considerable force. On arriving there he was supported by all the Tartars and Georgians, the General Sargis, son of Beka, Prince of Samtzkhé; and the people of Tao, Thor, Thmogwi, and Somkheth, as well as by Shahin Shah, so that there were now three kings of Georgia: David VI., son of Dimitri II.; George V., whose name seems to disappear after his accession till the year 1318; and Wakhtang III., who now (*i.e.*, in 1301) mounted the throne.* On learning of the patronage the Tartars had extended to his brother, David again offered, through Joané Bursel, to go in person to the ordu if he received proper assurances as to his safety and hostages. These were promised by Kutlugh Shah, and he thereupon sent his queen, Oljath, who was met at Bazaleth by Kutlugh Shah, and treated with special honour, she being a Mongol princess. She was given the most solemn assurances for the king's safety, as well as the ring and the napkin, the latter being, as we are told, a gage of pardon, while Sibuchi, son of Kutlugh Shah, was offered as a hostage. The Queen, however, was detained, and the Catholicos, the Kadhi, and Bursel were sent back to bring the King. He refused to go with them, and on their return without him Kutlugh Shah was so enraged that he put Bursel to death.† Shahin Shah buried him in his own sepulchre. Wakhtang was duly confirmed, and the Queen was sent to the ordu.

* Hist. de la Géorgie, 622-625.

† The same authority, as we have seen, makes him be put to death some time before.

The Tartars now made an invasion into the difficult country of Gwéleth, but were constrained to retire, after suffering considerable losses by its impregnable position, and the bad weather having proved too much for them. They withdrew again to Karthli. As we have seen, the Queen Oljath had been sent to the ordu. The Mongols determined that she should not again return to her husband. When he learnt this, he, in 1302, married the daughter of Ahmada, eristhaf of Karthli, who was very beautiful. The recent devastations caused great suffering in Georgia, and a terrible famine ensued. The Georgian chronicler attributes the ills which overwhelmed his country to the vices of the people, which he compares, apparently literally, with those of Sodom. A crowd of people from Karthli passed into Samtzkhé, where Beka ruled, and the latter's wife distributed charity widely among the fugitives. Meanwhile Wakhtang continued to rule at Tiflis over Somkheth, Dmanis, and Samshwildé.* Beka had a considerable struggle at this time with the Turks of Asia Minor, which is detailed in the Georgian history, but which forms no part of our subject.

We must now revert again to Ghazan himself. In January, 1298, as the Court was on its way towards Tebriz, and had reached Dalan Naur, his youngest brother, Khatui Oghul, died, while a month later his second son Alju was born. Another of his great officials was now going to be displaced, viz., Sadr ud din of Zenjan, who held the post of vizier, and against whom charges of treason had been laid by Kutb ud din of Shiraz and Moin ud din, who had returned from Khorasan. Rashid ud din, the historian, who was one of his subordinates, reports that he and the Vizier had been on good terms, but some officers of the Divan tried to sow disunion between them. Rashid paid no heed to them, but the Vizier was disposed to believe them, and complained to Ghazan, who told him Rashid had not spoken a word against him, and he further urged the latter not to defile his tongue by answering the slanders, but to go on his way as before. Presently, while the Court was at Dalan Naur, beyond the Kur, fresh charges against the Vizier were made by Kutlugh Shah, who was returning from Georgia, where he commanded, and complained of the financial position of the province. Sadr ud din, in reply, declared that the amir's troops had ruined it. Kutlugh Shah having accused the Vizier of speaking ill of him to the Khan, the latter said it was Rashid. "Kutlugh Shah," says the historian, "coming out from an audience with Ghazan, asked me how, after we had been friends so long, I could thus slander him. I denied the charge, and asked him who had made it, and as he refused to tell me, I said that I would speak to the Khan. I spoke to Ghazan about it during a hunt. Ghazan thereupon sent for the amir, and said to him, 'My son, tell me who spoke to you thus.' He thereupon named Sadr ud din. 'I can never cure this man's untruthfulness, for it is

* Hist. de la Géorgie, 625-626.

ingrained in him.'" He accordingly ordered his arrest, together with that of his brother, Kutb ud din. This was on the 30th of April. When brought before the Court he answered his interrogators with skill, and if time had been allowed him would probably have escaped his fate, but he was handed over to Kutlugh Shah for punishment, who cut him in two while two officers held his hands. This was on the 4th of May, 1298. "Such was the end of this vizier, who, after employing so many means and causing so much trouble to secure his fortune, enjoyed it only for an instant."* On the 4th of June the Kadhi Kutb ud din, brother of Sadr ud din, and their nephew Kavam ul Mulk, were executed at Tebriz. Their relative, Zain ud din, escaped to Ghilan, and only suffered the same fate two years later, when he ventured to return home.

Ghazan now appointed the Khoja Said ud din of Saveh as vizier,† and Rashid was apparently nominated as his colleague. This took place in the year 697 HEJ., according to Hamdullah, but Wassaf and Mirkhond date it in 698. Ghazan, as we said, had at his accession ordered many churches, synagogues, and Buddhist temples to be converted into mosques. His acceptance of the turban was the signal for another outbreak of fanaticism, and the Christians who, during the previous reigns, had often found protection under the patronage of the Christian wives of the khans, suffered a great decline of fortune.‡ The Court duly set out in the autumn of 1298 for its winter quarters in Irak Arab. It halted, *en route*, at Murghsarek, on the borders of Hamadan, and at Burejerd, where Abubekr, of Dadukabad, was put to death for embezzlement; then crossed the Kurdish mountains, near Wasith, to the plain of Jukin, where Jemal ud din, the farmer-general of taxes, was summoned to account for the taxes overdue. Here news first arrived of the outbreak of Sulamish in Rum. After the execution of Baltu, Ghazan had made over the army in that province to Buchkur, Kiur Timur, and Tainjar, under the general supervision of Sulamish, who was the son of Afak, son of the amir Baichu. At the same time he deposed the puppet Seljukian Sultan, Masud, the second son of Iz ud din Kaikavus II., who had been placed on the throne, as we have seen, by the Ilkhan Ahmed, and who was now accused of complicity with Baltu. This deposition took place in 1295. Masud was confined in a fortress, and Rum was divided into four prefectures, respectively controlled by the Pervanéji, Muhammed Bey; the grand vizier, Jemal ud din; his lieutenant or ketkhuda, Kemal ud din, of Tiflis; and the Defterdar, or Finance Minister, Sherif ud din, who were jointly to account to the Treasury for a revenue of sixty tumans. They committed considerable exactions, and two years later (*i.e.*, in 1297) Ghazan raised Masud's nephew, Alai ud din III. Kaikobad Firamurz, to the throne.§ He set out for his

* Rashid ud din, in D'Ohsson, iv. 198-199. Ilkhans, ii. 69-70.
† D'Ohsson, iv. 199-200. ‡ Ilkhans, ii. 70-71. § Ilkhans, ii. 72-73. D'Ohsson iv. 204.

appanage, accompanied by the generals above-named. The next winter was very severe, and a heavy snow fell. Sulamish took advantage of the difficulty caused by this bad weather, spread a report that Ghazan had been deposed by a party of rebels, and himself revolted. He surprised Kiur Timur and Tainjar, raised a body of 10,000 men, was joined by Mahmud Bey, prince of Karamania, with 10,000 Turkomans; by the troops cantoned in the plain of Ak Sheher, in the district occupied by the Danishmendi Turkomans, and by the various vagabonds in the country. He thus collected an army of 50,000 men, among whom he liberally divided the revenues of Rum, appointed officers, and distributed standards and drums, while the Egyptian Sultan, to whom he wrote, also promised to help him. The town of Sivas having declared against him, he laid siege to it. In March, 1299, Ghazan sent Kutlugh Shah against him. His army marched in three bodies: the advance guard commanded by Choban, the centre by Kutlugh Shah himself, and the rear guard by Sutai Aktaji (*i.e.*, the equerry). Makrizi says the Mongols numbered 35,000, and were commanded by Bulai. They met the enemy in the plain of Aksheher, in Erzenjan, on the 25th of April. The rebel was deserted by his Mongol troops, as well as by the contingent from Rum and the Karamanian Turkomans, who returned to their mountains, so that he was left with only about 500 followers, and accordingly fled to Behesna, on the frontier of Syria, then in the hands of the Egyptians. He had sent one of his officers, named Mokhlis ud din Rumi, to press the Egyptian Sultan to send him help, and the latter accordingly sent orders to Damascus that 5,000 men from Hims, 5,000 from Hamath, and as many from Aleppo should at once march; but as they were starting news reached Damascus of the flight of Sulamish, who shortly after appeared there in person, accompanied by the amir Iz ud din El Zurdkash, governor of Behesna, and a suite of twenty persons. The garrison of Damascus and the principal citizens, with the naib or governor at their head, went out to meet them. They were treated with unusual pomp, and Sulamish was assigned quarters on the Meidan, and he was invited to go on the night of the mid-month to see a grand illumination in the great mosque of the Ommiades. He presently set out on post-horses, with Katkatu and Mokhlis ud din Rumi, for Cairo. Katkatu was granted an ikta (*i.e.*, appanage), while a salary was assigned to Mokhlis ud din. Sulamish determined to return home, and asked that the amir Bek Timur might accompany him. He marched by way of Aleppo, whence he took a contingent of troops with him, and went towards Sis. *En route*, he was attacked by the Tartars. The amir Bek Timur was killed, and he himself escaped to a fortress, where he was shortly after captured, and sent to Ghazan by order of the King of Armenia. He was thereupon put to death.*

* Makrizi, vol. ii., part ii. 130-133. Ilkhans, ii. 72-73. D'Ohsson, iv. 200-203. Abulfeda, v. 143-144.

Alai ud din, the sovereign of Rum above named, was deposed in 1300, and Masud was reinstated. He died four years later, and with him passed away the last scion of the famous stock of the Seljukians of Rum, and thus was another famous monarchy put an end to by the ceaseless appetite for aggrandisement of the Mongols. The influence of the conquerors was as pernicious in Asia Minor, where culture had greatly flourished under the Seljukian princes, as it was elsewhere. Anarchy and ruin seemed to follow their footsteps. Each year the subsidies from the province demanded by the Imperial treasury increased, while it was also charged with payments and assignations to the princesses, the grand officers, &c. Whoever wanted a fief in Rum paid liberally for it, and if a fresh bidder came forward it was made over to him, with the consequence of introducing terrible feuds and quarrels. Offices were sold to the highest bidder, the wretched people having to furnish the price in the taxes squeezed out of them by the fortunate purchaser. Rich people were falsely accused of crimes to extort money from them, and commissaries were sent to press for arrears which might be overdue, and which were ground out of the poor cultivators without mercy.* In consequence of the turbulent condition which was thus induced, and of the frequent revolutions at the Mongol head-quarters, the leaders of the various Turkoman hordes of Asia Minor seized first upon the remoter districts, and presently of the districts in the interior of the peninsula, and founded each a separate petty dynasty. One of these, which swallowed up the rest, gradually grew into the famous Ottoman Empire.

Ghazan now began to have intercourse of a more hostile character with Egypt. He meditated an invasion of Syria, in Moharrem, 698 HEJ., and the naib of Damascus and other amirs made preparations to resist, but according to Novairi the Mongol troops which were collected for the purpose of the invasion were struck by lightning, many of them being killed and the others dispersed.†

Before we describe Ghazan's campaign it will be well to take a short retrospect of the last few years of Egyptian history. We saw how Kelavun died in 1290, and was succeeded by Malik Ashraf, who had a considerable struggle with the Ilkhan Gaikhatu.‡ Ashraf himself was assassinated on the 13th of December, 1293, while hunting, by a party of thirteen amirs, at whose head were Lachin (*i.e.*, the hawk), Kara Sonkor, who had been deprived of the government of Damascus, the deposed governor of Aleppo, and Baidara, who called the Sultan uncle and was his viceroy. Baidara was put to death by Ketboga, who, in concert with the amir Sinjar Es Shujayi, now placed Ashraf's brother, Malik Nasir ud din Muhammed, who was only nine years old, on the throne. Ketboga reigned in his name as viceroy, and presently put Sinjar, who meditated deposing him, to death. The principal chiefs, resenting being ruled by a child, raised

* D'Ohsson iv. 204-205. † Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 83. ‡ Ante, 362-363.

Ketboga himself to the throne, and Nasir was remitted to a residence in the castle. Ketboga's elevation is a good instance of the extremely democratic tendencies of the Egyptian polity during the supremacy of the Mamluks. Born a Mongol, he had been captured by the Egyptians in the first battle of Hims, in 1261. He was then an infant. Sultan Kelavun took charge of his education, gave him his freedom, and enlisted him among his Mamluks. He reigned for two years (during which Egypt was visited by a famine), and was then deposed. His viceroy, the amir Lachin, with some others, tried to assassinate him. He escaped and reached Damascus, but lost his throne, which was now (*i.e.*, on the 13th of November, 1296), occupied by Malik Mansur Lachin, who had formerly been a slave, or Mamluk, of the Sultan Al Mansur, son of Eibeg. Ketboga presently swore allegiance to him, and retired to the castle of Sarkhad, which was appointed his residence. Lachin appointed his slave and favourite, Mangu Timur, his viceroy. In the early spring of 1298 an expedition was sent against Cilicia, which was commanded by Bedr ud din Bektash, chief of the Sultan's Silahdars. The army comprised troops from Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo, Tripoli, and Hamath, the last under their prince Mozaffer.

Haithon II. had ceased to reign in Cilicia. On his return from visiting Ghazan in 1295, he went to Constantinople with his brother Thoros to see his sister Maria, who had married the Emperor Michael. He left another brother, Sempad, behind him as regent, who gained over the grandees, seized the throne, and was duly consecrated at Sis by the Patriarch Gregory in 1297. Ghazan not only confirmed him in the possession of Cilicia, but also gave him one of his relatives in marriage. Sempad sent a notification to the Pope of the change of ruler, and, with the concurrence of the Patriarch, placed himself and his kingdom under the protection of the Roman See. When Haithon and Thoros returned home in 1298 he drove them out again. They returned to Constantinople for help, but only received some money. They then proposed to go to Ghazan's Court, but were arrested at Cæsarea, and imprisoned at Barzberd, where a few days after, by Ghazan's orders, Thoras was put to death and Haithon blinded. This last operation was only partially effective, and Haithon recovered the sight of one eye. These acts were supposed to have been incited by Sempad. In 1298 Sempad fled to Constantinople.* It was against him that, according to Abulfeda, the Egyptians marched. D'Ohsson, following Chamich, makes them march against his successor. They invaded Cilicia in two divisions, one marching through the pass of Izkanderun, and the other through the pass of Merii. The two divisions united again on the Jihan, and laid waste the open country. The towns were not attacked, a policy which created a feud between Alai ud din Sinjar (the devatdar) and Bektash, the two Egyptian

* D'Ohsson, iv. 212-213.

commanders, the latter of whom was in favour of attacking them, and reported in this sense to the Sultan, who supported him, and while the army, having retreated for some distance, was encamped at Ruj, orders arrived that it was not to return until Tel Hamdun had been captured. The troops accordingly retraced their steps, and again crossed the Bagras mountains. Tel Hamdun had been deserted by the Armenians, and was duly occupied on the 18th of June. Another body of troops took possession of Merash. The Egyptians now forced their way into a valley defended by the strong fortresses of Nejimet and Hamus, and where a large number of Armenians had sought refuge. Many of these fled for protection to the two fortresses; of the rest the men were killed and the women made prisoners. Nejimet was now attacked, and after a siege of forty-one days, during which many assaults were repulsed, the garrison was compelled by want of water to drive out the fugitives who had sought shelter there. The men who thus went out were mercilessly killed to the number of several hundreds by the Egyptians, who divided the women and children among them. Water became so scarce in the fort that the garrison fought for it sword in hand. This scarcity at length forced it to capitulate, the defenders securing their lives. Serfenkiar, Hims (? Hamus), Shoghlaa, a Tesiru, and Anawer (Ainsarba), according to Wassaf, also succumbed to the Egyptians in this campaign. Abulfeda says the Armenians attributed their disasters to Sempad, who was of a proud disposition, and would not conciliate the Egyptians. They accordingly appealed to his brother Constantine, who marched upon Sis, and drove him out. He fled to Constantinople. Constantine now mounted the throne. These events took place in 1298.* Constantine, we are told by Abulfeda, made overtures to the Egyptians, offering to consider himself as their vassal, and to cede to them all the country south of the river Jihan, or Pyramus. Among the towns thus surrendered were Hamus, Tel Hamdun, Kubar, Nakir, Hagr, Shoglaa, Serfendkiar, and Merash. D'Ohsson says the Egyptian army received the keys of eleven strong fortresses. Bektash appointed the Georgian, Seif ud din Asan Timur, their commander. He made Tel Hamdun his head-quarters. Seif ud din Asan Timur retained his post as commandant till the Mongol invasion, when he sold the stores in the towns, and abandoned them, whereupon they were re-occupied by the Armenians.†

The real cause of this war was the anxiety of the Sultan Lachin to find employment for some of his amirs, who were jealous of the rising fortunes of his favourite mamluk, Mangu Timur. That ambitious person persuaded him to arrest the amirs who commanded the troops in Egypt. There remained those in Syria. On the 9th of October, 1298, news was published at Cairo that the Mongols were preparing to enter Syria. Orders were at

* *Id.* Weil, iv. 211-212. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 385. Abulfeda, v. 139.
† Abulfeda, v. 138-141. D'Ohsson, iv. 213-217. Ilkhans, ii. 82-83.

once dispatched to Kipchak, the governor of Damascus, to march on Aleppo. This was merely an artifice to get him out of the Syrian capital. He speedily discovered that no Mongol invasion was threatened, and the amir Chaghan, who had meanwhile occupied Damascus, having been so ordered, refused to allow him to re-enter. Orders were also sent to the governor of Aleppo to arrest the amirs Begtimur, Elbegui, Bezlar, and A'zaz, and to poison those whom he could not seize. They were duly warned, however, and proved too vigilant to be captured. *Inter alia*, we are told how, it being customary when a royal order was read for the amirs to assemble at the foot of the citadel, and to dismount and prostrate themselves, it had been arranged to secure them on such an occasion; but they held their bridles, and went through the process so quickly, surrounded by their Mamluks, that it was not deemed prudent to attack them. The governor then summoned them to an extraordinary council, to deliberate on the news which had come by pigeon post from Biret, that the Mongols were ravaging the environs of that town. They promised to go, but instead, mounted their horses, and fled to Hamath, to join Kipchak. The fugitives were the amir Seif ud din Beg Timur, one of the Egyptian generals; the amir Faris ud din El Begui, governor of the province of Safad, and the amir Saif ud din A'zaz. Kipchak sent a messenger to Cairo to secure pardon for the fugitives, and also sent to Chaghan at Damascus for money and clothes for them. This was refused. Chaghan, on the contrary, received repeated orders to arrest them, and was threatened with punishment if he failed to do so. He was not furnished with money to pay the troops, who began to desert him and return to Damascus, and he was presently left with but few men and little money, and determined to seek shelter with the other amirs among the Mongols in Persia. He accordingly left his camp at Hims on the night of the 14th January, 1299, with Beg Timur, El Begui, and A'zaz, and went towards the Euphrates, by way of Salamiyet, followed by more than 300 horsemen, and taking with him as far as Kariétéin the governor of Hims. On reaching that place he released him, after depriving him of his horse.* When it was ascertained at Aleppo that the amirs had fled, it was felt to involve very serious consequences. Two armies were sent in pursuit, one towards the Euphrates and the other towards Hamath, but they did not overtake the fugitives. Their property was duly plundered, however, and Kipchak's house at Damascus was sequestered. Meanwhile, Mangu Timur's enemies, feeling that his position was secure so long as the Sultan lived, formed a plot against the latter, who was assassinated on the 15th of January, 1299, by Gurji, the captain of his guards. Mangu Timur shared his fate. Gurji insisted on the amir Tugji, one of the chief conspirators, being raised to the throne, he himself retaining the post of lieutenant-general. His reign was very short, for having gone out to meet the

* D'Ohsson, iv. 217-221.

general Bektash, who was returning with his victorious army from the Cilician campaign, he was put to death with Gurji. This was on the 19th of January, but four days after the death of Lachin.

The Mamluks were divided into several bodies. One of these, constituted by Sultan Kelavun, consisting of 3,700 Circassians and Ossethi, had its quarters in the famous "Castle of the Mountain," and was called Burjiyan, from the Arab word "burj," meaning a tower. Another body was styled Ashrafian, from Ashraf, Kelavun's son; a third was called Mansurian, and was Kelavun's special body, he having styled himself Malik Mansur; a fourth body was called Salihiyan, probably from the Ayubit Sultan Salih. On the murder of Tugji, the Burjiyan Mamluks wished to put the amir Bibars, the cupbearer, on the throne, while the Salihiyans and Mansurians wished to appoint the amir Salar. Both parties eventually united in choosing the young prince Nasir, son of Kelavun, who had already, as we have seen, had one ephemeral reign. Couriers on swift dromedaries were sent to fetch him, and meanwhile a council of regency was appointed, composed of eight amirs, who signed all official documents. Nasir soon after reached Cairo, and once more mounted the throne. He was now fourteen years old, and Salar was appointed viceroy.* Orders were sent to Syria to arrest Aidogdi, Chaghan, Hamdan, and the other amirs who had supported Lachin, and also to inform Kipchak of the recent revolutions. The messengers reached the latter and his companions at Reesain, or Reisolain (*i.e.*, the fountain head), which is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus under the name of Resania. It was subsequently called Theodosiopolis. Its site is still marked by the ruins of a fine temple.†

The fugitives repented their flight, but had gone too far to turn back. They were received with honour on the Mongol frontier by Jenkli, son of Albaba, governor of Diarbekr, and by the governor of Mardin. They were taken by way of Mosul to Baghdad, whose garrison went out to meet them. One of the Ilkhan's officers was sent to conduct them to his camp at Es Sib, in the district of Vasith. Ghazan went in person to meet them with a great *cortège*. They were supplied with tents and all they needed. Ghazan invited them to a feast, and he sent Kipchak and Begtimur each a present of 10,000 dinars, each dinar of the value of 210 dirhems. A'zaz and El Begui received 6,000 dinars, while every Mamluk, down even to the palfreymen, received 100. Ghazan also sent them horses and other presents. He ordered that his great officers should each give them a feast, so that a round of rejoicing should go through the Ordu. Kipchak was of course delighted with his entertainment, and was joined by some of his family. Begtimur, on the contrary, was not very comfortable among his new friends. Ghazan offered him the town and district of Hamadan as an

* D'Ohsson, iv. 221-224. † Ilkhans, ii. 84. Note 2.

appanage, but this he refused, saying he had merely gone to pay his respects to the Khan. Wassaf says the fugitives promised to assist Ghazan if he made an attack upon Egypt and Syria, and that the ruler of Mardin, who also had grievances to revenge, would do the same, and he pointed out how the campaign was to be fought.* On the 24th of March, while Ghazan was at Baghdad, Bular joined him with a number of Egyptian dependants. Here news also reached him of the defeat of the rebel Sulamish, in Rum, by the amirs Choban and Bashgerd, as we mentioned. The Ilkhan's head-quarters were now moved to Kujinbüsürg, near Sughurluk, and thence moved on again to the neighbourhood of Aujan, where he was met by his brother Khodabendeh, who came to see him from Khorasan. A kuriltai was held, and there was also feasting. On the 25th of June (Von Hammer says the 31st of May) Gürseh, Cherkes, and Isen, supporters of Sulamish, were put to death. A few weeks later, viz., on the 17th of July, Ghazan married Keramun, daughter of Kutlugh Timur, son of Abatai Noyan, who received a dowry, or marriage portion (mahr), of sixty tumans from her father; she succeeded to the establishment which had successively belonged to Dokuz Khatun, wife of Khulagu; to her aunt, Tukini; and to Kukaji, who, like Keramun, was a relative of the powerful Princess Bulughan. Khodabendeh having set out again for Khorasan, Ghazan went to Tebriz, and while he was there the rebel, Sulamish, was brought from Rum and executed. This was on the 27th of September, 1299. Ghazan here had an affection of the eyes, to cure which rosemary was burnt, and public prayers were ordered. News now arrived that a body of 4,000 Syrians had invaded the province of Diarbekr. They captured Mardin, where they are said to have violated young girls and drunk wine in the mosques in the holy fast of Ramazan. They also made an attack on Reesain, or Reesolain, but failed to take it. They, however, carried off many captives which they made during the raid. The invasion is not mentioned by the Egyptian historians, but Abulfeda denounces it bitterly as an infamous act to have been committed by a Mussulman, and as the cause of Ghazan's terrible invasion. The leader of the freebooters he calls Bilban Attabbashi, governor of Aleppo.

Ghazan had other wrongs to avenge—the attacks made by the Egyptians on Cilicia, their capture of Kalat er Rum, and the welcome they gave to the fugitive Uirads and to Sulamish. His ambition was further supplemented by the advice of the Egyptian fugitives, and by the distracted state of affairs in Egypt, where the usual anarchy incident to a government by a military aristocracy prevailed, and also by the zeal of a recent convert to Islam at the outrage above mentioned.† Wassaf tells us that when he was converted Ghazan sent word to the Egyptians as follows: "If my good

* Makrizi, ii. 124-125. D'Ohsson, iv. 224-226.
† D'Ohsson, iv. 206-208. Ilkhans, ii. 84-85. Abulfeda, v. 161.

fathers were the enemies of your country, it was because of the difference of faith. Do not entertain for the future any fear that you will be attacked by our victorious troops. May the merchants of both countries freely traverse each. Contrary to what has been hitherto, consider peace with us as the principle of your eternal prosperity. Be assured that all countries now owe us obedience, and particularly Egypt, where the throne has passed from kings to slaves, and where there is no longer any difference between masters and servants."* The last sentence of this message contains, in fact, the main justification of the new war. To put down the turbulent Mamluk dynasty might well be deemed worthy of a Mussulman prince, and having called together the imaums and ulemas, all of them declared in their fethvas that it was the duty of such a prince to repress violence exercised against the Faithful by truculent oppressors. Ghazan issued orders for an army to assemble in Diarbekr, and his generals dispersed in various directions to make preparations. Five of every ten men in the army were to march. Each man was to have five horses, to be fully equipped, and to take six months' provisions with him. Five thousand camels were set aside for carrying provisions. Ghazan fixed a safe place where his wives were to plant their ordus. The noyan Nurin was appointed to guard the frontier of Derbend and Mughan. Sadak Terkhan, the bravest officer in the army, was given charge of the frontiers of Fars and Kerman, as far as Ghazni and Seistan, while Rum and the troops there were committed to Apishka.† Wakhtang, King of Georgia, was called upon to march with his troops, while Beka furnished a contingent of cavalry.‡ Kutlugh Shah commanded the advance guard, and Ghazan himself marched with the main body called Sieg, consisting of three tumans, or 30,000 men. The Georgian history says of thirteen myriads. He set out from Tebriz in the autumn. Rashid says on the 16th of October, 1299, and Wassaf on the 22nd of November.§ He marched by the fort of Alinji to Meragha, and thence through Kurdistan to Irbil and Kieshaf, where the Arran-rud was crossed. At Diarbekr he was joined by the contingent from Rum under Bashgerd Behadur and Kierbuka, or Kertua Behadur. His wives accompanied him as far as Mosul. He reviewed his troops near Nisibin, and was there fêted by Nejm ud din, Sultan of Mardin, who did homage to him and supplied the army with provisions on the route to Reesain and the fort of Jaahuzad, where he crossed the Euphrates. Rashid says this took place on the 7th December. There he left a body of 10,000 men under Prince Balarghu, Mamai, and the Sultan of Mardin. He foresaw that the army

* D'Ohsson, iv. 227. Note. † *Id.*, 228-229. Ilkhans, ii. 85-86.
‡ Hist. de la Géorgie, i. 630.
§ Wassaf thus enumerates his chief officers: Kur Timur, Teremtar, Nakuldar, Habak, Doladai, Aktaji, Fenjaghatai, Taghar (son of Sutai), Badrangirai, Kutlughia, Belarghi, Yemish, Yusuf Buka, and the amirs Satilmish, Mirsadeh, Melai, Walid Dostai, Sultan Wejilar, Toka Timur, Kurmishi (son of Alinak), Tebbak, Ilbasmish, Chichak, Toghrulji, Beitas, and Yeman. Ilkhans, ii. 86. Note.

on its return would have some difficulty in recrossing the river, which would be swollen with the rains, and a great raft, supported by inflated skins and fastened to each bank by chains, was ordered to be made, the Sultan of Mardin taking charge of its construction. Having crossed the Euphrates, Ghazan reviewed his army, which was 90,000 strong. Kutlugh Shah and the amir Mulai set out with the advance guard, and three days later Ghazan himself arrived at Jil, near Aleppo, where a halt of two days took place. The people of Ram, Aintab, and Aleppo had largely deserted those towns on the news of the Mongol approach. It was determined not to stop to attack the citadel of Aleppo, but to pass it by and march on. Another parade of the troops was held. Ghazan inspected the ranks on foot, and noticing that he especially regarded the horses, the amir Choban suggested to his companions that each of them should present him with his best horse, which they accordingly did. The march now continued through a very fertile district, and the soldiers would have allowed their horses to feed on the corn, but Ghazan forbade it on pain of death, saying it was not right for horses to eat man's food. On reaching Jebles Sumak, a fortress of the Ismaelites situated near Harim, they captured a spy, who informed them that Bilban Tabbakhi, governor of Aleppo, with Kara Sonkor, governor of Hamath, had retreated and gone to join the Egyptian army at Hims. On reaching Zermin, a day's journey south of Aleppo, and famous for its olives, Mogoltai Ajaji, with a body of Kipchak's dependants, deserted. Maaret Naaman was found abandoned by its people. The citadel at Hamath, like that at Aleppo, was passed by, and they reached Salamiyet, east of the Orontes, a day's journey from Hamath. Here they met the first patrols of the enemy, who were posted in force at Hims (the ancient Emessa). The Sultan had sent Kertai, Kadlubek and other amirs to Syria, to make head against the invaders, and had himself set out from Cairo on the 22nd of September.* His turbulent amirs were at issue with one another, and when he reached Tel-el-Aajul, north of Gaza, disturbances broke out. The Uirats who had sought shelter in Egypt, as I described, aggrieved by the execution of some of their chiefs in the reign of Lachin, by the deposition and exile of Ketboga, their protector, and jealous of the supremacy of the Burji Mamluks, made a plot to murder the Sultan and his chief amirs, Bibars and Salar, who were leaders of the Burjis, and to restore Ketboga. The plot failed, but not till the conspirators had actually penetrated into the Sultan's tent. The Uirats were arrested, and fifty of them were strangled. They were led to execution in their turbans and dresses, a crier proclaiming in front of them: "See the just punishment of those who cause troubles among the Mussulmans, and who dare to attack their ruler." Four days later their corpses were taken down from

* D'Ohsson, iv. 229-230. Ilkhans, ii. 86-89.

the gibbets where they were exposed.* The Sultan now set out, by way of Ascalon and Karita, towards Damascus. While the army was encamped at the former place, a terrible flood of water destroyed the baggage, and reduced many of the troops to destitution. This calamity was followed by the appearance of great flights of locusts, and both were deemed evil portents for the coming struggle. The Sultan entered Damascus on the 3rd of December, where soon after the fugitives arrived from Aleppo, and the news also came that Ghazan was encamped on the Euphrates with a large army. Largess was distributed to the troops, each soldier receiving from thirty to forty dinars, but presage of defeat caused a general discouragement. The Sultan was joined by Asen Timur Karji, who governed the districts recently conquered from the Armenians, and who took the Armenian king and the taxes he had collected at Tel Hamdun with him. The army now set out for Hims, whence a number of Bedouin scouts were sent. The soldiers remained under arms for three days, and provisions began to fail.†

Let us now return again to Ghazan. We are told he made a special prayer of two rek'ats with his army to implore divine aid. Many of the horses had been disabled by their long march, a fact which, according to Haithon, had been communicated to the Sultan by the fugitive Kipchak.‡ The dismounted troopers called the Ilkhan's attention to their forlorn condition on the very eve of battle. He thereupon gave orders that they were all to fight on foot, urging that they could in this way by flights of arrows best meet the furious charges of the Mamluks, whose policy was to break their enemy's ranks mace and scimiter in hand. He set out from Salamiyet, and advanced to within a day's journey of the Egyptian army. Orders were issued to the troops to make ready, but as the Ilkhan did not wish to engage on a Thursday, which is an unlucky day, especially when, as on this occasion, the last Thursday in the month, it was determined to halt for a day near a stream that flowed by, and the troops dismounted and lay under their armour. Suddenly the scouts reported the approach of the enemy. Ghazan had only the centre with him, consisting of 9,000 men. He ranged it in order of battle, and called up the two wings which had remained behind, as the battle was not expected to take place so soon.§ The Egyptians were posted near the mausoleum of Khalid, son of Velid, at the foot of a hill which was known as the Hill of Victory, and where the Mongols had, on a former occasion, suffered a severe reverse at the hands of the Egyptians. Ghazan's commander, Kutlugh Shah, on the present occasion, boasted that they intended to convert the hill of victory for the enemy into one of defeat.‖ The centre of the Mongol army was commanded by Ghazan himself, with whom were the amirs Choban and Zerban; the

* Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 141-144. † *Id.*, 144-146. ‡ Op. cit., ch. xli.
§ D'Ohsson, iv. 233-234. ‖ Ilkhans, ii. 91.

right wing consisted of the tumans commanded by the amirs Mulai, Satilmish, and Kutlugh Shah; and the left those of the amirs Toghrilji, Ilbasmish, Chichek, Kurmishi (son of Alinak), and Kurbuka Behadur. Each of their divisions was posted one behind the other. Ghazan detached Sultan Yassaul with a tuman to turn the enemy's right wing, and make him abandon the Hill of Victory. The struggle then began. The battle-field was called Mojma ul Muruj (*i.e.*, junction of the meadows), now known as Wadi al Khazinadar (*i.e.*, valley of the treasures), and it lay between the Hill of Victory and a stream called Ab Barikh by the Persians and Narin su by the Mongols. Abulfeda says it was half a day's journey from Hims.* Wassaf says the Egyptians numbered about 40,000. Makrizi says twenty odd thousands. Novairi says 25,000, while he gives the Mongols 100,000. The amir Isa ibn Muhanna, with his Arabs, and Bilban Tabbakhi, naib of Aleppo, with the troops of that town and of Hamath, composed the right wing. The amir Bedr ud din Bektash, with a number of amirs, was on the right; while the centre was commanded by Bibars, Salar, and other chiefs, the Sultan's own Mamluks forming one of its wings. The young Sultan himself, with Hosam ud din Lachin, the ostadar, were posted some distance off in a place of safety. Five hundred picked Mamluks formed the advance guard. On the eve of the struggle the amir Bibars had a violent attack of diarrhœa, and left the battle-field in a litter. The amir Salar, with the hajib, the amirs, and the fakih inspected the men, the hajibs exhorting them to be firm, and causing many of them to weep. Meanwhile Ghazan's men stood still, he having ordered them not to move until he himself advanced, and then to charge altogether. The attack was begun by a body of Mamluks armed with javelins, whose heads contained naphtha (? stink pots). This was doubtless to throw the enemy's horse into confusion, but as he retained his ranks, and the intervening distance was considerable, the naphtha was extinguished. The Mamluks charged before Ghazan's men were fairly in order. As we have seen, he had ordered them to dismount, and forming a rampart with their horses, they threw a great flight of arrows into the advancing Egyptians. Suddenly there was heard the noise of the great Mongol war cymbals, which came from the right wing under Kutlugh Shah. Fancying this was the advance of the main army under Ghazan himself, the Egyptians turned thither, and charged with all their force. Kutlugh Shah's men, who were caught while re-mounting their horses, were overthrown, and 5,000 of them were put *hors de combat.* Kutlugh Shah himself, with some of his people, now joined Ghazan. The latter had caused the centre and left wing to advance, 10,000 archers on foot being in front. Their arrows caused great havoc among the Arab auxiliaries, who fled, and were

* Op. cit., v. 165.

followed by the men of Aleppo and Hamath. Eventually the whole of the Egyptian right wing was routed. The left wing, as we have seen, had been more fortunate. Ghazan was about to flee, but his courage was revived by the naib Kipchak, and having gathered his men around him, he charged the Egyptian centre, which broke. Salar, Bek Timur, the jukendar, Borlŏghi, and the other Burji amirs fled, and the Mongols pursued so closely that their arrows struck fire on the helmets of the fugitives. The young Sultan, who, as we have seen, had taken up his quarters a little distance off, wept, and addressed prayers to heaven. He had only a handful of Mamluks with him. Meanwhile, the Egyptian left wing, which had been successful, returned from its pursuit, and found the rest of the army broken. According to Novairi, the Egyptians had then only lost 1,000, while the Mongols had lost 14,000, which made Ghazan fear that the flight was a ruse, and he halted his people. Makrizi says this was a divine mercy, for if he had continued his pursuit the Egyptians would have perished to the last man. The battle had lasted from nine in the morning to two in the afternoon.*

Ghazan greatly distinguished himself in this battle, charging the enemy lance in rest, until his officers had to restrain him. The *Georgian Chronicle* tells us the struggle was so vigorous that Kutlugh Shah, seeing a great body of men attacking the Khan, planted himself before him with 1,000 horsemen, of whom 600 perished, and there only escaped 400, who beat off the Egyptians. He was supported by Choban (called Chophon Suldur by the chronicler) with 500 cavalry. Wakhtang and his Georgians also fought very bravely.† Abulfeda says the Sultan took refuge at Hims, but towards night his followers fled towards Egypt. They were pursued as far as Gaza, Kodsa, and Karak, and the Mongols captured great spoil.‡ Wassaf says Ghazan used his victory with moderation. He advanced slowly as far as a fersenkh from Hims, and at nightfall ordered the carnage to cease. The ground was covered with weapons, armour, &c. The Egyptians retired by way of Baalbek to Damascus. The Sultan himself went to Cairo. During the height of the struggle a body of 5,000 Bedouins appeared from the direction of the desert, and tried to take the Mongols in rear, but Ghazan, afraid that the same manœuvre might be practised upon him that overwhelmed Mangu Timur, had ordered Kur Buka with the rear guard to keep watch in that direction. When he saw the Arabs approaching, he charged and broke them.

After the battle Apishka arrived from Rum with the King of Cilicia, who brought 5,000 troops. This king was Haithon II. I have described how he had been blinded by order of Ghazan, and how his brother Constantine mounted the throne. The blinding was apparently very clumsily done,

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* Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 147-149. Haithon, 62-63. D'Ohsson, 236-237. Ilkhans, ii. 92-93. Weil, iv. 228-229.

† Op. cit., 631. ‡ Op. cit., v. 165.

for we are told Haithon recovered his sight, and was replaced on the throne for the third time by the Armenian barons. Constantine, whom this movement dispossessed, proposed releasing his other brother and predecessor, Sempad, from prison, and creating troubles, but they were both seized and sent to Constantinople, where they remained till their death.* Abulfeda says it was Constantine who released Haithon from prison, and describes the latter's conduct as ungrateful.†

The Egyptian fugitives fled to Damascus, where the citizens were more or less panic-stricken and joined them in their flight, and many of them were plundered by the predatory Ashir and the Arabs. Makrizi tells us among those who perished were the amir Kert, naib of Tarabolos, or Tripoli; the amir Nasir ud din Muhammed, son of the amir Ai-Timur Halebi; Malian Takwi, one of the amirs of Tripoli; Bibars Gatmi, naib of the citadel of Markab; Uzbek, naib of Balatonos; Bilik Taiar, one of the amirs of Damascus, and about 1,000 Mamluks. The chief judge, Kadhi Alkodat, Hosam ud din Hasan, Kadhi of the Hanefis of Damascus; and the secretary (*muwakhi*), Imad ud din Ismael. According to the Egyptian authorities, the Tartars lost 14,000 men in the battle.‡ The *Georgian Chronicle* says the fugitives were pursued as far as the holy city of Jerusalem, where many Christians and Persians were killed.§

Ghazan having pitched his camp near Hims ("in quodam loco, qui vocatur Cametum," says Haithon‖), received the congratulations of his generals, and distributed rewards amongst those who had distinguished themselves. Wassaf himself wrote the letter in which the victory was announced to the principal places in the empire. His own inflated statement is that Wassaf "decorated the robe of this royal letter with the border of good deeds and acts which form the subject matter of this fortunate news."¶ The governor of Hims presented Ghazan with the keys of that town, where the Sultan had deposited his treasure, and where the baggage of his army was stored. Ghazan distributed these among his officers, dressing several of them in the robes of the Sultan Nasir. The chronicler Haithon, who praises Ghazan, hyperbolically tells us he was an eye witness of his generosity on this occasion, and that the Ilkhan only reserved to himself a sword, and a sack containing all the title deeds of the kingdom of Egypt, and the muster roll of its armies.**

The news of the Sultan's defeat caused great excitement at Damascus. Women went about the streets unveiled, with children in their arms; men abandoned their shops and goods to escape from the place, and the crush was so great that many were smothered at the gates. Some fled to the mountains and villages, but the greater number went to Egypt. People became more reassured when it was known that the Khan was a

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* D'Ohsson, iv. 238-239. † Abulfeda, v. 173.
‡ Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 149-150. D'Ohsson, iv. 239. § Op. cit., 631. ‖ Op. cit., 63.
¶ D'Ohsson, iv. 240. Note. ** Haithon, 6, D'Ohsson, iv. 241. Note.

Mussulman, and that the greater part of his troops professed the same faith; that they had treated the fugitives kindly and had not put them to death, but had been content to deprive them of their horses and weapons, and then let them go free. Presently the fugitive soldiers began to arrive, and changed their costume to avoid being insulted by the people. Some of them went to the length of cutting off their hair, and only remained long enough at Damascus to secure their wives and such property as they could hastily move, and then went on towards Egypt, many of them being pillaged *en route* by the Bedouins. There were no longer any police in the place, and one night the prisoners set fire to a door of the prison, and escaped, to the number of 150; and bands of robbers pillaged the houses. The people who remained in the place collected before the great mosque, and agreed to send a deputation to Ghazan. The chief judges of the sects, Shafiyi and Maliki, the prefect of the town and the district, the prefect of police, and a great number of notables, doctors of the law, and readers of the Koran accordingly set out as a deputation to Ghazan to a place named En Nebek (Makrizi says Nebl). They encountered him while on the march, and dismounted, and many of them kissed the ground. Ghazan halted, his Mongols dismounted, and meanwhile the interpreter, Fakhr ud din ibn Es Shirji, arrived. They asked his clemency for the people of Damascus. He replied, "What you have come to ask has already been granted," but he would not accept the food which they offered. Ghazan had already granted protection to the citizens on the request of one called El Sherif el Gatémi, who had gone to him with three other inhabitants of Damascus before the grand deputation. El Gatémi arrived there on the 31st of December armed with the Khan's orders, and accompanied by four Mongols. The grand deputation did not return till later. They arrived on the Friday afternoon after the hour of prayer, and, we are told, on this Friday there was no prayer made for the Sovereign. On the 2nd of January, 1300, an officer named Ismail entered the city with a detachment of Mongols, went to the mosque of the Ommiades, where the people had been convoked, and had the following edict read from the pulpit by one of his companions:—

"By the power of God. Let it be known to the chiefs of tumans, of thousands, of hundreds, and to all our victorious troops, Mongols, Tajiks, Armenians, Georgians, and others subject to our rule, that God when he enlightened our hearts with the light of Islam, and guided us towards the religion of the Prophet (on whom rest the most excellent blessings of God and of peace), it was in these celestial words: *He whose heart* God has opened to the light of Islamism *follows* the light of the Lord. *Cursed are those whose hearts are hardened against the divine will. They are in manifest error.** When we learnt that those who ruled over Egypt

* Koran.

and Syria had abandoned the path of religion, that they did not obey the precepts of Islam, that they broke their promises, were perjured, without faith and law. That there was no order among them, and that each of them on attaining power *sought only how to satisfy his evil desires, destroying the seed* (of plants) *and the fertility of animals. God loves not disorder.** That their acts spread terror among the people, that they laid hostile hands on the women and property of their subjects, that they abandoned the path of justice and equity to follow that of violence and oppression. Therefore we were compelled by our zeal for the Faith to march against these countries with a numerous army in order to put a stop to these evils. And we have vowed if God enables us to conquer these lands to stop such misdeeds, and to spread over all the blessings of justice and benevolence, conformably to the divine commands which declare that *God enjoins justice, kindness, and liberality towards one's relatives. He forbids crimes and ill-deeds. He exhorts you in order that you may take good heed.*† In accordance with the announcement of the Prophet (may God be propitious to him and grant him peace), *The just shall sit on thrones of light on the right hand of God, and his two hands will aid those who follow justice in their dealings with their relatives and subjects.*‡

"As it is our intention to attain this laudable aim and to accomplish our vow, God has granted us a signal victory, and has heaped his benevolence upon us. We have defeated an audacious enemy and unjust legions. We have dispersed them as error vanishes before the truth, for error must needs perish. Our heart has consequently been still more opened to receive the Faith, fortified by the truth of the precepts given *to those to whom God has granted the love of the Faith, whose hearts he has inspired with its charms, in whom he has inculcated a horror for unbelief, wickedness, and rebellion. Such march in the right way by the grace of God.*§

"Under an obligation to observe these firm resolves and this sacred vow, we have forbidden everyone in our army, to whatever class he may belong, to do any harm to the city or territory of Damascus, or to the towns of Syria subject to Islam; to refrain from touching the persons, harems, or goods of the inhabitants, and from prowling about their houses, so that they may in perfect security follow their employments of merchants, agriculturists, &c. Among the crowds of our warriors, some having been found who, notwithstanding our prohibition, have dared to pillage and to reduce the people to slavery, we have had them put to death as an example to the rest of what they may expect; and as a proof that we mean this to be carried out rigidly, we also forbid them to molest those of other faiths—Jews, Christian, or Sabæans, *For they pay tribute, so that their goods may be as our goods, their blood like our blood.*‖

* Koran, c. ii. † Koran, c. xvi. v. 92. ‡ Koran. § Koran, c. xliv. v. 7. ‖ Koran.

"Rulers owe protection to their tributaries as they do to their Mussulman subjects, as the Prophet says. The Imam placed over men is in the position of a shepherd; and a shepherd has to give account for his sheep. The kadhis, khatibs (preachers), sheikhs, doctors of the law, sherifs, lords, notables, and all our subjects in general are invited to rejoice in our glorious victory, and to address their prayers to God with cheerfulness for the strengthening of our power."

The document is dated the 30th of December, 1299.* The proclamation somewhat calmed the people in the town. Meanwhile, however, Alem ud din Sinjar Arjevash, who commanded the citadel, closed its gates and determined to defend it. On the 5th of January the amir Ismail, who had taken command of the place, ordered the ulemas, sheikhs, and magistrates to press him to surrender it, as the Mongols would otherwise sack the town. His reply was to cover them with imprecations, and to tell them that he had received news by pigeon-post that the Sultan had defeated his pursuers, had rallied his men at Gaza, and would speedily arrive at the head of the army. The amirs Kipchak, Beg Timur, Elbegui, and Azis, who had accompanied Ghazan and assisted at the battle of Hims, entered the city the following day, and also pressed their old companion to surrender, but it was without effect; as was a summons signed by the chief of the sheikhs, by a Mongol general, who styled himself Ghazan's foster brother, and by Kipchak.† The same day Ghazan himself encamped at Merj Rakith, the eastern part of the district of Guttat, often cited by Orientalists as a second paradise, from its wonderful trees, gardens, vineyards, &c. The principal people of Damascus went there to do him homage. Ghazan was never weary of expressing his contempt for the parvenu ruler of Egypt. He now asked his visitors who he himself was. They replied, "Shah Ghazan Khan, son of Arghun Khan, son of Abaka Khan, son of Khulagu Khan, son of Tului Khan, son of Jingis Khan." He asked who then was the father of Nasir, the Egyptian Sultan. They replied, "Kelavun, son of Elfi." "And who was Elfi?" They confessed he had been a slave, bought with a thousand ducats, whose father was unknown. "Your living ones are good for nothing," was the reply, "but your dead (*i.e.*, the famous and holy men buried at Damascus) are indeed worthy, and for their sakes I granted you pardon." Ghazan now entered the city, and went to visit the Meidan ul hassa. He was charmed with the place, and to preserve it from harm he closed seven of its gates and placed a guard at the eighth, viz., the Gate of Baghdad. Jemchi and Tulka Bakhshi were given charge of it, but having failed in their duty they were bastinadoed, and replaced by Jihurgutai. Ghazan forbade the troops to enter the gardens in the environs. On Friday, the 8th of January, the khutbeh was said in Ghazan's name. In it he was styled

* Novairi, &c., Quatremere's notes to Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 151-154. D'Ohsson, iv. 245-249.
† Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 155. D'Ohsson, iv. 249-250.

"Our Lord, the Great Sultan, the Sultan of Islam and of the Mussulmans, the victorious Mahmud Ghazan." After the divine service, Kipchak and Ismail mounted the gallery, whence the muezzin was sounded, and an ordinance was publicly read, constituting Kipchak governor of Syria and authorising him to appoint prefects, judicial and ecclesiastical officers. The text of this proclamation is extant, and after reciting the usual pious and other phrases, goes on to say that Ghazan, after mature consideration, had appointed, as most fit for the post, the naib Saif ud din Kipchak, distinguished by his noble qualities, and uniting in his person every excellent title, who had been driven into exile and had sought shelter at his stirrup. He had conferred on him the august rank of Naib Assallanah (viceroy), and put under his authority the provinces of Damascus, Aleppo, Hamath, Shaizar, Antioch, and Bagras, with all the fortresses, the province adjoining the Euphrates, Kalaat ur Rum, Behesna, as well as all their dependencies, where he was to have absolute authority, taking counsel in his appointments and acts with the king of amirs and of viziers, Nasir ud din. He had conferred on the Naib a sword, an august standard, a drum, and a paizah marked with a lion's head; and all the amirs, commandants, the amirs of the Arabs, Turkomans, and Kurds, the officers of the chancellery, the sadrs, and all others were to take heed of the power thus conferred on him, and to be subordinate to him, their fortune depending on gaining his goodwill and approval, and paying him all due respect and honour. He, on the other hand, was to have the fear of God before him in his decisions; to hold a strong hand over his subordinates, so that they might duly fulfil their duties; was to see the decisions of the judges carried out, to strengthen the hand of justice, and punish the evil-doers, &c.* This appointment was a very popular one. The proclamation was accompanied by the usual shower of dinars and dirhems over the crowd. The finance officers and other civil officials were for the most part retained in their posts. Ghazan's generals demanded to be allowed to pillage the place, on the ground that the citadel had not surrendered. He peremptorily refused, and forbade any soldier to enter the town unless armed with a proper passport issued by the Divan; but the inhabitants were called upon to pay a sum of 100 gold tumans, or a million of dinars. One MS. says 3,600,000 dinars, besides all the sumpter beasts in the city, weapons, and many costly stuffs, &c.†

Notwithstanding Ghazan's orders, his troops could not be restrained, especially the Armenians and Georgians, and we are told how they pillaged Salihiyat, at the foot of Mount Kassiun, an hour's journey from Damascus, whose environs were famous for their gardens and country houses. They plundered even the carpets and the lamps in the

* Quatremere's notes to Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 156-159. Notes. Ilkhans, ii. 94.
† Weil, iv. 233. Note.

mosques, the sepulchral chapels, and colleges. They burnt some of the buildings, and dug up corpses in search of treasure, and many of the inhabitants were killed or reduced to slavery, numbering, it was said, as many as 9,900. The town was thus ruined. This devastation was attributed to the King of Cilicia, who thus sought to avenge the cruel raids of the Egyptians upon his country. He intended laying waste Damascus, but Kipchak opposed, and gave up to him instead Salihiyat. The towns of Mezzat and Daria were also laid waste. The Sheikh Taki ud din, son of Timiah, went to complain to Ghazan, who was then at Tel Rahet, but he could not get an audience, as he was drunk. Another account says he was dissuaded from speaking to the Ilkhan himself, since the latter would certainly order some of the evil-doers to be put to death, and thus arouse the animosity of the chiefs against the people of Damascus. He accordingly appealed to the Vizier, Said ud din, and to his colleague, the historian, Rashid ud din, who replied that as some of the Mongol generals had not shared in the prize money it was necessary they should be rewarded in some way, and ordered a further contribution and the release of the prisoners. This fresh tax was distributed among the various corporations or guilds of citizens, each class being placed under a Mongol officer, who, to exact payment, did not scruple to torture and maltreat the people. The price of everything rose very greatly ; wheat was sold at 360 dirhems the ghirárah, and barley at 180. A *rotl* of bread cost 2 dirhems, of meat 12, of cheese 12, of oil 9 ; four eggs cost a dirhem. The girdle makers' bazaar had to pay 130,000 dirhems, the lace makers 100,000, and the copper smiths 60,000. The principal inhabitants had to pay 400,000 dirhems. Massacre and pillage prevailed throughout the city, and the number of soldiers and civilians who perished is said to have reached 100,000. Kemal ud din ibn Kemal ud din ibn Kadhi Shohbah wrote on this occasion : "The vicissitudes of fortune have let loose seven scourges upon us, and no one can protect us from their assaults—famine, Ghazan, war, pillage, perfidy, apathy, and a continual grief."*

Such was the terrible penalty of being defeated by the Mongols, even after they had become Mussulmans. We are told that the result was that 3,600,000 dirhems were poured into Ghazan's treasury, exclusive of the arms, rich stuffs, sumpter beasts, and grain, and of all which the Tartars had pillaged. Every day 400 ghirárahs were sent to them by the eastern gate. Ghazan had ordered that the horses and camels were to be impounded. More than 20,000 were accordingly seized. Istabal, son of the famous astronomer, Nasir ud din of Tus, who was inspector of the wakfs, or charitable foundations, appropriated 200,000 dirhems. Kipchak and the other amirs were also liberally rewarded, while a daily contribution was exacted for Ghazan's own expenses.† Ghazan had

* Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 160-161. † *Id.*, 162.

vowed before the battle to present golden lamps, turbans, and carpets to the mausoleum of Seif ud din Khalid, son of Velid, the famous Arab general who gained a signal victory over the Emperor Heraclius. This vow he fulfilled. He assigned the revenues of several villages near Damascus to the support of Abraham's tomb at Hebron. The Egyptian Sultans had employed the revenues of the wakfs, consecrated to the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina, in paying the escort of the pilgrims' caravan to Mecca, authorising this mode of spending the money by a special fethva. Ghazan deemed this assignation illegal, and devoted it to its primitive purpose. This statement of Rashid's probably explains what Makrizi says about Istabal appropriating 200,000 of the revenues of the wakfs at Damascus.* After the battle of Hims the King of Cilicia and the amir Molai were sent in pursuit of the Egyptian Sultan, who fled along the coast road. The former was recalled to Damascus by Ghazan, but Molai continued his pursuit with 15,000 horsemen, or, as Haithon says, with 40,000. He had advanced as far as Gaza, killing the Egyptian soldiers he met *en route*, and ravaging the country. Many of the fugitives, we are told by Haithon, who found their way to Tripoli in Mount Lebanon, which was inhabited by Christians, were cruelly put to death there. Having heard that he had entered the desert with 2,000 or 3,000 horsemen (Haithon says he reached Babylon escorted by Bedouins), he retraced his steps.†

Ghazan now determined to retire. According to the more unprejudiced testimony of Haithon, his retreat was caused by the invasion of his eastern borders by the Jagatai Mongols, to which we shall presently refer. His own historians attribute his withdrawal to the approaching heats of summer, which is rather ridiculous, as it was only February.‡ Before setting out he nominated Kutlugh Shah commander-in-chief in Syria. Molai, with a tuman, was appointed governor of Gaza, and subordinated to Kutlugh Shah. Kipchak, as we have seen, was appointed naib of Damascus, a province which extended as far as Hims; Bektimur Shami, naib of northern Syria, *i.e.*, of Aleppo, Hamath, Aintab, and the mountains of Sumak, Biret, and Rahbet. Albegui was set over middle Syria, which included Tripoli and Akka, Salamiyat and Maaret naaman. Each of these officers had a contingent of Mongol troops with him. Malik Nasir ud din Yahya, son of Jelal ud din Toridi, was appointed head of the finances.§ Haithon says that Ghazan, before leaving Syria, summoned the King of Armenia and told him he would make over the places he had conquered to the Christians if they would come and occupy them (*i.e.*, to the Crusaders), and he ordered Kutlugh Shah to supply them with funds to rebuild them.‖ Ghazan raised his camp on the 4th of February, and

* D'Ohsson, iv. 255. † Haithon, ch. xlii. D'Ohsson, iv. 257-258.
‡ Haithon, ch. xliii. D'Ohsson, iv. 256.
§ Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 162. Ilkhans, ii. 95. D'Ohsson, iv. 256. Note 1. ‖ Op. cit., ch. xliii.

recrossed the Euphrates on the 16th, at the fortress of Jaaber, by a floating raft made of bark, fastened with ropes, which was his own invention.* Before we follow him we will conclude the adventures of his officers in Syria, which ended by no means so fortunately as they had begun.

Soon after he retired, the Mongols ordered the inmates to leave the college Adeliah, at Damascus. They stripped each one as he came out, and then entered the place, broke open the doors, pillaged it, and proceeded with their robberies in other parts of the city. Many houses and colleges were burnt, among which were the Dar alhadith (house of traditions) Ashrafiah, and all its appurtenances ; the Dar alhadith Nuriah, the little college of Adeliah and all about it, the college Kameriah and its environs, as far as the Dar assaat (house of happiness) and the Maristan (hospital) Nuri, and from Dimaghăat to the gate of Ferej.† We have seen how the citadel at Damascus held out under Arjevash. (Abulfeda calls the governor Saif ud din Argovani Mansuria.‡) The Mongols ordered the quarters of the city nearest to the citadel to be evacuated, and used the roofs of the houses as a vantage whence to shoot their arrows. Thereupon Arjevash set fire to them, and the conflagration consumed many public buildings, colleges, &c., including, according to Abulfeda, the Dar as Sadaat, where the sultans of Egypt were accustomed to lodge when in Syria. A skilled engineer, named Hazrawi, was employed to make catapults, a large one being erected on the roof of the Great Mosque of the Ommiades. Arjevash saw that he would have to converge his weapons upon this structure, and that the famous mosque might in consequence be destroyed. He accordingly sent some of his people, whose religious zeal made them face any danger, and who went and sawed in pieces the beams which had been got together for the catapult. The engineer re-commenced his work protected by a guard of Mongol soldiers, who were posted in the mosque and committed all kinds of debauchery there, so that the evening prayer was omitted on several days. They also pillaged the bazaar close by. Arjevash having set a price of 1,000 ducats on the engineer's head, a Shia penetrated into the mosque, struck him with his sword, and killed him. He had some companions with him who were prepared to fall upon the Mongol guard, but it dispersed, and the bold author of the deed succeeded in escaping with his victim's head to the citadel.§

When Ghazan left Damascus, Kipchak was left behind as nominal ruler, but the real one was Kutlugh Shah, who was in command of the Mongol contingent, and we are told how the very day the Ilkhan left the place the Mongols plundered the citizens of a larger sum than the ransom they had recently paid. Ten days later Kutlugh Shah withdrew

* D'Ohsson, iv. 257. † Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 163. ‡ Op. cit., v. 165.
§ Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 160. Ilkhans, ii. 95-96. D'Ohsson, iv. 258-259.

from Damascus, and Kipchak drew from the inhabitants a considerable sum as a parting gift. Haithon says he was recalled by Ghazan; Makrizi that he was persuaded by Kipchak and Bektimur to take up his residence at Aleppo. He left Molai in charge of the Mongols in Syria. Kipchak now took up his residence in the Kasr Ablak (*i.e.*, the White Castle), and sent criers round inviting people to return to their homes. The bazaars and gates were again thrown open, and to inspire confidence he ordered a number of soldiers to promenade the town with an itinerant wine shop, and the consequence was that drunkenness and indecency greatly prevailed. Meanwhile the Mongols ravaged the districts of Gaur, and penetrated as far as Jerusalem in one direction and beyond Gaza in another. They killed fifteen people in the great mosque of the latter town. They also visited Baalbek and Al Bakaa, whence, on hearing that the Sultan Nasir was about to march from Egypt at the head of a fresh army, they withdrew again towards Persia,* and Syria was once more free from the Mongols.

After his defeat, the Sultan had retired, as we have seen, with but two amirs and a few followers. He re-entered Cairo on the 12th of January. Fugitives from the battle came thither in small parties, and in great distress, some of them having not only lost their weapons and uniforms, but also shaved their hair and beards. They were insulted by the people, who jeered at them for having fled before the Tartars. A funeral service for those who had perished was performed, and preparations were immediately begun to avenge them. Artisans were collected from all sides to manufacture arms. The Vizier made a requisition of money to pay the expenses of a new campaign. Orders were sent to the various provinces to send horses, dromedaries, lances, and swords. Horses and mules which were working the mills were impounded, a handsome price being paid for them. A horse worth 300 dirhems in ordinary times now rose to a thousand. The price of arms rose seventy or even a hundred fold. Soldiers were ordered to rejoin their ranks, and the pay of those who had perished was duly paid. Each commander of 1,000 men was assigned ten licensed soldiers (*soldats licenciés?*), for whom he was to provide; each amir of tabl khanah was to furnish five, and each amir of ten two. Many of the amirs raised bodies of volunteers. Mejd ud din Isa ibn Alhabbab, naib (substitute) of the Mohteṣib, was told to obtain from the fakihs a fethva, or order, authorising an extraordinary levy of money. A canonical decision of the Sheikh Iz ud din abd Esselam was produced, imposing a tax of a dinar on each individual. The Sheikh Taki ud din refused to concur in the fethva, and declared that the decision of Iz ud din had only been given after the military chiefs had surrendered all they possessed in gold and silver, the jewels of their wives

* Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 163-164. Haithon, ch. xliii. D'Ohsson, iv. 260. Weil, iv. 234.

and children, and when each one had sworn that he had nothing more, and that the sum collected was still insufficient. "But we know," said the exacting sheikh, "that now the amirs have plenty of money, that they can give their daughters strings of pearls and jewels, that the shoes of their wives are garnished with gems, while their wash-hand basins are made of silver." As the obdurate authority refused to concur, a requisition was made on the merchants and traders, and by these exertions a fresh army was on foot in the beginning of February. The various towns of Egypt were crowded with soldiers who came from different parts of Syria. The houses were too small to hold them. They encamped in the Karafah, about the mosque of Ibn Tulun, and at the extremity of the quarter Hosainiah. Meanwhile the price of provisions remained very moderate.* The Sultan dispatched express posts to the governors of the various fortresses of Syria announcing to them his speedy march, and bidding them hold on bravely. Ghazan had summoned them to surrender by special firmans, headed "By the divine power, and under the auspices of the Muhammedan faith," but his acts were contrary to his words, says Novairi, for he permitted the excesses of the Armenians and others.†

News now reached Egypt that Ghazan had retired, and that Kipchak had been left in charge there. This news was very welcome. The Sultan wrote to Kipchak, to Bek Timur, to El Begui, and other officers who had joined the enemy, asking them to return to their allegiance. They replied that they were prepared to do so, and Kipchak, with all the people of his suite, accordingly set out for Cairo. This was in the middle of April. The Tartars were naturally greatly alarmed, for the hot season was close at hand when they could neither fight nor expect succour. We have seen how Molai withdrew with his men beyond the Euphrates. Arjevash, who had held the citadel of Damascus so bravely, came out and occupied the town itself on the 8th of April, the name of the Sultan was again inserted in the public prayer, after having been erased from it for 100 days, and the wine shops, &c., were again repressed. An order had been issued at Cairo that the army was about to march, and that whoever remained behind would be strangled. The price of the dinar, which had formerly been 25½ dirhems, and in the recent cheapness of money had fallen to 17, was fixed at 20.

The Sultan set out on the 31st of March, and halted at Salihiyet, whence his lieutenant Salar and some other grandees set out for Damascus. Between Gaza and Askalon they met Kipchak and his *cortège*, a meeting which must have been singularly embarrassing. Makrizi says both parties dismounted and shed tears, and that the visitors were received with every attention, and sent on to the Sultan. Ibn Tagri Berdi, on the other hand, says they were received with bitter reproaches,

* Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 165-167. D'Ohsson, iv. 260-262.
† D'Ohsson, iv. 259-260 and 262-263.

for the ills they had brought on their country. They pleaded that they were obliged to fly from the destruction which awaited them at the hands of Lachin and his Mamluk, Mangu Timur, and that when they heard of Lachin's death they would have returned, but were unable to do so. They went on to Salihiyet, where the Sultan heaped fresh reproaches upon them and then pardoned them. The army went to Damascus, where Arjevash had taken charge of the treasury on behalf of the Sultan, and closed the wine shops which Kipchak had opened and farmed out for 1,000 dirhems daily. Akhush al Afram, who was appointed governor of the city, laid a heavy hand on those who had acted as Mongol agents. Some were crucified, others hanged, others again had their hands, feet, or tongues cut off, or were deprived of their eyes. A special civic guard was organised for the protection of the city, from which no one could claim exemption. The sheikhs of the Druse tribes from the mountains Kesrovan, who had plundered the fugitive Egyptians, were sent for, and compelled to make restitution. A division was sent to occupy Aleppo, and put to the sword the Mongols who were found there. Kara Sonkor was nominated governor of that town, and replaced at Hamath by the *ci devant* Sultan Ketboga. Tripoli was made over to Kadlubeg Almansuri, Safed to Saif ud din, Kerai and Karak to Jemal ud din Akush Alashrafi. Kipchak was made commandant of El Shaubek, Arjevash was rewarded with a robe of honour and a present of 6,000 dirhems, Bek Timur was given 100 Mamluks and set over a regiment of 1,000 men, and El Begui was given 100 Mamluks. The Mongols had been altogether masters of Syria for 100 days, and during that time the khutbeh, or Friday prayer, had been said in the name of Ghazan there. Damascus was ruined. A large part of its wealth passed into Egypt, but that country was already so prosperous that it was hardly affected by this accession.* Abulfeda tells us that one effect of the campaign was that the Egyptians lost a number of towns which they had conquered some years before from the Armenians. Among these were Hamus, Tel Hamdun, Kubara, Saifandkar, and the various towns south of the Jihan, except Hagr Shaglan.†

While Ghazan was invading Syria, Fars was devastated by an incursion made by the Mongols of Jagatai from beyond the Oxus, which I shall describe in a later chapter. We are told that the year 698 of the hejira (*i.e.*, 1299) was a particularly unlucky year, and had been foretold to be so by the astrologers, since the two stars of ill omen, Mars and Saturn, were in very unfortunate conjunction. Wassaf, who explains this conjunction at some length, points out, first, the dearth of water, and then the famine which prevailed widely over the country, the Oxus, Tigris, Euphrates, and Nile all running short in their supply of water. This was

* D'Ohsson, iv. 263-267. Weil, iv. 236. † V. 173.

followed by the black and the red death, from which more than 50,000 died at Shiraz alone. Many learned men fell victims to the pestilence, the most celebrated among them being Ahmed ibn Abi Ghazan, and the father of Wassaf. The following year was just as fortunate, so that the corn which the year before cost thirty gold pieces fell to six. This was counterbalanced at Shiraz, however, by the exactions of the officials, which now passed all bounds. First came commissaries to inquire into and punish the conduct of the controllers of the granaries; next, overseers of the coin, to fix the correct standard; then the publishers of the tax papers in the mosques and baths; then those who were sent to call in the weapons of all kinds from those who were not Mongols, so that the craft of armourer, for which Fars was anciently and still is famous, was almost suppressed; and, lastly, the exactors of the arrears of taxes. Some of the grandees of Shiraz went to the Court. The general overseer of the taxes of Islam, Jemal ud din, had guaranteed taxes to the amount of 283 tumans during the years 697 and 698. They offered to increase it by 22 tumans, and in addition to pay 17 tumans of the arrears of the year 696. Said ud din, the Negro or the Moor, received the commission of the tax collector in Fars, and was given a golden paizah, while Jelal ud din Kurdestani was ordered to make a new survey of the land and a new distribution of the taxes. The grossest tyranny and oppression prevailed, and Wassaf has piled up the rhetoric of which he is a master in denouncing the evils of the times.*

On his return from Syria, Ghazan devoted himself for a while to the arts of peace. Having arrived at Meragha early in June he paid a visit to the famous observatory there, where he examined the instruments and had their use explained to him. He expressed his intention of building a fresh observatory near Tebriz, and described the instruments he wished to put in it, several of which we are told were of his own design. From Meragha he went to Aujan, where he summoned a kuriltai. It lasted for five weeks, on the conclusion of which his son Alju died, and was taken for burial to Tebriz.† Ghazan himself repaired to Tebriz, where he superintended the erection of the various buildings which he had ordered, among which the principal one was his own tomb. These will be described in a subsequent note. He made over considerable charitable foundations (wakfs) to supply these institutions with furniture, such as carpets, perfumes, lights, wood, &c., and also the various expenses necessary for conducting them. There were also special endowments, one for an entertainment to be given on the anniversary of the founder's death, to the employés, as well as to the Imaums and other considerable people who went there from Tebriz, and who in return undertook to read the Koran there. Other sums of money were dis-

* Ilkhans, ii. 101-104. † D'Ohsson, iv. 271. Ilkhans, ii. 98.

tributed in alms. Moneys were assigned for buying sweets for the officials of the mosque, the monastery, and the colleges; for the keep of 100 young boys, who were to be circumcised, and were to learn the Koran by heart; they were committed to five tutors, five guardians, and five women; others again for the care of foundlings, and the expense of bringing them up to manhood; others for the burial of strangers who died at Tebriz without leaving anything to pay for their funerals; to buy corn and millet to place on the roofs during the six months of winter for the birds to eat, and the founder cursed anyone who should hurt these birds or take them. Money was also left to supply 500 poor widows with cotton to spin, and to replace the vessels which the slaves of either sex should have the misfortune to break when carrying water; a trusty man was appointed at Tebriz to superintend this last curious charity. Money was also left for clearing the roads of stones and for making bridges over the brooks for eight fersenkhs round the capital. Ghazan set aside a portion of the royal domain for the endowment of these charities, after it had been declared legitimate to do so by a judicial decision of the muftis, the kadhis, and the chief ulemas. Seven copies of the deed of gift, all attested by the judge, were made. One was intrusted to the general administrator of the establishments, another was deposited in the Kaaba (*i.e.*, the famous holy temple at Mekka), a third in the archives at Tebriz, a fourth in the tribunal at Baghdad, &c. Every kadhi, on entering office, was to confirm this document, and to attach his seal to it. Ghazan appointed the Khoja Rashid ud din, the famous historian, whom he raised to the rank of vizier, to superintend these charities, which, according to Wassaf, had a revenue of more than 100 tumans (*i.e.*, of a million gold pieces). About these pious foundations, which were surrounded by gardens, there presently arose a town even larger than Tebriz, which was called Ghazania. Near each of the gates of this town there was built, by order of the Ilkhan, a caravanserai, a market, and baths. Thus merchants, from whatever quarter they came, found their conveniences ready before entering the town, and the Customs officers inspected their goods there. Ghazan had brought to Tebriz various kinds of fruit trees which had not hitherto been seen there. The old wall of the town was small, and was girt about outside with houses and gardens. It was now inclosed with a new wall, four fersenkhs and a-half in circuit and ten guez (cubits) in thickness. This was paid for out of his own privy purse, so that the people's attention should not be diverted from the benefits that would accrue to them by contemplating merely the cost. Ghazan's views in the matter were enlightened, and his motive in the change was largely to make the place more healthy, for, as he said, nothing is more unhealthy than narrow streets and high houses. Rashid tells us the town increased, by taking in the environs, from 6,000 to 25,000 kulajis in circuit, and the new wall enclosed the two hills known as Valian and Sinjan. The quarter of the

Mount Valian (Valian kuh) was built by the Vizier Rashid ud din, and was called Raba Rashidi.* Ghazan also built markets and baths at Aujan, which was eight fersenkhs from Tebriz, where he passed the spring. There also arose summer-houses, gardens, &c. He surrounded Shiraz with a high wall and a deep ditch. In the district of Halla he constructed a canal to convey water from the Euphrates to the tomb of Hussein, and to irrigate the dry and desert plain of Kerbela. The environs of the tomb now became very fertile, and produced more than 100,000 tughars of grain, better than that of the province of Baghdad. Orders were given to distribute annually a certain quantity of corn to the poor Seyids who lived about the tomb. The canal there was known as the higher canal of Ghazan, to distinguish it from another which irrigated the neighbourhood of the tomb of the Seyid Abul Véfa. Hunting one day near the latter tomb, he could find no water for his horses, and remarked that the wild asses and deer were thin in consequence of the want of water and pasture. He ordered a canal to be made, therefore, which was known as the lower canal of Ghazan. A third was made on the eastern verge of the desert, and was called simply the canal of Ghazan. The product of the land fertilised by these canals was devoted partly to keeping up the tomb of Abul Véfa, and partly to the endowment of the foundations at Shenb. To protect the environs of the tomb of Abul Véfa from pillage, he had them surrounded by a wall. Baths and other buildings were also erected there, and there arose in the midst of the desert a town surrounded by gardens and cultivated fields. The example of Ghazan was followed by his Mongol subjects—by those, says Rashid, who formerly were wont to destroy and not to build, so that the price of houses and gardens increased tenfold. There were many villages in the empire in which there were neither mosques nor baths, so that the people could neither worship properly nor perform the prescribed ablutions. An edict was issued ordering this need to be supplied, which was carried out in the course of two years. The receipts of the baths were devoted to the service of the mosques and the relief of the local rates. Mirkhavend reports that the commissioners who were intrusted with supplying them caused fresh exactions, especially in the province of Fars.

Ghazan wished that in all the large towns, such as Tebriz, Ispahan, Shiraz, Baghdad, &c., houses should be built for the accommodation of the descendants of Ali, under the name of Dar us Siyadet, and he also assigned endowments for their entertainment. It was reported that Muhammed had twice appeared to him in dreams, accompanied by Ali and his two sons Hasan and Husein, whom he presented to him, telling him to treat them as his brothers, and ordered him to embrace them.

* D'Ohsson, iv. 272-277. Quatremere, xvii.

This caused him to have a special liking for the descendants of Ali (*i.e.*, the Seyids). It thus appears he was a Shia, and D'Ohsson suggests he invented these dreams to justify himself with the Sunnis.*

When Ghazan, at his accession, destroyed the idol temples which had been patronised by his predecessors, he wished the Bakhshis to follow his example and become Muhammedans. This they pretended to do. Seeing it was only a pretence, however, he gave permission to those who wished to retain their old faith to return to Mongolia, and insisted that those who remained should conform to Islam, threatening to put to death those who built funeral pyres or idol temples. "My father," he said, "built a temple and endowed it richly. I have destroyed it like the rest, but you may go and live on the land attached to it." On this occasion the Khatuns and Amirs said to him, "Your father had himself painted on the walls of this temple. Now that it is in ruins his portraits are exposed to the rain and snow. Since he was an idolater you ought, for the repose of his soul, to restore what he founded." To this he would not consent. They suggested that he might convert it into a palace, but he would not have a palace built on such a site. "There still remain some of these Bakhshis in Persia," says Rashid, "but they dare no longer openly avow themselves, but, like the Mulahids (*i.e.*, the Ismaelites or Assassins), they are obliged to practise their religion secretly."†

In the autumn of the year 1300, Ghazan determined upon another campaign in Syria. He doubtless chose the winter season as less trying to his own men as well as to his Armenian and Georgian allies, and sent Kutlugh Shah forward with the advance guard. The latter set out on the 16th of September. Ghazan was at Tebriz. He first went to Mosul, where his wife Tughanshah, the daughter of Mubarek Shah, died. This was on the 17th of December. On the 3rd of January, 1301, he crossed the Euphrates at Jaaber, and encamped at Ziffein, renowned for the famous battle fought there between Ali and Moawiyeh. When he reached Jebul, or Habul, near Aleppo, he was joined by Kabartu Behadur with some Syrian prisoners. Kara Sonkor, the governor of Aleppo, fled to Hamath, where Ketboga held his ground, and where some contingents of troops gathered. We are told the population of the province of Aleppo abandoned it at the enemy's approach. From the 17th to the 19th of January Ghazan encamped at Kinesrin, situated a day's journey south of Aleppo, on the lake into which the Koweik, or River of Hamath, flows, and which was a famous place in the struggles of the Crusaders. Thence he sent troops into the mountains of Antioch and Sumak. As these districts had escaped attack the year before, a crowd of people fancying this would again be the case had sought refuge there. The troops of

* D'Ohsson, iv. 277-281. † *Id.*, 281-282.

Ghazan secured a great number of prisoners, men, women, and children, and also carried off many horses, cattle, and sheep. The captives were so numerous that a man or woman only sold for ten dirhems. We are told the Armenians bought many of them and transported them to the neighbouring islands, which were held by the Franks. Abulfeda says the invaders laid waste Saruima, Maarah, Taizma, Amka, and other places, and for three months did their worst upon the country round Aleppo.

When the Sultan of Egypt heard of the Mongol attack he ordered a contribution of money to be levied, and 100,000 dinars were raised, causing much discontent among the people, who denounced the soldiery. "Yesterday you were in full flight; to-day you rob us of our goods," was the cry, and if answer was made, a jeering reply was sent back in regard to the want of courage that had been shown in the face of the enemy; to put a stop to these insults an order was issued decreeing confiscation of goods against anyone who spoke to a soldier. A similar contribution was levied at Damascus, and there also it proved a terrible hardship to the poor, who had even to cut down their finest trees and sell the wood to raise the money. The valley of Gutah was depopulated, and a large part of the inhabitants fled to Egypt. The money was devoted to enrolling troops. Eight hundred Kurd muleteers were enrolled, each receiving 600 dirhems, but they for the most part deserted. At Fostat a large number of artizans and others were enrolled. A general levy of the citizens of Damascus took place, and the amirs pitched their tents in the Maidan Alkabak, where an inspection of the troops, their horses and lances, was held. This was on October 28th, 1300. Novairi says they went to Bedrish, near Gaza; Abulfeda and Makrizi to Al-Auja. A great number of fugitives crowded into Egypt. At length the Sultan set out from Cairo. The troops suffered terribly on the march; the rains were so excessive that it was most difficult to provision the army. Straw and barley rose excessively in price, and we are told three round loaves cost a dirhem, while meat was three dirhems the rotl. The rain was followed by a great inundation, which swept away the baggage, while the roads were covered with thick mud.

This bad weather was equally fatal to the Mongols. A section of them, under the amir Sutai, and a part of the troops of the amir Sheibawaji, who had come from Rum and were encamped on low ground, would have been swept away by the flood if the amir Mulai had not rescued them. A great mortality began among their horses and camels. Ghazan's special horses, which numbered 12,000, were reduced to 2,000. A large part of his army marched on foot, and a general retreat was ordered, many of the troopers having to sit behind their companions on the saddles. Ghazan recrossed the Euphrates at Rakka on the 3rd of February, and having visited the martyrs' graves at Siffein

reached his harem at Chehartak, near Sinjar, on the 23rd of the same month, when he was greatly troubled to hear of the death of Satilmish, the son of Buralighi, a relative of Altaju aka.* Rashid ud din diplomatically covers his master's forced retreat by the excuse that he did not wish to shed the blood of true believers, and we should not have known the real cause but for the Egyptian chroniclers, who do not fail to point out what a terrible visitation such raids as the present were, not only on account of the exactions made upon the people, but of the panic which caused a general flight and shaking of the community, disturbing trade, the price of commodities, &c. Haithon, the Armenian, in describing this war, tells us that Ghazan in this campaign sent Cotulossa (Kutlugh Shah) with 30,000 Tartar cavalry, and told him when he arrived in the district of Antioch he was to inform the King of Armenia and the other Christians of the East and of Cyprus that they were to go and join him. He accordingly did so, and the King of Armenia joined him, while the Christians from Cyprus went as far as the island of Antarados. There was the King of Tyre, brother of the King of Cyprus, who was generalissimo of the army, as well as the commanders of the Templars and the Hospitallers. These were all ready to join, when news arrived that Ghazan was ill, and that the doctors despaired of his life, whereupon Kutlugh Shah withdrew, and the King of Armenia and the other Christian princes returned home again, and thus the expedition to the Holy Land (which was looked upon doubtless as a new Crusade by the Christians) was abandoned.†

On his return home, Ghazan spent some days in the favourite Mongol amusement of hunting. On this occasion he gave a signal proof of his skill as an archer. We are told he shot at a doe with a three-pointed arrow, called *tuin* by the Mongols. Although he seemed to have missed his aim, the quarry fell to the ground in a heap. He had shot it while springing in the air, with its four feet together, all of which were wounded. Wounds had also been made in its flank, belly, breast, neck, and throat, making altogether nine wounds. This wonderful shot was witnessed by more than 2,000 people, and was deemed to have excelled the famous shot of Bahramgur, who was reported to have hit a wild ass when in the air with his arrow, and to have pinned its hoof to its ear.‡ On the 29th of April there arrived at Ghazan's Court an embassy from Toktu, the Khan of Kipchak, which was well received, and returned again.§ Ghazan now crossed the Tigris, and having punished some bands of Kurds who infested the roads, returned again to Aujan on the 1st of June. There, on the 13th of July, the Khoja Said ud din, who had hitherto shared with Rashid ud din the supreme control of affairs, was appointed vizier. Three weeks later the general

* D'Ohsson, iv. 282-285. Ilkhans, ii. 106-108. Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 174-176. Abulfeda, v. 175.
† Op. cit., xliii. ‡ Ilkhans, ii. 108. § *Id.*, 108.

Kutlugh Shah married Ilkotluk, the daughter of the Ilkhan Gaikhatu. During the summer a conspiracy was formed against the Vizier and his colleague, Rashid, by Sain of Semnan, and the Sheikh of Sheikhs, Mahmud. With them were also joined Said Kutb ud din, of Shiraz, who was chief secretary of state, and Moin ud din, of Khorasan, the head of the Exchequer. Rumours which reached him aroused Ghazan's suspicion that the plot was meant against himself as well as his ministers. He summoned Said Kutb ud din, who was the administrator of the revenues of Shiraz, and who was in league with the conspirators, plied him with wine, and presently got some disclosures from him. The conspirators were arrested, and some of them were put to death. Mahmud obtained his life at the intercession of the Princess Bulughan, but only on condition of not again appearing at the Court.* The tale of victims continued to grow, and meanwhile Ghazan professed to be so humane that he would not kill a fly, but would take it out of his food and let it rest on his hand till it had strength to escape. To kill a fly cost him more pain, he said, than to put to death a guilty man.† This morbid mixture of sentiment and cruelty reminds one of Robespierre and others of the same kidney. In September Ghazan went to Alatagh, and Kutlugh Shah went with the army to Diarbekr. In November he went into winter quarters in Arran.‡

Three months after his return from Syria, Ghazan sent Kemal ud din Musa, the chief judge of Mosul, and Nasir ud din Ali Khoja, of Tebriz, on an embassy to Egypt. When the Egyptians heard that they had crossed the Euphrates, they sent the amir Seif ud din Kerai to meet them. When they arrived at Damascus they were lodged in the citadel, and the two envoys, with a Turkish attendant, went on to Cairo, where they arrived on the 22nd of August, and were received in audience on the following day, after the last prayer. The amirs and the troops assembled in the "Castle of the Mountain." The Mamluks were dressed in their richest clothes; their caps and the borders of their coats were made of gold brocade. The Sultan was seated on his throne, while a thousand lighted torches were held in front of him. The Mamluks were ranged in a double row, from the gate of the fortress to that of the Iran. The envoys were now presented, the Kadhi of Mosul wearing one of the turbans worn by men of the law, called *tarhah*, which differed from the others in that one of the ends of the muslin scarf fell over the shoulders. He spoke tersely and eloquently, expressed a desire for peace, and addressed prayers to heaven for the Sultan, for Ghazan, and the amirs. He also presented a letter in the name of Ghazan, which was sealed. The envoys now returned to their lodgings, where they remained till Monday. The letter was then opened. It was written in Mongol characters, on a half-sheet of Baghdad paper. When it had been translated into Arabic

* Ilkhans, ii. 109. Quatremere, xi. and xii. † Ilkhans, ii. 108-110. ‡ *Id.*, 110.

it was read aloud in the presence of the government officials.* The text of the letter has been preserved in two versions, which differ considerably, by Novairi and Ibn Tagri berdi. The former version has been translated by D'Ohsson. Beginning with the usual pious phrases, it goes on to complain that the year before the troops of the Sultan had invaded his (Ghazan's) borders, and had ill-used his subjects, the people of Mardin. Irritated by these evil acts, out of his zeal for Islam he had set out to punish this conduct, but in accordance with the divine precepts he had sent Yakub the Sikurji,† with kadhis and imaums worthy of trust. To this the Sultan had replied by obstinacy, and had drawn upon himself and the Mussulmans all kinds of evils. He had treated his envoys with ignominy and put them in prison, and had forgotten the true path of kings, which was to follow the ways of rectitude. God had presently given him (Ghazan) the victory, and he had hoped that when the Sultan came to consider how matters stood, he would have tried to undo the past, and that on his return to Egypt he would have sent envoys to him to treat for peace. He had consequently delayed at Damascus, like a man who is master of the situation and all-powerful, but the Sultan was steeped in indolence and did nothing. On returning home Ghazan said he had been informed that he had been boasting that he would march to meet him with his troops at Aleppo, or on the Euphrates. He had accordingly set out again and gone as far as Aleppo, and was surprised at his delay. He then learnt that he (the Sultan) had retired, and it was clear that he had evaded an encounter with him. Having considered that if he continued his advance further the country would be devastated, and the people would suffer, he had withdrawn, in order to prevent such an end. Now he was busy assembling his men, and preparing his catapults and other war engines, and he would march after sending warning. "For we do not punish until we have sent an apostle." He had accordingly sent the two envoys, Nasir ud din and Kemal ud din, and charged them to deliver an oral message. He bade the Sultan heed their words, prepare presents, and come to terms, or the blood of Mussulmans would be shed and their property be destroyed by his fault, and he would be responsible before God. The letter was dotted with quotations from the Koran, and was dated between the 10th and 20th of Ramazan, 700 (*i.e.*, between the 19th and 28th of May, 1301), from the Kurdish mountains.‡

Some days after the reading of the letter the amirs who were at the head of the administration summoned the Kadhi of Mosul and said to him: "You are one of the chiefs of the ulemas, the *élite* of the Mussul-

* Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 182.

† *Shikur* means umbrella in Mongol, and it would appear that *Sikurji* means umbrella-bearer. The Egyptian author, Soyuti, tells us that at the end of the 15th century, when he wrote, the Sultan of Egypt, when he rode out on horseback in state, had an umbrella shaped like a vault, covered with yellow silk, embroidered with gold, and on the summit of which was a bird made of silver gilt. It was borne by one of the amirs commanding a hundred men, who rode beside the Sultan. D'Ohsson, iv. 289. Note.

‡ Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 295-298. D'Ohsson, iv. 288-293.

mans, and you know the duties which the Faith imposes upon you. Tell us plainly if this be only a ruse, and we will swear not to betray your answer." He declared that so far as he knew Ghazan desired peace, and that commerce should again flourish between the two countries. "You have only to keep on your guard, and march to the frontier with a considerable force, as you do every year. You will then see if it be a ruse, or if the proposition is honestly made, and be able in either case to act prudently".*

On the 24th of September the Sultan went hunting with all the amirs, and after some time went to Salihiyet, whither Ghazan's envoys had been conducted to receive their *congé*. They were admitted into the Sultan's tent at night. It was brilliantly lighted, and there were assembled there 420 officers of all ranks, dressed in splendid state robes which the Sultan had given them. The envoys were given robes of honour and a present of 10,000 dirhems, and other gifts. They were also intrusted with the Sultan's answer.† This letter has also been preserved, and is phrased in the pompous language, much imbued with religious aphorisms drawn from the Koran, that then prevailed. I shall condense and paraphrase it.

The Sultan said he had received Ghazan's letter with the reverence due to him, and had read it with attention, and found that it thrust the blame for his own acts on the shoulders of others, and that it tried to excuse his misdeeds by imputing them to others. He protested that it was not his fault if marauders on either side made incursions across the frontier in spite of their treaty. That the chief of Mardin had protected some of these plunderers. If he (Ghazan) was moved to punish these doings, he ought to have attacked their real authors, and not to have marched a mixed body of various faiths into a Muhammedan country, nor allowed the worshippers of the Cross to enter and profane the holy temple of Jerusalem, which was second in sacredness only to the Mosque of the Prophet. "If you charge us with being the authors of these ills, we can easily reply that it is the want of a treaty of peace between us that compels us to follow such a way. You claim to follow the example of the Prophet in sending envoys before fighting. We would answer by remarking that these messengers were not sent until tent was pitched against tent, until arrows were flying against arrows, and only a few hours intervened before the struggle. We are not of those who avoid the fight, nor again of those who reply to friendly overtures by violent hatred. The high God has said, 'If they incline towards peace, do thou incline also, like a rolled manuscript inclines towards its title.' If your envoys had arrived before the swords were unsheathed, while the lances were not in rest, the arrows were not already on the string, and the bridles loose, they would have been listened to, and their message would have been

* D'Ohsson, iv. 293-294. † *Id.*, 294.

answered." In regard to Ghazan's insulting phrase, "We have tolerated patiently your attachment to obstinacy and rebellion," he asked what kind of patience was that which invaded an enemy's country before sending messengers of peace. As to the vaunts about his victory, he would remind him that if the Egyptians could have assembled all their forces not a vestige of his army would have remained. He reminded him also of the exploits of the beginning of his reign, and bade him ask his own soldiers what had happened. Ghazan had no doubt been successful now, but in the various struggles of kings defeat, by divine decree, had been followed by victory; the victor ought not, therefore, to be too exultant, nor the defeated too depressed. As to your complaints that we sent you no envoys when you awaited us at Damascus, we reply that we devoted our time to collecting our forces, and distributing largess among them. "Those who give their goods for the service of Islam, are like a grain which produces sevenfold." When we marched we found that you had withdrawn against your will, and we halted as a man halts who finds that fear of him dispenses with a hasty march. We sent on a division to fight with those of your troops who still remained in the country. Our people captured those who had incautiously delayed, but they found no trace of your army, although they advanced as far as the Euphrates. As to the boast that you again advanced as far as Aleppo, and there awaited our arrival, we, when we heard of your coming, set out, accompanied by the Prince of the Faithful, Hakim bi amir Allah. We arrived in Syria, crossed plain and mountain, and went as far as Hamath, where we awaited your coming, but you came not, and when you withdrew we returned to get our forces ready. You say you advanced no further because you did not wish the country to be ravaged and its people injured. When have you by your acts shown such solicitude? The Prophet says: "The Mussulman is he whose hand and tongue men need not fear." Mussulmans are kept in chains by you, and have been handed over to the Armenians and to the Takfur,* facts which contradict your humane sentiments. When the Mussulmans defeated Abaka and killed a great number of Tartars, and conquered the kingdom of the Seljuks, neither in advancing nor retreating did they ill-use the inhabitants of the country. They paid for what they needed. Such is the way of good Mussulmans, and of him who desires to perpetuate his power. As to your menaces and your boasts of preparation, we reply, "God is enough for us; he is the best of protectors." You say that if you had not acted thus the blood of Mussulmans would have been shed. How can you, without invoking divine vengeance, use such words? "The intention of a man," says the Prophet, "is better than his acts;" and again, "He who wilfully kills a single Mussulman will go to hell, which will be his eternal home;

* Takfur is Armenian for king, and the Armenian kings are frequently so styled by Eastern writers.

the anger of God and his most terrible punishments will fall upon him." Things being so, we have announced to our people that we are using all our efforts to make ready and to collect our forces, who will, if it pleases God, have the august angels as allies. Has not the Apostle of God said: "My people shall never cease to triumph over its enemies until the Day of Resurrection." As to your ambassadors, we have received them with honour, and have replied to them. We know that they are humble people, and that they would not have been chosen for such a risky mission if they had not committed grave crimes. They are not the kind of people who ought to have been sent by one like yourself to a sovereign like us. Such matters of importance ought to have been confided to those who combine eloquent speech with eminent merit. As to the presents you demand, if you had sent us presents we should have returned you presents of greater value. When your uncle Ahmed sent an embassy to our father, the martyred Sultan, he sent him presents from a distant country and a message couched in gracious phrases, and they were accordingly received with the greatest regard. In conclusion, we say if the King inclines towards peace we incline also. If he has really adopted the Mussulman faith, is obedient to God's command, abstains from what he forbids, is ready to fulfil the obligations of religion not as a merit, but because he feels honoured by doing so. ("Do not attribute your conversion to Islam to me. It is God who has given you grace to lead you towards the true faith.")* If the King's acts are consistent with his professions, if he separates himself from the infidels with whom he ought no longer to consort, if he will send us an envoy stating the conditions of peace, and to say plainly what he wishes, then we will act in concert against those who oppose us, and our alliance shall crush the polytheists of all countries, and those who see our friendship will contemplate these words: "Remember the blessings which God has granted you. You were enemies. He has reconciled your hearts, and now you are brothers."† And if it pleases God the most stable peace shall be created between us. The 28th Moharrem, 701 (*i.e.*, 3rd October, 1301). This letter was written by the hand of the Mollah and Kadhi, Ala ud din Ali, son of the deceased Mollah Mohai ud din Abdallah ibn Abd Eldâher.‡

The envoys duly arrived in Arran, where Ghazan was passing the winter, on the 19th of December, 1301. The Ilkhan was engaged in hunting in the mountains of Shirvan and Lesghistan. He chased wild swans at Kiavbari, and then went to Khalise, whose name by his orders was changed to Kush Koyun. There, on the borders of the lake, he shot cranes and other wild fowl. At this time, Toktu, the ruler of Kipchak, defeated his rivals, who retired towards the Eastern Caucasus, as they expected that Ghazan was going to Derbend. As he did not do so

* Koran, ch. xlix., verse 17. † *Id.*, ch. iii., verse 98.
‡ Makrizi, op. cit, 298-306. D'Ohsson, iv. 295-309.

the commercial intercourse, which had been for some time suspended, was again resumed between the peoples of the two khanates. Ghazan took the opportunity while in their quarters to punish the Lesghian chiefs who had been rebellious, and also to seize and put to death a number of brigands from Azerbaijan, who had taken up their quarters there, and infested the neighbouring districts. He now returned to Pilsuvar, and then went towards Talishan and Ispehbed. Here he held a grand battue. The game was driven into a triangular inclosure made of palisades. The entrance to the park so formed was a day's journey across, while the other sides of the triangle converged to an apex. Into this were driven the various wild animals, aurochs, buffaloes, bears, wild asses, wolves, foxes, shakals, deer, &c. Ghazan and his wife, Bulughan, sat in the midst of the inclosure, in a lofty kiosk or summer-house, whence they watched the hunt for some time, and then gave orders for the release of the animals that remained. He returned by various stages, hunting *en route*, to Tebriz, whence the citizens came out to welcome him with banners flying, and he in return promised various remissions of taxes. In July, 1302, he went to Aujan, where in the midst of well-watered meadows, at the intersection of two avenues of willows and alders, was built a beautiful summer palace, with baths, kiosks, towers, and other buildings. The whole were inclosed by a square boundary, containing various entrances for the various classes of people who had access to it. The summer palace itself was a movable tent, made of golden tissue, at the making of which the best artists had worked for three years. It took more than a month to erect, with its hall of audience and appendages, so large was it. In it was placed the royal throne, which glittered with precious stones. To its inauguration the imaums, sheikhs, &c., of the Muhammedan faith, and also the ministers of other religions, were invited. Ghazan addressed them, saying: "I do not wish to enter here with feelings of pride. Ask God to pardon our sins, yours and mine, and to incline our hearts to humility. We will commence by reading the Koran, we will pray to God, and afterwards give ourselves up to pleasure." He pronounced the name of God and the Prophet as he alighted, and then seated himself on the throne and addressed them as follows: "I am a feeble servant of God, who confess my many sins, and declare myself unworthy of his goodness. The pity, grace, and favours with which the Almighty covers his servants are beyond all their gratitude. I cannot too highly recognise his favour towards me in committing to me the sacred trust of governing all the peoples of Iran. I must not let pride overtake me in regard to a power which has come to me after so many princes. Of all God's favours to me there is one which he did not grant to any other sovereign, and which was longed for by my predecessors. He has permitted me to see my subjects happy, content with my rule, and friendly towards me. I cannot

be sufficiently grateful." After having given the assembly a feast, Ghazan distributed robes and gold to those present. The Muhammedan clergy spent three days and nights in reading the Koran. The ministers of other religions also devoted themselves to religious exercises. After these services to God began the general festivities. On the fête day Ghazan appeared with a jewelled crown (turban) on his head, and dressed in a robe of gold tissue, bound by a magnificent girdle. In imitation of him, the khatuns, princes, and grandees dressed themselves in their best robes, and, mounted on splendidly caparisoned horses, followed their master. Ghazan now held a kuriltai, where it was decided that his brother Khodabendeh should retain command of the eastern provinces, with his summer quarters at Tus, Abiverd, Merv, Sarakhs, and Badghiz, and his winter quarters in Mazanderan. The amir Nurin Aka was to control the frontier of Derbend. The amir Kutlugh was to go to Georgia, and having been joined by the Georgian army was to march to Diarbekr, on his way to Syria. Hulaju, with his tuman, was to post himself on the borders of Fars and Kerman, and when necessary to unite with the amir Sadik and the Sultan of Kerman; and Mulai was to hold himself in readiness to march again into Syria. A fresh envoy was sent to Cairo.*

On the 26th of August, 1303, Ghazan set out from Aujan, by way of Hamadan, towards Syria. At Heshtrud the amir Nurin went and paid his respects to him before setting out for his command in Arran. Here also he was visited by the sons of Sherif ud din Abderrahman, the former commander of Tebriz, who had also been employed as an envoy in Egypt. They approached the Ilkhan, dressed in black, and complained to him that Nisam ud din, the son of Wejih Khoja, had put their father to death. He was accordingly executed on the feast of Aashura, between Yusagaj and Heshtrud, and with him Devlet Shah, the son of Abubekr, of Dakukaba, and Arabshah, the grandson of Hijaj, Sultan of Kerman. This was on the 4th of September. At Hamadan Ghazan stayed in the monastery of Businjerd, which he had built and richly endowed. Thence he went to Navur Ferhan and Bisutun, where three Syrian amirs did homage to him. Here he paid a visit to the spot, where, seven years before, during the revolt of Nuruz, and when the latter's brother Legsi was still at large, he had rested under a tree in considerable distress. He visited this place with his wives and amirs, and shed tears when he remembered the miserable night he had spent there; and in thankfulness to heaven for having listened to his prayers he said a namaz of two rek'ats, and then prostrating himself with his head to the ground, prayed God to help him always, and addressed a suitable homily to his followers, bidding them obey God and never despair of his goodness, nor to trust in their own strength. He also prayed the Almighty to

* D'Ohsson, iv. 310-313. Ilkhans, ii. 114-115.

grant that he himself might always be just. Those who were present fastened various ribbons to the tree, around which the amirs danced to music, a curious Shaman rite that it is certainly interesting to find practised by good Mussulmans. Pulad Chingsang told Ghazan that on one occasion Jingis Khan's predecessor, Khubilai Khakan, whose bravery had become proverbial, on his way to attack the Merkits dismounted before a tree on his route, and prayed God fervently, undertaking if he were victorious to return and deck the tree with beautiful pieces of cloth. He did so return, and decked out the tree, while he and his troops danced around it, after returning thanks to the Eternal. This story delighted Ghazan, who said that if his ancestors had not been pious people they would not have become great kings, and he himself joined in the dance.*

When Ghazan arrived at Bendlejin, or Bendinjin, a small town near Beiat, there came to him envoys from the Greek Emperor Andronius, soliciting his help against the Turks, who were pressing the Empire very hard, and offered him in marriage the hand of a young princess who passed at Constantinople as his natural daughter.† Ghazan received them well, and promised to repress the Turks. This alliance seems to have had a restraining influence on the latter.‡ Rashid ud din reports the same event, but hardly in courtly language. He says: "The ambassadors of Fasilius, Emperor of Istambul, sent presents to Ghazan on the part of their Sovereign, who offered to send him his own daughter as a concubine."§ Ghazan now spent some days hunting in the districts of Sab, Vasith, Meshed, and Sidi Abulwefa. At Meshed he ordered a canal to be dug to convey water from the Euphrates. He then went on to Hillah, where he was joined by Nasir ud din, of Tebriz, and Kemal ud din, the judge of Mosul, whom he had sent to Egypt as his envoys. This Hillah, situated between Baghdad and Kufa, was known as Hillah of the Beni Masid, to distinguish it from others of the same name. It was once famous for its stuffs and for its porcelain, which was like that of China.‖ Mirkhavend tells us that Ghazan had insisted by his envoys that the only condition of peace was that the Egyptian Sultan should acknowledge his suzerainty by the payment of an annual tribute, the insertion of his name in the khutbeh, or Friday prayer, and that the coinage should on one side bear the name of Sultan Mahmud Ghazan below that of the Khalif, and on the other that of the Egyptian ruler under the profession of the Mussulman faith. His envoys on their return were accompanied by Hussam ud din Azdémir, the Kadhi A'mad ud din, and Shems ud din Muhammed on behalf of Nasir, the Egyptian Sultan. According to Mirkhavend, they said their master could not accept these terms. That as to tribute, the revenues of Egypt were already completely assigned, and devoted either

* D'Ohsson, iv. 313-314. Ilkhans, ii. 116-117. † Pachymeres, Stritter, iii. 1086.
‡ *Id.*, 1087. § D'Ohsson, iv. 315. Note 1. ‖ Ilkhans, ii. 117.

to the purpose of the holy wars, the protection of the frontiers of Islam, or the payment of troops employed for the defence of the faith, to whom assignations of fiefs were made; that there was no spare money, therefore, in the treasury, and if demands were made upon it these sacred needs would suffer. When they had delivered their message, the envoys presented Ghazan with a box locked and sealed. He asked them what it contained. They replied on their knees that they did not know. On opening it, it was found to be filled with all kinds of arms. Ghazan was greatly enraged on seeing this, but repressed his anger, which had been previously aroused by some informality in the Egyptian letter, and by the fact that Nasir's name was written in it in golden letters. After the New Year's festivities, which followed closely upon the arrival of the Egyptian envoys, Ghazan had them conducted to Hamadan, where they were to remain until his return from the campaign he meditated making in Syria. Rashid says they were sent to Tebriz, where they were detained prisoners on parole.* About this time an embassy also arrived at the Court from Toktu, the Khan of the Golden Horde, which I have already described.† The festival of the New Year was celebrated this year with special pomp, probably in honour of the Kipchak and Egyptian envoys, and lasted from the 17th to the 30th of January, 1303.

Ghazan determined to have another campaign in Syria. When his preparations were made, he crossed the Euphrates at Hillah on the 30th January, 1303, and on the 8th of February went to visit the tomb of the Imaum Hussein, son of Ali. It was a famous place of pilgrimage for the Shias, situated on the plain of Kerbela, a day's journey west of Hillah, where Hussein was killed by the partisans of the Ommiade Khalif Yézid. There he hung up the carpets, or veils, which he had promised to present, and distributed alms, and assigned 3,000 menns of bread daily of the product of the lands fertilised by the water of the Upper Canal of Ghazan, which flowed from the Euphrates to Hillah, for the sustenance of the Imaums and Seyids who lived there.‡ Ermenibuka arrived from Khorasan with the news that 3,000 rebels had been defeated in Khorasan, news which was followed by that of the death of Nurin Aka in the winter quarters in Arran.§ Ghazan now followed the river northwards to Haditsé, situated at the distance of a fersenkh from Anbar, where he issued orders for his harems and oghruks to go to Sinjar, and there await his return. He then went on with his army to Aana, as far as which he was accompanied by his favourite wife, Bulughan, and some others of his wives. Aana, the ancient Anelhot, the reputed birthplace of Jeremiah, is situated on a headland jutting out into the Euphrates in the midst of woods and olive-yards; thence a space of 90 fersenkhs from Feluje (near Anbar), and as far as Saruj (Von Hammer says Harran), was strewn with marble fountains, summer-

* D'Ohsson, iv. 314-317. † Ante, ii. 145-146. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 324-325. Ilkhans, ii. 119.
§ Ilkhans, ii. 119-120.

houses, and villages, palm groves, and cornfields. While at Aana the historian Wassaf presented Ghazan with the first three books of his history of the Mongols from the death of Jingis Khan to the accession of Ghazan himself. His talents had been noticed by the two viziers, Said ud din and Rashid ud din, and at the instance of the Ilkhan some tumans of gold pieces had been given him to pay the cost of his pilgrimage. Wassaf was then forty years old. He now had the honour of presenting the first three books of his work, as I have said, to Ghazan, who greatly encouraged him, and deputed him also to write an account of the two Syrian campaigns, of which he was an eye-witness, and also to add an account of Jingis Khan.*

After a stay of ten days at Aana, Ghazan's wife, Bulughan, left him and went to Sinjar, and we are told that, in accordance with Mongol etiquette, the drums were for three days after her departure beaten with especial loudness. The head-quarters of the army now advanced to Rahbat, a fortress situated on a mountain on the right bank of the Euphrates, between Aana and Rakka (Nicephorium). It was a halting place of the Syrian caravans. It had been put in a state of defence, and catapults, &c., had been planted on its walls. The amirs Sutai and Sultan, the vizier Said ud din, and the famous doctor and historian, Rashid, were sent to summon the place to surrender.† The commandant, Alem ud din Sinjar Al Gatmi, had withdrawn with the inhabitants into the citadel. The letter summoning him recalled the provocation which the Mongols had suffered in their envoys being sent back with unfriendly answers, how they had borne with these things patiently for a while, attributing them to ignorance and want of experience, but that matters having passed all bounds, they had been forced to march to exact vengeance. "We have been compelled to traverse Syria," concluded the note, "but we wish to do you Syrians no harm. Consult your own interests therefore, submit speedily, and as it is clear that justice is on our side, do not by a vain resistance throw yourselves into the abyss of death." This letter, with the royal tamgha attached, was taken into the citadel by a herald. Those to whom it was addressed remarked that the style was very lofty, and asked for a night's consideration in order to understand it, promising to reply on the following day. After deliberation they sent two deputies with their submission. Presently, the commandant himself, with his son and the leading citizens, went in person to Ghazan, who distributed letters patent freeing them from payment of taxes, among the military and civil officers in the place, and took the territory under his protection. Novairi, who has to diplomatically cover a reverse, says the

* Ilkhans, ii. 122-123.

† Rashid on this occasion writes: "The author of this work accompanied the Khan as secretary, to write his orders in the Arab tongue. Everything he needed was supplied from the treasury, by order of the sovereign, who also deigned to present him with a mule from his stables, and ceased not to cover him with proofs of his goodwill in a way to excite the envy of all the world." D'Ohsson, iv. 326. Note.

Egyptian commander went with presents to Ghazan's camp, and undertook to surrender the place as soon as his army had conquered Syria. Ghazan consented, took his son as a hostage, and repassed the Euphrates.* While Ghazan was at Rahbat, news reached him that Kaidu, the famous ruler of the Khanate of Ogotai, and the rival of the Khakan Khubilai, had died, and that Dua, the chief of the Ulus of Jagatai, had been wounded. The amirs Kutlugh Shah, Choban, and Mulai, who had crossed the Euphrates at Rakka, were encamped at Deirgesir (the ancient Thapsacus). The Mongols now advanced towards Aleppo, the governor of which, Kara Sonkor, submitted, and thus avoided the occupation of the town by the enemy. The summer heats being now at hand, Ghazan, having held a grand feast, ordered the amirs Sutai, Alghui, and Naghuldar to join Kutlugh Shah with their troops, and himself recrossed the Euphrates, and having rewarded the messengers who brought him news about the death of Kaidu, he advanced hunting towards Sinjar, whence his wives went to meet him. He made over Diarbekr and Diar rabia to the Sultan Nejm ud din, of Mardin, with the title of Malik al Mansur, and ordered him to go to Mosul and inquire into the complaints made by the Mussulmans there against their Christian governor, Fakhr Isa El Ghiath. Having crossed the Tigris, he awaited at Keshf the issue of the Syrian campaign, in which his generals were engaged.† Keshf is a strong fortress two days' journey west of Ardebil, near the confluence of the Zab and the Tigris.‡ Haithon explains Ghazan's long delay on the Euphrates on account of the Syrians having burnt up the fodder, &c., on the route he would have to march, which made him, he says, postpone his attack till the spring, when the young grass had grown. "For," he adds, "the Tartars take much more care of their horses than they do of themselves, and are content themselves to eat the vilest food." While he was waiting there Ghazan summoned the King of Armenia. We are further told his army was so large that it stretched over a journey of three days, from a certain fortress called Kakkabe, to another named Labire,§ which De Guignes interprets as meaning from Rakka to Biret.‖

When news reached Egypt that the Tartars meditated another invasion a small contingent of troops was dispatched under the amir Bibars, the jashenkir, to strengthen the Syrian garrisons. Kutlugh Shah, according to the Egyptian historians, commanded 80,000 men. Haithon says 40,000. He sent to summon Iz ud din Aibek Alafram, the naib of Damascus, to submit. Meanwhile Bibars, in April, 1303, arrived there, and wrote to press the Sultan to march in person. Fugitives from Aleppo and Hamath, who were in dread of the Mongols, also reached Damascus, where preparations were made for a vigorous defence, and where it was

* D'Ohsson, iv. 325-327. Ilkhans, ii. 124-125. † Ilkhans, ii. 126. D'Ohsson, iv. 327-328.
‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 338. Note. § Haithon, 69. ‖ Op. cit., iii. 274.

proclaimed that if anyone left the place his life and goods were to be at the mercy of those who chose to take them. The amirs Behaduras and Katlubek, and the jemdar Anes, at the head of a division, went towards Hamath, and were joined by the troops of Tarabolas (or Tripoli) and Hims. Together they reached Hamath, where the malik Adel Ketboga was encamped. Meanwhile the Mongols detached about 4,000 men, which waylaid a body of Turkomans, near Kariatain. Asandemur, the Georgian naib of Tarabolas, with some of the chiefs, and about 1,500 men, surprised the Mongols in the camp of Ord (or Aradh), pressed them hard as far as Asr (or Arz), cut them to pieces, and released the Turkomans, with their wives and children, who numbered 6,000. The Egyptian loss was only fifty-six men, with the amir Anes, the jemdar Mansuri, and Muhammed ibn Bashkird Nasiri. The Mongols left 180 prisoners in the hands of the enemy. News of this skirmish, which took place on the 30th of March, 1303, was sent to the Sultan, and the drums at Damascus were beaten to announce the good news.*

Abulfeda tells us how the Mongols advanced with about 10,000 men as far as Kariatain, intending to plunder its neighbourhood. At this time the Egyptians, who were encamped at Hamath under Ketboga, who was not well, sent Asandemur, the Georgian, the Prefect of Tarabolos or Tripoli, with a portion of the troops of Aleppo and Hamath, among whom was Abulfeda himself, who was a prince of Hamath. They attacked the invaders at Koron, near Arud. This was in April, 1303. A sharp struggle ensued, in which the Mongols were defeated. A section of them who were dismounted were offered their lives if they surrendered, but this they refused, and poured a volley of weapons into the Egyptians, who outnumbered them, and used the saddles of their horses as shields. The struggle continued until the Mongols were all killed. After this successful skirmish, which was the precursor of a more important victory, the Egyptians retired upon Hamath. Thither they were followed by the invaders under Kutlugh Shah, who was eager to wipe out the disgrace of the recent defeat. The governor deemed it prudent to withdraw towards Damascus. Abulfeda himself was left at Hamath in the hopes that he would restrain the fury of the Tartars, but, as he tells us frankly, when they drew near and pitched their camp by the city, at the sight of their enormous numbers it was not deemed prudent that he should remain, and therefore, abandoning his camp at Aliliat, he joined Ketboga at Kotaif, to whom he reported their movements. They then retired together to Damascus.

The Sultan left Cairo on the 23rd of March, accompanied by the Khalif Mustakfi-billah-Abu'rebi' Suliman, with a large army, leaving as his deputy in Egypt Iz ud din Aibek Baghdadi. Meanwhile his deputy,

* Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 197-199. D'Ohsson, iv. 328-329. Ilkhans, ii 127.

Adel Ketboga, who was ill, was carried in a litter. A discussion arose at Damascus whether they should make a sortie or await the Sultan's arrival, and it was eventually decided to retire further. The citizens were naturally much disconcerted, and the price of conveyances went up accordingly. An ass sold for 600 dirhems, and a horse for a thousand. Many of the men abandoned their wives and children, and withdrew to the citadel. Hardly had night arrived when the Tartar vedettes appeared in the environs of the town. The Great Mosque was crowded with people praying for victory to the Egyptian arms. The Mongols made no direct attack upon the place, but passed it by and encamped in the valley of Gutah. D'Ohsson says they marched on Kesvet. Meanwhile the streets and mosques of Damascus resounded with prayers, and we are told women mounted the flat roofs of their houses with their children, and with their heads uncovered implored the divine aid.* The Mongols were posted at the foot of a mountain called Kénef ul Mizri (*i.e.*, the side of Egypt). Abulfeda says at Shakhab, near Marj us Safar. Quatremere says at Shakhab, at the foot of the mountain Ghabaghib. Their army was 50,000 strong, comprising two contingents of Georgians and Armenians, and was under the supreme command of Kutlugh Shah, under whom were the chiefs of tumans Mulai, Choban, Tittak, Kurmishi, Sunatai, Tugan, Apisha, Ajai, and many others. The Sultan ranged his men in order of battle in the green plain of Marj us Safar (or the yellow plain), famous for the terrible defeat inflicted by the Arabs on the Greeks in the year 634 A.D. According to Makrizi, he planted himself in the centre, having by him the Khalif, the khazindar or treasurer, Seif ud din-Bektimur, the silahdar, Jemal ud din-Akush-Alafram, who was the naib or viceroy of Syria, Bulurghi, Aibek-Hamavi, Bektimur-Bubekri-Katlubek-Nugai, the silahdar; and Aghirlu Zein. In the right wing were Hosam ud din Lajin, the *ostadar;* Mubariz ud din Siwar, the amir-shikar (*i.e.*, grand huntsman), Yakuba Shehrizuri, Mubariz ud din Ulea ibn Karaman, and also the amir Kipchak with the troops of Hamath and with the Arabs. In the left wing were the amir Bedr ud din Bektash Fakhri, amir-silah, the amir Kara Sonkor, with the troops of Aleppo; the amir Bedkhas, naib of Safad, Togril-Igani, Bektimur, the *silahdar*, and Bibars, the devatdar.† D'Ohsson, apparently following Novairi, distributes these chiefs somewhat differently. The Sultan advanced on foot, having the Khalif beside him, who bade them take no heed of their ruler, but fight for their wives, for the defence of religion, and for the Prophet. They were accompanied by readers, who recited the Koran, and incited the soldiery to fight bravely for the rewards of Paradise. Many of the soldiers broke into tears at these exhortations. Bibars, the Grand Marshal, and Salar, the viceroy of Egypt, made mutual promises to stand firm; while Nasir, addressing

* Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 199. D'Ohsson, iv. 328. † Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 199-200.

the Mamluks behind him, told them to kill anyone who fled, and to appropriate his arms and goods. The camels with the baggage formed a barrier behind the army.

The battle began when the Egyptian lines were hardly in order, with a charge by Kutlugh Shah on the enemy's right, in which eight Egyptian officers and 1,000 of their men perished, but several bodies from the centre and left went to support them. Salar cried out, "Great God! Islam is going to perish." He summoned Bibars and the borji Mamluks, who collected round him. Kutlugh Shah now turned upon them. Salar and Bibars behaved with great heroism, and inspired their companions, and presently Kutlugh Shah was hurled back. Choban and Karmeji, two commanders of tumans among the Mongols, had marched to help Mulai, who had pierced the Egyptian ranks, and was now posted behind them. Noticing the repulse of Kutlugh Shah, they rushed to his help, and faced Salar and Bibars, who were in turn reinforced by Asandemur, Katlubek, and Kipchak, with the Sultan's Mamluks, and the enemy was driven back, and threw himself upon Burlughi. Meanwhile the Egyptian right wing had been broken, and was being hotly pursued, and a panic began to spread among the non-combatants behind. The Sultan's treasure-chest was broken open and robbed. The women and children who had come from Damascus after the departure of the troops, added to the confusion; the former unveiled themselves, dishevelled their hair, and cried to heaven for succour. Meanwhile the struggle had been suspended. Kutlugh Shah, whose division had been severely handled, withdrew to re-form to a neighbouring mountain. There he was joined by the other divisions. He fancied that victory was in his hands, but on surveying the plain found it still occupied by the Egyptians, whose left wing had stood firm, and whose standards were unfurled. He waited until his people had joined him, including those of Mulai, who had been in pursuit, and who returned with a crowd of prisoners, among whom was Iz ud din Aidemur, nakib of the Sultan's Mamluks, who informed his captors of the presence of the Sultan himself. A council of war was summoned, but was interrupted by the drums and cymbals of the Egyptians sounding the advance. Mulai, called Bulai by Abulfeda, deeming the issue too uncertain, or perhaps afraid of being caught in a trap, waited till sunset, and then withdrew. The Sultan and his people passed the night on horseback, while the drums were beaten and the cymbals sounded to direct the fugitives to the rallying place, and the mountain on which the Mongols had taken refuge was speedily blockaded. Salar, Kipchak, and the other amirs spent the night in going round the ranks encouraging the men. At sunrise the Egyptian army was seen ranged in order, the baggage being some distance away. The whole presented an imposing spectacle. Presently the Mongols descended to meet them, and a vigorous struggle recommenced, several of the Sultan's Mamluks having

three horses shot under them. This combat lasted till noon, when Kutlugh Shah withdrew again to the mountain, after losing eighty killed and many wounded. His people suffered greatly from thirst. The Sultan now determined to open a passage through which they might march, and then to fall upon them. The Georgian Asandemur, with his division, therefore stood aside. The Mongols marched through; first a division under Choban, then the centre under Kutlugh Shah, and lastly a third division under Taitak, and went down towards the river, into which they plunged. Many of the horses were bogged in the morasses, and they lost a great number of men in the pursuit.* Wassaf says that in the previous struggle the amirs Choban, Taitak, Ebrenjin, Kineshin, and Tersa were separated from Kutlugh Shah, and, unaware of his withdrawal to the mountain, continued to struggle desperately, and that Taitak, covered with wounds, together with Irinjin (? Ebrenjin), Kineshin, and Tersa, were all made prisoners.†

The account of the struggle here given is that followed by D'Ohsson and Von Hammer, and is based chiefly on the reports of the Egyptian historians; but we have an independent notice by Haithon, who claims to have been present, and to have been, therefore, an eye-witness. According to him, Kutlugh Shah, after entering Syria, marched with the King of Armenia upon Hims, where he believed the Egyptian army to be posted. There he learnt that it had not, in fact, left the neighbourhood of Gaza. Having captured Hims, and put all the Mussulmans there to death, and secured much treasure and a store of arms, the Mongols advanced towards Damascus, where the people sent out to ask for a three days' truce, which was granted them. The Tartar advance posts, which had proceeded a day's journey beyond Damascus, having captured some of the enemy, learnt that a small body of them, 1,200 strong, were posted not far off (? the Turkomans of the other notice). Determined to surprise them, Kutlugh Shah and the Armenian king advanced, and arrived near there at nightfall, but they found the Sultan with the main army had also come up. A council was called, when it was advised to wait till the morrow, but Kutlugh Shah, who despised the enemy, determined to attack at once. The Egyptians were posted in a position where they were protected on one side by a lake and on the other by a mountain. In front of them was a river, only fordable in certain places. This delayed the Mongol advance, and as the Egyptians would not leave their vantage, the fight was, in fact, postponed until the next day, the Mongols encamping on a mountain close by. The next day they again tried to draw the Sultan from his position, but failed, and as they were greatly in need of water and much wearied, they began to withdraw in small parties towards the plain of Damascus, where pasture and water abounded, and where they determined to recruit before again attacking

* Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 200-202. D'Ohsson, iv. 332-334. † Ilkhans, ii. 129.

the Sultan. Thereupon, the citizens of Damascus cut the dykes of the river and flooded the country, thus compelling the enemy to withdraw, but a great number of men and cattle were lost, while the quivers and bows of the Mongols, with which they chiefly fought, and their other arms, were rendered useless. They were naturally much distressed, inasmuch as if they had been pursued they must in this condition have been overwhelmed. They withdrew gradually towards the Euphrates, which was much flooded, and as they crossed it on horseback, numbers of them and their horses perished, including many men belonging to the King of Armenia, Georgians, and others; "and thus it happened," says our diplomatic witness, "that not by the strength of the enemy, but by accident and bad judgment, the ill-chance befell them, for Kutlugh Shah would not take anyone's advice," a conclusion which enables the chronicler to moralise on his own report of these events, whose length he excuses on the ground that the experience might not be lost. His notice, it will be seen, glosses over the real defeat sustained by the Mongols, which he, in fact, does not mention; while he actually goes on to say that the enemy dared not pursue them.

The *Georgian Chronicle* says the Tartars, after the first day's fight, which was indecisive, retired to a hill, under Kutlugh Shah and Hussein Sevinj, while Sibuchi, son of Kutlugh Shah, planted himself in the plain with the people of Beka. Each one held his horse's bridle. The Sultan determined to make a stream flow behind the Tartars (? by opening some dykes). During the night a fog arose, so that men and beasts were completely enveloped. At daybreak, seeing this fog behind them and the Egyptians in front, the Tartars were much embarrassed. They, however, found a small space uncovered by the fog, which was speedily crowded with corpses, but through which they managed to escape, although after a terrible slaughter. Wakhtang and the Noyan (*i.e.*, Kutlugh) both escaped.* Abulfeda tells us a division was sent in pursuit of the Mongols, under Salar, which followed the fugitives as far as Kariatain, and that many of those who survived the dangers of this flight were overwhelmed by the Euphrates in trying to cross it on horseback when it was flooded. Many others, he says, were waylaid and put to death by the Arabs, "and thus," he adds, "did God avenge the wrongs we had suffered, and repaid them the injury they did us in the year 699, at Mojma ul Muruj, in the district of Hims."†

The Egyptians are said by Wassaf to have captured 10,000 prisoners, and 20,000 cattle, among whom were Taitak, Sunatai, and Kinju, and many superior officers. The Turkish prisoners were incorporated in the frontier garrisons and the Arab cavalry. The strict discipline of their enemies very much surprised the Egyptians. Having heard of the bravery of Taitak, who had received four wounds, Nasir summoned him,

* Op. cit., 634. † Op. cit., 187.

and asked him how much Ghazan gave him a-year as a reward for his devotion. "The Mongol," was the reply, "is the slave of his sovereign. He is never free. His sovereign is his benefactor; he does not serve him for money. Although I was the last of Ghazan's servants, I never needed anything." On being asked how much each soldier received annually, he replied, from two to five tugars. "But," adds Mirkhavend, "what is most to be admired is that although 5,000 horsemen in the late war had lost their horses, they cheerfully shouldered arms and articles for a two months' march;" and he further relates that after such a march, if, when they arrived at home, and even before they had unloosened their mantles, they were ordered upon a distant campaign, they at once set out without demur."* No wonder the historian, whose experience of discipline had been gathered among Arab mercenaries, &c., was much surprised. Notwithstanding this discipline the retreat was very disastrous. The amir Salar was sent in pursuit, and followed the retreating Mongols as far as Kariatain. The Mongol horses were worn out with fatigue. The soldiers lost heart, and hardly offered resistance, and many of them were killed by the camp followers, who secured a large booty, and in some cases we are told as many as twenty Tartars fell to one of these creatures. The Arabs who offered themselves as guides led them astray into desert places, &c., where they perished of thirst. Others were conducted to Gutah, near Damascus, where the people set upon and killed them. Wassaf says many of them, to avoid dying of hunger, sold themselves as slaves. Others exchanged their own slave girls for mares. Nasir ordered the bodies of all Mussulmans who had perished in the struggle to be buried together, without being washed, and without shrouds, and a circular tomb was erected over them.†

The victory was naturally the subject of great rejoicing. Pigeons conveyed the news to Gaza, and also an order that the runaways from the army were not to be allowed to enter Egypt, while those who had plundered the Sultan's treasure were to be sought out and detained. The amir Bedr ud din Bektut-Fattah was selected to take details of the good news of the success to Egypt, and left immediately. News was also sent to Damascus and other fortresses. The Sultan entered Damascus on the 23rd of April, and was received with the greatest rejoicings as a deliverer, the whole place being splendidly decorated. He rewarded his generals with robes of honour and other gifts. He refused at first to see the amir Burlughi, one of those who had fled, and only did so under the solicitation of his other officers, when he was admitted and pardoned. One of the amirs of Aleppo, who had been corrupted by the Mongols, and had acted as their guide, was nailed to a camel and perambulated about the town. The naib of Gaza arrested and searched the runaways, and discovered on

* D'Ohsson, iv. 334-335. Note.
† Makrizi, op. cit., ii. (part ii.) 203. D'Ohsson, iv. 335-336.

them many bags of gold and silver which had been appropriated, and which were still sealed. The amir Alem ud din Sanjar Jauli went towards Damascus with the officials of the treasury, and recovered from the camp followers a large quantity of purloined treasure. The guilty were imprisoned, nor did the search cease till a large part of what had been lost was recovered. When Bektut Fattah reached Cairo, he gave orders that the city was to be decorated from the gate of Nasr to that of the Chain, and he summoned Arab musicians from the various towns of Egypt. The news of the victory had already reached them by pigeon post from Katia, but as Bektut was delayed *en route* by an affection of his hand the people began to be uneasy. The markets were closed, and bread sold at a dirhem for four *rotl*, while a skin of water cost four dirhems. On his arrival everybody went out to meet him. It was a regular fête, and each one rivalled his neighbour in decorating the place. Balconies with seats were raised, the ostadars of the amirs divided the chief street of Cairo among them, each taking a certain length to decorate, the crier went round the town to proclaim that anyone employing an artisan for another purpose than that of erecting balconies was to be deemed to have committed an offence against the Sultan; and the price of wood, reeds, and joiners' tools rose very greatly. The country people came into the town, and jewels, precious stones, pearls, and silks were used to ornament the houses. Nasir ud din Muhammed Ibn Alshaikhi, the vali, made a balcony at the gate of Nasr, which contained all kinds of rare objects. By his orders basins were filled with sugar and citrons, and about these were ranged Mamluks, holding glasses of lemonade in their hands to give drink to the soldiers. The Sultan presently arrived, and we are told that fifty or even a hundred dirhems were paid for the hire of a house whence the triumphant procession could be seen. The various amirs met him at the gate. The aged Bektash relieved him of his arms, and notwithstanding his great age and the entreaties of the Sultan, insisted on carrying them on foot; the amir-shikar, or chief huntsman, carried the umbrella and the falcon, the amir-jandar the sceptre, and the amir-bajmakdar the mace. Carpets were spread from each house to the next one, over which the Sultan marched his horse, and the procession stopped at each to examine the beautiful things. The Mongol prisoners marched in front in chains, bearing about their necks the heads of their companions who had fallen in the battle. In addition, 1,000 heads were held aloft on lances. The prisoners were 1,600 in number, who had a similar number of heads tied about their necks. Before them were carried their drums, which were broken. The Sultan rode over silk carpets all the way to the citadel, where he presented the amir Burlughi with 30,000 dirhems, and nominated him amir of the caravans.*

* Makrizi, op. cit., 203-213. D'Ohsson, iv. 336-337.

Kutlugh Shah recrossed the Euphrates with only a small portion of his army, and there was great grief in the cities of Hamadan, Tebriz, &c., when the sad news arrived. Makrizi says Ghazan was so affected by it that blood flowed from his nose. He was on the point of dying, and secluded himself. Only one man in ten had returned. Abulfeda attributes his death, which occurred shortly after, to chagrin at his defeat. The Persian historians tell us Kutlugh Shah arrived at Keshf, where Ghazan awaited his return, on the 7th of May, and the day following he left for Ardebil, where on the 4th of June he received Chŏban, and praised him greatly, inasmuch as he had remained behind to rally the dismounted troopers, and to conduct the débris of the army to Baghdad, sustaining their courage during their long march. After spending a month in the mountains of Sehend, he arrived at Aujan on the 26th of June, having been preceded thither by his wives and oghruks. The following day began the trial of the officers who had commanded in the Syrian campaign. Choban accused Kutlugh Shah of not having supported him when he broke the Egyptian right, and was charged by him in turn with having been too rash. The trial of the officers lasted till the 17th of July, and according to Rashid, two of them, Agathai Takhan and Tughan Timur, were put to death.* The Egyptian historians say that Ghazan was so irritated at the disaster, that he had Kutlugh Shah, Choban, Sunatai, and other officers arrested. He condemned Kutlugh Shah to death, but spared his life on the entreaty of the other officers. He, however, subjected him to great indignity. He was held by some ushers at a distance from the throne, while all those present came forward and spat in his face. He was then exiled to Ghilan. Mulai was bastinadoed, and treated most ignominiously. Mirkhavend says all Kutlugh Shah's officers received a certain number of blows with a stick, and they were forbidden access to the Ordu for several days, and we are told that Choban, although he had been so signally praised by Ghazan, and had been presented with one of his own robes, was beaten like the rest, so that there might be no exception.†

The King of Armenia, before returning home to his own country, also went to see Ghazan, who received him well and consoled him for the loss of so many of his men, and even made over to him a guard of 1,000 Mongols, who were to be maintained at his own expense, and assigned him a portion of the revenue of the kingdom of Turkey to keep another body of 1,000 horsemen. He then returned again to Armenia.‡ Chamitch says that Pilarghu (*i.e.*, the Barlogi of Abulfeda and the Barlagu of Sanutius) was the commander of the contingent assigned to the Armenian king. He died in 1307.§

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* D'Ohsson, iv. 338. Ilkhans, ii. 131.

† D'Ohsson, iv. 337-340. Note. Makrizi, op. cit., 204-205.

‡ Haithon, 72-73.

§ Georgian Chron., 631. Note.

The bitterest pang of all to the vanquished Mongol chief was doubtless the scornful letter which the Sultan wrote him :—

"Praised be God, who has renewed his goodness towards us, and has given us his grace in full measure ; who has again illumined the moon with his light, and granted us unmeasured joy ; who by his rich gifts has stilled the longing of the soul and given repose to the heart ; who has lighted up brightly the sun of wisdom, and has caused its moon to rise with renewed fortune ; who has wiped out the mishaps of Time and scared away hard Fate, so that our eyes are radiant with delight at the sight of all our hopes and wishes fulfilled. May the Lord be praised, so long as the lightning flashes and the stars wander through the night. The exalted king, the assembler of armies, knows that he paraded as the patron of Islam, yet he enveloped himself in fraud and forgot the right. He accordingly accomplished what God's will determined, and has courted the fate which no mortal can escape. Only the other day he sent messages of peace, inviting concord in the name of Islam, and declaring he would cause no harm to the land, nay, that he wished to fill up the gap separating us, as the holy law requires. We knew his real object, yet at the very prospect of peace, which shone upon us like the full moon, our suspicion was dissipated, we received his envoys with honour, as it became us, listened to their message, and gave our reply to the demands which we could not accede to. We then sent them back again, and left it to him to develop the evil intentions which he concealed in his breast. We also sent him an embassy, as he demanded, although we knew his designs, and thus gave him an opportunity to commit his shameful outrage. For hardly had our envoys reached him when he threw off the mask, marched his troops, and commenced the war which became his ruin. They crossed the Euphrates, while he, trusting to his heels for safety, prudently returned home again. His army invaded our land, and did there what he had ordered it—cut down the trees and destroyed the seed, planted itself by Aleppo, and thence made raids.

"Meanwhile our troops were ambushed in Syria. They advanced with God in their hearts, as to a holy war, and our brave divisions marched against the enemy, who through our weakness had entered the land. Two thousand of them attacked two divisions of the foe near Alurdh, where they had plundered the Turkomans. After a short struggle their corpses were strewn about ; God sent their souls to hell, and none of them remained, while Armenians, Georgians, and others were made prisoners. The rest of the hostile army went towards Damascus, not anticipating that they would soon be girdled about with lances, that our horses would be planted around, while our troops would be so near them as to be able to watch them every hour. When they came in view of Damascus they contemplated entering it victoriously, and did not know that they would

find a road to hell near that city. They went over the hill of Mani, but when they saw our army fear possessed their hearts, and they then realised that destruction is the sequel of faithlessness, and ruin of violence. They then sought safety in flight, but before sunset we had spread them on the ground like carpets. Many withdrew to the mountain and sought shelter there from death, and spent the night there till Sunday. They feared none of them would escape, and they had to seek comfort in repentance. They were hopeless unless they could secure our pardon, and it was in despair they appealed: 'Spare us, merciful king, and pardon us at this holy season; we are true believers.' We thereupon ordered our troops to let them pass through. They fled amazed, like a sheep before wolves. The father did not look back for his sons. If you, O King, had seen this day of battle, you would not have slept peaceably for a long time, for your friends were killed or enslaved. It was a bad day for the unbelievers—a day on which the wolves and the vultures went out together for rapine. If you had seen how your comrades were eaten by the wolves you would have exclaimed, 'O, that I were changed into dust.' Thank God you did not see these things with your eyes, and only learnt them through your ears. If you had been witness of the evil that overwhelmed your friends you would not have survived the horrors, for it was a doom of which the angels were witness.

"I gave you candid advice, but you paid no heed. You would not refrain from your violent purpose, and the result is the destruction of your army. We told you, 'Whoever uses the sword of wrong commits suicide.' But you imprudently despised my words, and the reward of your ill-doing is that God has made yourself and your army a by-word till the day of resurrection. Turn again to the true faith, and do not let Satan deceive you any more into vile courses that bear ill fruit. If you are a Mussulman, act as such. Let us both, conformably to the holy script, which deems violence a sin, renounce all pretensions to Baghdad and to Irak, restore them again to the Khalif, and obey his commands. Thus shall we bend the bow of our faith. If this be not done, you will secure God's curse till the day of doom. If you act otherwise, then is your ruin inevitable, and Persia as well as Irak will be lost to you, when you sink into nothing. We have now pointed out to you what is right; deviate not from it. Receive our envoy kindly, and see him escorted safely back to Syria. Then take the rest of your troops to Khorasan, and heed not the suggestions of Satan. A man once told us that your horsemen and your foot soldiers would come to Egypt. This prophecy has now been fulfilled, but in another sense. The riders are sitting sideways, and the foot soldiers are assembled with drums about their necks, and revolving banners in their hands. Make haste, therefore; retire from Asia Minor, and from Irak, and go to Khorasan. We shall soon follow you with our troops, who will speedily scatter your people in terror, and

before us you will tremble and quake. He who gives warning must not afterwards be blamed. Hail to him who follows advice."*

After the guilty chiefs had been punished, Ghazan held a kuriltai, where he distributed liberal largess. At his accession to the throne he had found the treasury empty and the country ruined, the revenues were absorbed by his officers, and the taxes were obtained with difficulty. The treasures which Khulagu captured at Baghdad, in Syria, and in the country of the Ismaelites, and which by his orders had been deposited in the strong fort of Téla, had been plundered by its successive guardians, who sold the golden balishes and precious stones to merchants. As they were all guilty the secret was well kept. One tower of the castle situated on the borders of the Lake of Urmia having fallen, the guards seized the opportunity to appropriate still more treasures, which they declared had fallen into the water with the tower. What remained, and it was valued at only 150 tumans, was distributed among the troops by Ahmed when he wished to march against Arghun. The treasure amassed by Arghun disappeared after his death. When the military chiefs, who rebelled during his illness, put his ministers and courtiers to death, they appropriated a portion of the treasure, and divided a portion of it among the soldiers. Gaikhatu neither saved anything nor left anything. Accordingly, on Ghazan's accession, he had nothing to give the troops whom he had brought with him from Khorasan, and whose tents and cattle had been appropriated by the invaders from Transoxiana. Hardly anything reached the treasury. Nuruz, Sherif ud din of Simnan, and Sadr ud din all tried in vain to restore the finances. Not only was there not money enough to pay the troops, but not even sufficient for a present to an envoy. No one could understand how this was, and Ghazan was accused of avarice and carelessness. One day he said to his officers, "You fancy that these mules which follow the camp are laden with gold. You are mistaken; they only carry wooden instruments and various tools which I like to use, as you know, and you can test it for yourselves. When I have nothing I can give nothing. My predecessors have left me nothing. I inherited a ruined country, and have not received the revenue."

But in the course of two years, after he had organised the army, protected the frontiers, and cleared the kingdom of the robbers who infested it, he devoted himself to regulating the finances and to reforming the administration, as we shall presently describe. Only trustworthy people were given charge of the provinces, and they held their posts for at least three years if they behaved well. Order being thus restored, the treasury began once more to fill. He distributed the first two or three hundred tumans which were received among the officers, fixing how much

* Weil, iv. 260-263.

each corps was to receive, but at the kuriltai held at Aujan, which we mentioned just now, he distributed largess with his own hand. Seated in a large tent, where were collected the revenues of various provinces, and surrounded by his principal officers, he distributed robes, rolls of gold and silver of different sizes, inscribed with their contents and with the corps for which they were destined, calling out each corps himself by its name. This distribution lasted for fifteen days, during which time there were distributed 300 tumans of gold in coin, 20,000 sets of robes, 50 girdles decorated with precious stones, and 300 golden girdles. Rashid tells us Ghazan had the art of rewarding his followers according to their merit without arousing jealousies. There never passed a day on which he did not give away from ten to a hundred thousand pieces of money, and from a hundred to three hundred robes. Notwithstanding this generosity, such was the order in the administration that the treasury was not emptied, and none of his predecessors distributed so much as he.*

From Aujan, he set out for Tebriz, where he arrived on the 8th of September, and began preparations for another campaign in Syria, but he was suddenly attacked with ophthalmia, which lasted some time. Meanwhile, on the 11th, there arrived at his ordu the dowager Princess Ilturmish, daughter of Kutlugh Gurkan and widow of Gaikhatu, who had afterwards married Ghazan's brother, Khodabendah. She took her two sons, Bestam and Abuyezid, with her. Ghazan betrothed his daughter Oljai Kutlugh, who was only six years old, to Bestam. In order to cure his eyes, the Chinese doctors had made scarifications or wounds in two parts of his body. In the end of October he left Tebriz riding on an Indian elephant, which had been sent him as a present by the Sultan of Delhi. The sight was a new one for the people of Tebriz, who came from all sides to see it, and he amused himself on the animal during the whole day in the public square. On the 31st of October he set out again for Aujan. The pain which his recent operation caused him, prevented him riding on horseback, and he travelled by short stages in a palanquin. From the station of Yusagaj he sent Kutlugh Shah to take command of the troops in Arran, a command which had become vacant the year before by the death of Nurin Aka. On the 13th of November he arrived at the palace of Jome Gurkan. Jome Gurkan, who was by origin a Tartar, had married two daughters of Khulagu in succession, namely, Bulughan and Jome. Abaka married Jome's aunt Nukdan, while his mother was Chichegan, the daughter of Ochigin, Jingis Khan's youngest brother. This shows how curiously involved the marriage relations of the Mongol prince were. From the palace of Jome Gurkan Ghazan went to Sughurluk. He intended going to Baghdad, but the heavy snow made the roads impracticable, and decided him to pass the winter on the banks of the Hulan muran, where he spent the

* D'Ohsson, iv. 339-344.

time in feasting and dispensing charity. He allowed the poor to feed in his presence and distributed clothes among them. On one occasion there came ten dervishes. Ghazan ordered ten sets of robes to be given them. Nejm ud din, the mehter or upholsterer, who had the distribution of these things, declared that two of the dervishes were not Mussulmans at all, but were Christians, and it turned out that in the hope of getting food and clothing they had feigned to be so. Ghazan ordered that they were, nevertheless, to have the robes, since the Padishah of Islam could not break his word.* While in winter quarters, Ghazan went into seclusion for forty days, during which he took little food, gave himself up to meditation, and was waited upon by the dervishes. His residence was inclosed by a palisade, and no one except the khoja of the serai or palace had access to him. While he was going through these penitential exercises the dervishes of Tebriz, headed by the Pir (*i.e.*, the master of contemplative life), Yakub Baghban, formed a conspiracy to depose him and put on the throne his cousin Alafrenk, the eldest son of Gaikhatu. One of them, named Mahmud, went to the camp and reported that a gigantic figure, forty ells high and with a breast five ells broad, had come down as a messenger from heaven, and had alighted on the mountain Merend, and declared it to be the will of heaven that Alafrenk should mount the throne. When the vizier, Said ud din, heard of this he had him seized, and sent the akhtaji (equerry) Khani to Tebriz to seize the envoy of the Khakan Khubilai, Nasir ud din, together with the heads of the conspiracy, Pir Yakub, Seyid Kemal ud din, and the sheikhs, Rashid and Sadr ud din. When they were brought before Ghazan he remembered that they were partisans of the deposed vizier, Sadr ud din, of Zenjan, whom they doubtless wished to avenge by his own deposition. They were questioned by him in person, and it was proved they were adherents of the doctrines of Mezdek, who lived during the reign of Kobad, father of Nushirvan, king of Persia, and who were attached to a form of Manicheism. Pir Yakub was thrown down from the summit of a neighbouring mountain, and his accomplices were executed. Alafrenk was pardoned, and ordered to go to Khorasan to join Khodabendah. Touched by this clemency, he confessed that he had been induced to go to Tebriz on pretence of a hunting expedition, and having joined with Yakub and his companions in their pious exercises, was persuaded by them that he should mount the throne. Yetmish, the deputy of Taitak, who had been captured in the Egyptian war, was implicated in the conspiracy, and was put to death. Taitak's son, Akbuka, who was also a party to it, was pardoned on account of his youth and of his father's services.†

The new year's feast was held on January the 10th, 1304, in the ordu or

* Ilkhans, ii. 131-133. D'Ohsson, iv. 346-347. † Ilkhans, ii. 133-135. D'Ohsson, iv. 347-349.

the Princess Ilturmish. This was spent with especial festivities, in consequence of the recent escape from the conspiracy, and we are told Ghazan specially honoured the vizier Said ud din, and the historian Rashid, on the occasion. To the former he appointed a command of 1,000 life-guards, with horsetail standards and kettledrums, and ordered the various amirs to wait upon him with their congratulations. Eight days after the new year Keramun, Ghazan's wife, died. She was buried at Tebriz. Her death greatly affected him, since she was in the bloom of youth, and he often wept for her. One day he asked his amirs what was the most grievous thing in life. Some said a defeat, others imprisonment, others poverty, or sickness, or death. Ghazan replied: "The most grievous is to be born at all, for life is but a string of misfortunes, closed by death." "When two are on a journey," he asked, "one on foot, the other sitting down, which is the more tranquil?" "He who sits," they replied. "And when one is sitting and the other lying down?" "The one who is lying down." "If one is awake and the other asleep, which is the more tranquil?" "The one who sleeps," they said. "Quite true," he said, "and the only real peace is in death. True is the Prophet's word: 'The world is the prison of the faithful, and the paradise of unbelievers.'"*

Before we conclude the personal history of Ghazan we will devote a few words to the two remote provinces of Fars and Kerman, at this time about which Von Hammer collected some interesting details. The province of Fars was divided in very early times into five districts, Ardeshir, with Shiraz as its capital; Istakhr, with Persepolis as its chief town; Shabur, with its chief town of the same name; Kobad, with Aujan as its chief town; and Darabsherd. The last of these was situated in its eastern parts, and was in later times called Shebankiareh. Its capital Darab, so named, says Von Hammer, from its founder Darius, was situated on a number of hills, surrounded by a wall a parasang in circuit. The district round was famous for gold, silver, markesite, fluospath, iron, salt of seven colours, quicksilver, and the famous resin, *mumia*, used in bone-setting. The district contained some other famous towns, which are enumerated and described by Von Hammer. It was governed from early times by the family of Fasluyeh, whose importance dated back to the time of the early struggles of the Arabs and the Sassanians. At the time of Khulagu's campaign in the West, the head of the house was Mozaffer ud din, son of Nizam ud din. He was the contemporary and rival in power of the Salghurid chief, Mozaffer ud din Abubekr, and his authority extended from Khasuyeh Runis and Khair as far as the villages of Mishkusabad, Lur, Sanik, and Guristan, the last of which was only seven parasangs distant from Hormuz. Khulagu in 1259 sent Tekyujin with a tuman of Jelairs to attack Darabsherd.

* Ilkhans, ii. 135-136.

Mozaffer ud din was killed by an arrow during the attack, and the town was taken and destroyed; 17,000 houses which surrounded the citadel like a girdle were levelled with the ground. Tekyujin then appointed Mozaffer ud din's son, Kutb ud din, to govern the district of Darabsherd, under the control of a Mongol commissary. Eleven months later, viz., on the 5th of November, 1261, Kutb ud din was murdered by his brothers. Two of them, Nisam ud din and Nasir ud din, succeeded him quickly. The former was killed at Kiarsun by Seljuk Shah in February, 1264. The latter died on his wedding-day, when he married Seljuk Shah's daughter. He was succeeded by Jelal ud din Taibshah, who reigned for seventeen years, when he was put to death by order of the Ilkhan Ahmed. His brother Behai ud din reigned for seven years, and then sickened and died. These two brothers were succeeded by their sons, Malik Ghayas ud din and Nisam ud din III. They were succeeded by Ardeshir, under whom the dynasty of the Shebankyarehs was swallowed up and succeeded by that of the Beni Mozaffer (*i.e.*, by the dynasty so called in Fars). The long lease of virtual independence from Mongol control enjoyed by this district now came to an end. On the return of Ghazan from his Syrian campaign, an impost of twenty tumans was laid upon the province of Fars. The amir Mingkutluk and the great sahib Iz ud din Al Kohedi were sent to Shiraz to regulate the taxes there, and each ten dinars of the land tax had an additional dinar added to it. The additional sum was called *tebghur*. This was found so onerous that the vizier ordered it to be cut down to one-half, and we are told that, taking advantage of an ambiguity in the phrase in which the order was embodied, the lucky inhabitants managed to retain the tax at the old amount.*

Let us now turn shortly to the affairs of Kerman. We have seen how, on the murder of Padishah Khatun, Ghazan nominated her nephew Mozaffer ud din Muhammed Shah, son of Hijaj, as her successor; after doing homage, he remained at Ghazan's Court. The disorders which had arisen in Kerman during the commotions following the death of Padishah Khatun were set right by the judge Fakhr ud din, of Herat, who went to Kerman as the young Sultan's representative. He treated the royal princes there with haughtiness, and cut down their allowances, whereupon Mahmud and Hasan Shah rose in rebellion and killed him. Ghazan now sent Timur Buka as governor of Kerman, with an army which beleaguered the town for a year and a-half. The princes submitted, and Sadr ud din Khoja, the successor of Fakhr ud din as vizier, sent Mahmud to the Court. He arrived at Ispahan when his brother Muhammed was on his way to his appanage, but as the latter did not send for him as he expected, he poisoned himself. When Muhammed arrived at Kerman he had his other brother, Sujukshah, sent to

* Ilkhans, ii. 136-140.

Ghazan, who had him put to death.* This is one account. Another is so entirely different that it is difficult to find any common features. According to this other account, as Muhammed spent most of his time at the Court, a capable Sahib and Pishaver was sent to take charge of the province. The most learned man of his time in Kerman, Abdallah ibn Muhammed el Beyari, was chosen for the post. Mahmud, Muhammed's brother, and several grandees, with a body of Turkomans, fell upon and killed him and his two sons, and plundered the archives and library. Mahmud Shah did not stop here, but proceeded to raise an army, seize fortresses, establish magazines, and levy taxes. Seyid Moaasem Jelal ud din, Beyari's son, called in the Mongol general Sadakbeg to avenge his father and brothers. Ghazan, who was meditating his Syrian invasion ordered the amir Juyurghatai and Khirmenju, the governor of Ispahan, to march with the forces bordering on Kerman, and also ordered the malik Nisam ud din Hasan, brother of malik Ghayas ud din Shebankyareh, and the great atabeg Nusret ud din Pir Ahmed, with the amirs of Luristan and Fars, to march. A struggle followed, in which Mahmud, at the head of the Turkomans and Kermanians, resisted bravely the attacks of the Lurs and Afghans. The next day the town was blockaded. The siege lasted for many months, the garrison holding out bravely, notwithstanding the want of food and firewood, and to supply the latter the most beautiful palaces were dismantled, and the wainscoting burnt. Sujuk Shah, the instigator of the revolt, thought to save himself when things were at the worst by deserting to the Mongols, but Mahmud, having heard of this, had him arrested and sent off to them as the author of the troubles. Sadak sent him to Tebriz, where he was put to death. The siege dragged on ten months, during which five-and-thirty combats took place, which lasted from dawn till sunset, and famous builders of siege machinery had to be summoned from Mosul and Shiraz. At length the town was stormed from all four sides. Mahmud Shah and his Turkomans were taken bound into Sadak's camp. A yarligh was issued by the Ilkhan ordering that all who had taken part in the murder of Beyari and his sons should be put to death. Ten great amirs and eight-and-twenty of their associates were executed, otherwise the town was spared, and the terrible ravage of a ten months' siege was not augmented by a general sack. Sadak was granted the amirship, with command of the armies of Irak, Great and Little Luristan, and Kerman, with a special diploma sealed with a lion's head, with one of the Ilkhan's robes and a sword, and with the hand of Tulan Khatun, the widow of Prince Yesen Timur. These events took place in the year 1300.† Which of these accounts is correct, who can say? The latter, which is that given by Wassaf, from its circumstantial detail, would seem to be the more trustworthy. Muhammed was

* Ilkhans, ii. 49. † *Id.*, ii. 140-142.

now duly installed at Kerman. Differences arose between him and his vizier, Sadr ud din, which ended in the latter taking up his residence at Tebriz, where he looked after his interests faithfully. The Sultan died of hard drinking, according to Hamdullah, in the year 703 HEJ., after a reign of eight years. We are told, his brother Hasan Shah was installed in his place, but he died a month later at Hadisi. There only remained one prince of the royal family, viz., Kutb ud din Shah Jihan, the son of Siyurghatmish, who was now appointed ruler of Kerman, and duly given a diploma, state robe, &c.*

In March or April, 1305, Ghazan set out from the yurt of Hulan Muran, meaning the Red River in Mongol, a name which the Turks write Kizil Ussun. This river rises in Mount Elvend, north of Hamadan, and falls into the Caspian. In Persian it is called Sipid Rud, or the White River. On it was a yurt or camp of the Mongols, which Uljaitu named Boinuk or Yamuk. Leaving his harem and baggage near the castle of Juk, which was only one stage distant from the palace of Jome, Ghazan set out with the jeride, or light baggage, and his head-quarters, for Merak. He hunted for some days in the mountains of Kharkan and Masdekan, and eventually reached Sava. Here the Vizier gave a grand feast, and offered the cup to all the princes and princesses, and was treated by the Ilkhan with marked honour. The Home Secretary, Khoja Shihab ud din Mubarek Shah, who had a house at Sava, and whose father, Khoja Sherif ud din Saadan, one of the chief people of Irak, was still living, also gave a similar feast, and distributed presents among the princes, princesses, and high officials. Ghazan had largely recovered from his illness, and could again mount on horseback and eat in public. On leaving Sava, and on the way to Rai, he had a relapse. His sight and appetite were again affected, notwithstanding which he continued to ride on horseback. He stayed some days at Rai. When he arrived at Khial-buzurk his illness became more critical, and he went on by short stages to Pishkaleh, near Kazvin (called Yeskele rud by D'Ohsson), whence he sent messengers to summon his favourite wife, Bulughan. After her arrival he summoned all the grandees of the empire, among whom are specially named Kutlugh Shah noyan, who had held the post of first of the amirs and commander-in-chief since his accession; Choban, Baidu, Bilar, Ostai, Molai, Ramazan, Ilghu, Kur Timur, and Taremtan; the two viziers, Said ud din and Rashid ud din, and various officers whose names are given by Von Hammer, and included the pages, the master of the horse, the commanders of the life-guards Biludai, the quartermaster-general Masuk, the amirs of the life-guards, the secretaries, silentiars, head cooks, falconers, treasurers, treasury clerks, &c. He addressed an exhortation to them, bidding them do justice and right. He appointed

* *Id.*, ii. 142.

his brother Khodabendeh, whom he had already, four years before, nominated for that post, to succeed him, and conjured his friends to see to the carrying out of his will in its integrity. After having performed this duty, he passed the greater part of his time in retirement. Although so much weakened by disease, he preserved his faculties and natural eloquence until the moment of death, which happened on Sunday, the 17th of May, 1304. He was but thirty-three years old, and had reigned nine years.*

An author, quoted by De Guignes, calls the place where he died Sham Ghazan (*i.e.*, the Damascus of Ghazan). It was a town he had himself built, and to which he had united his name, as he did to others, which he called Cairo and Aleppo.† His corpse was taken on horseback to Tebriz, and was followed by his khatuns and amirs. The people of the towns and villages *en route* came out of their houses with bare heads and feet, clad in sackcloth, and with dust on their heads. The minarets throughout the kingdom were covered with sackcloth, and straw was strewn in the streets, bazaars, and public squares. The people of all classes for seven days dressed themselves in tattered clothes or in sackcloth. They of Tebriz wore mourning of deep blue, and went out to meet the *cortège;* soldiers and citizens walked beside the bier uttering groans. The body was at length deposited in the mausoleum which he had built for himself near Tebriz.‡

Ghazan is described by Haithon, who must have frequently seen him, as of small stature, to which he refers, and also to his ungainly looks, in the quaint sentence: "Et hoc precipue erat admirandum qualiter in tantillo corpusculo tanta virtutum copia invenire poterat. Nam inter xx mille milites vix potuisset staturæ minoris aliquis reperiri, neque turpioris aspectus; omnes tamen alias in probitate & virtutibus excedebat."§ The *Georgian Chronicle* says Ghazan died deplored by all on account of his justice, which was such that his kingdom was free from robbery, rapine, and injustice, and he was generally regretted.‖ Pachymeres says he enjoined his brother not to alter anything which he had settled for at least three years, after which he was free to do as he pleased.¶

Ghazan had seven wives: 1. Kurtika, daughter of Mangu Timur Gurkan the Suldus. 2. Bulughan, the daughter of the amir Tesu. 3. Eshel, daughter of Toka Timur, son of the chief judge Buka. 4. Kokaji, who was a dependant of the great Princess Bulughan. 5. The latter princess married in turn three of the Ilkhans—first, Ghazan's father, Arghun, by whom she had a daughter, Dilanji; secondly, Arghun's brother, Gaikhatu, by whom she had a son, Jing pulad; and, thirdly, Ghazan himself, by whom she had a son, Alju. Alju therefore stood in the double relationship of brother and nephew to Dilanji. Besides Alju,

* Ilkhans, ii. 145-147. † De Guignes, iii. 276. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 349-350.
§ Haithon, 65. ‖ Op. cit., 635. ¶ Stritter, iii. 1094.

Ghazan also had by her a daughter, Oljai Kutlugh. 6. Tundi, daughter of Akbuka, the Jelair. 7. Keramun, daughter of Kutlugh Timur, son of Abatai Noyan.*

Stritter quotes a curious story about Ghazan, which was derived from the report of a certain Florentine, who lived at this time in Persia, viz., that he married a daughter of the King of Armenia, by whom he bore a son, who was so deformed that there was scarcely anything human about him, and as it was said she must have had some unclean connection, it was decided that she with the child should be thrown into the fire. She begged that before this was done she might make confession and take the sacrament from some priest, and that the child should be baptised; and it happened that directly he was touched by the sacred water his looks changed, and he became very fair to look at, upon which Ghazan revoked his order, and the Christian faith was greatly benefited.†

When Ghazan became a Muhammedan he definitely broke off his allegiance to the Supreme Khan in the furthest East. Hitherto the Ilkhans had been merely feudatories of the Khakan of Mongolia and China. They were now to become quite independent, and it is natural that the formulæ on the coins should accordingly be changed. On Ghazan's coins we find in Mongol characters the words, "Tegrini Kuchundur Ghasanu deledkeguluksen." (By God's power Ghazan's coinage.) In addition to this inscription there occur three characters, which M. Terrien de la Couperie has shown to be in the Bashpa character, the first native form of character introduced among the Mongols, which was the invention of the Lama Bashpa, or Pakba, and was first introduced by Khubilai Khan in 1269.‡ The three characters represent the words, "Ma Kha san," the first being a contraction for Mahmud, and the second and third forming the nearest approximation to Ghazan which the characters were capable of representing.§ When the name occurs in Arabic letters it is written "Ghazan Mahmud." Pachymeres extols the beauty and purity of his coins. In the collection of the British Museum are coins of Ghazan struck at Tebriz, Shiraz, Baghdad, Kemnaz'ar, B'ar'an, Sinj'ar, Mosul, Hamadan, Armiiah, Kashan, Tiflis, Berdaa, Jezireh, Sultania, Lulueh, and others doubtfully attributed to Kerm'an, Arzenjan, and Erzerum.|| Frœhn, in his "Recensio," published a coin of Ghazan's struck at Basrah and another at Damaghan;¶ and De Saulcy one struck at Nakhchivan.** Another coin, published by De Saulcy, is dated, not in the year of the hejira, but in the second year of the Ilkhanian era (*i.e.*, the new era founded by Ghazan Khan). This year would answer to 602 HEJ.††

* Ilkhans, ii. 8-10. † Stritter, ii. 1093. Note z. ‡ Ante, i. 223.
§ De la Couperie, in Poole's Catalogue Oriental Coins, vi. l.-lii. || Poole, op. cit., 34-43.
¶ Op. cit., 639. ** Journ. Asiat, 3rd ser., xiii. 136. †† *Id.*, 134.

CHAPTER IX.

GHAZAN KHAN.—*Continued.*

GHAZAN, considering his years and the short time that he reigned, was certainly one of the most remarkable sovereigns that the East has produced. He was no doubt fortunate in having as his special biographer the great historian, Rashid ud din, but he was well deserving of having his deeds described by such a pen. Pachymeres, the Byzantine historian, speaks of him with no stinted praise. "With him," says he, "departed the flattering hope of seeing tranquillity restored to the Roman Empire, and when he was taken—(he who alone, not only had the power, but also the will, as he had begun to prove by his acts, to prevent the barbarians, his subjects, from devastating our provinces)—evils greater than had ever befallen fell upon us, and particularly upon Philadelphia, which the Karamanians proceeded to assail."* In recounting his many virtues this historian becomes quite hyperbolical. He tells us that he made Cyrus and Darius, and especially Alexander, his patterns, and delighted to read their lives, &c., &c. His reign was famous as the acme of the literary culture of the Persian Mongols. He himself, we are told, beside his mother tongue, Mongol, understood a little Arabic and Persian, and something also of the language of Kashmir, Tibet, and China, and even, as it seems, of Latin also, which is apparently what Rashid ud din means by the language of the Franks; and the best proof of the attainments of some of his people is to be found in the pages of Rashid ud din and his epitomiser, Binaketi, in which a certain familiarity is shown, not only with the history of Byzantium, but also with that of Germany, France, and Sicily. This knowledge was doubtless derived from the envoys from the various sovereigns who visited his Court. These embassies prove to us what a centre for the meeting of all the nations Tebriz was. We will now describe some of them.

In the year 1298 Ghazan sent the malik Moazzam Fakhr ud din Ahmed and Bokai Ilchi with magnificent presents—great pearls, precious stones, and cheetahs, or hunting leopards—as envoys to his suzerain, Timur Khakan, the ruler of China. The malik took from his own stores rich jewels to give away, and we are told he was intrusted with ten tumans of gold pieces to purchase Chinese products for Ghazan. The expenses of

* Stritter, iii. 1087-1092. Marco Polo, ii. 477.

this embassy, from the Chinese frontier (*i.e.*, the mountains of Kanghai) as far as the Imperial residence, were entirely defrayed by the Imperial exchequer. When he was admitted to an audience at Taidu (*i.e.*, the capital), the malik Fakhr ud din, after presenting his sovereign's presents, offered his own. The Khakan offered him a cup of wine with his own hand, and orders were issued to supply the envoys during their stay with provisions, robes, servants, and forty-five horses. The Khakan's answer to Ghazan's letter was full of friendly expressions. It seems that when Khulagu went to the West he had a joint share in certain Imperial manufactories in China, and we are told that the produce of this share had been carefully set aside and was now sent to his great-grandson. It consisted chiefly of beautiful silk brocades, and was taken by a Chinese officer who accompanied the embassy. Fakhr ud din, the chief ambassador, died on the way home again.* The "Yuan shi" refers to an embassy as having gone from Ghazan to Timur Khakan with tribute, but dates it in 1304. In this notice he is called the Chu wang (prince) Hadsan.† We have already mentioned the embassy from the Sultan of Delhi, which brought Ghazan a present of elephants. Envoys also went to him from the rulers of Kipchak and of Egypt, from the Greek Emperor, and the King of the Armenians.‡

His conquest of Syria brought him a letter of congratulation from James II., King of Aragon, which was taken by a citizen of Barcelona, named Peter Solivero. The letter was dated in May, 1300, from Lerida. It was addressed to "the very great and powerful King of the Mongols, Ghazan, King of Kings of all the East." In it the King informs Ghazan how he had heard with pleasure of his successes against the enemies of God, and offered him aid in the shape of ships, galleys, men-at-arms, horses, and all kinds of provisions which could be of use to the Tartar army, and bade the Mongol prince inform him by his messengers what he wished in this respect. "We have ordered," he said, "that all our subjects who wish to go to these countries in honour of God, and to reinforce your army, shall do so without hindrance." The King went on to ask that Ghazan would make over to him one-fifth of the Holy Land recently conquered by him, as well as of the lands he should presently conquer, and also asked that his Aragonese subjects might have the privilege of visiting the Holy Sepulchre and other places without paying tribute.§

The "Chronicle of St. Denis" expressly says that the Mongols occupied Jerusalem, which must have been a very welcome fact for the Christians, inasmuch as Ghazan, according to Haithon, had promised to make over to them such lands as he conquered in Palestine.‖ He also sent envoys to the sovereigns of Western Europe, and renewed his ancient offers of alliance

* D'Ohsson, iv. 320-321. † Bretschneider, Notices, &c., 104. ‡ Ilkhans, ii. 148.
§ Remusat, Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c., vii. 386-387. D'Ohsson, iv. 321-323.
‖ Haithon, xliii.

and also stated his willingness to embrace Christianity.* These envoys also passed over into England, as we learn from the letters written in reply by Edward I.—one in answer to Ghazan's letter and the other addressed to the Patriarch of the Eastern Christians. Ghazan's principal ambassador was the same Buscarel who had been sent by Arghun, as we have described, and who on this occasion is called Buscarellus de Guissurfo. In his letter Edward (probably in answer to the Ilkhan's complaints of delay) justifies himself for not having engaged in a crusade by the wars which were then raging in Western Europe. The envoy of the English king, who was named Geoffrey de Langley, was attended by two esquires, one of whom was Nicholas de Chartres. They joined Buscarel at Genoa, and travelled from thence to the Persian Court with him, his nephew Conrad, and Percival de Gisolfi. The original roll of their itinerary is extant, and has been abstracted by Mr. T. Hudson Turner. The Mongol Court was constantly on the move, so that the route of the envoys had to be frequently changed. When the embassy started the Court was supposed to be at Cassaria (the ancient Cæsarea, in Armenia). The envoys are found successively at Sebaste, Tebriz, Mardin, Erzerum, Coya (?), Papertum (*i.e.*, Baiburt in Armenia), and Sarakhana. It is curious to read of the outfit they provided themselves with at Genoa, which included furs, cloths, armour, carpets, silver plate, and fur pelisses. The silver plate they bought cost, we are told, the large sum of £193. 12s. 7d. currency (English) of that time. Their carpets, fifteen in number, which would have to serve as beds, cost £15. 15s. 6d. The armour, including seven iron plates, eleven basinets, &c., cost £44. 5s. On their journey through Asia Minor, the Saracens (*i.e.*, Muhammedans) acted as their porters and servants. At Trebizond, Buscarel provided himself with a *parasole (sic)*. As the weather grew warmer a second one was bought at Tebriz. These, says Mr. Turner, with two shillings worth of paper, were their most remarkable purchases. On returning home to England they brought with them a leopard in a gabea, or cage, which was fed on sheep throughout the journey, several being put on board for its use at Constantinople.†

Ghazan's will was worded as follows: "Khatuns, princes of the blood, generals, leaders of thousands, and soldiers of all ranks; sultans, courtiers, (inakan), governors (muluks), kadhis, imaums, sheikhs, prefects, receivers of taxes, and in general the inhabitants of our hereditary dominions from the river Amuyé as far as the western frontier, know that God, who, by his grace, has illumined our heart with the light of Islam, and has by his favour seconded the efforts which we have not ceased to make during our reign to maintain the precepts of the faith, to exalt the divine word, to govern the people well, and to cause justice to reign everywhere,

* Remusat, op. cit., 388. † Archæological Journal, viii. 49-50.

having decreed that we should be struck with sickness, and the time approaching when we must pass from this perishable world to the eternal home, it has been our wish in our love for our subjects, among whom the weak are particularly committed to our charge, to remove entirely the wounds of oppression, to strengthen the bases of justice, and to cause the revival of the neglected precepts of Islam, but it has not been permitted us to complete this noble purpose to which we have devoted all our efforts. We entreat all to take care that after our departure troubles do not arise; that our dear brother (whom we nominated four years ago as our heir and successor, convinced that he was worthy, an appointment which we have on several occasions confirmed) be promptly installed on the throne, and that all our subjects do him obeisance. Our successor will not act contrary to the decrees which we have issued after mature deliberation. He will exert himself to make Islam prosper, and to protect the Mussulmans. He will cause whatever is commanded or forbidden by the religion of Muhammed to be scrupulously observed, and will not allow any enemy of the Faith to do it injury. He will follow our example and maintain peace and security among the people, a trust which God has for a while confided to his feeble servant. He will not exact from them taxes in excess of those we have fixed, levy fresh taxes, or re-impose those we have remitted. He will not divert from their objects the funds we have devoted to alms nor the revenues of our pious foundations. He will continue to pay the pensions which we have awarded, and which the officers of the treasury must not appropriate. He will not neglect benevolence, for our destiny is to do good. He will punish the evil doers, and when our decease shall be announced in all the provinces he will cause a funeral namaz to be said, and that the faithful shall aid us with their prayers."*

The character of Ghazan has been described for us in detail by his great minister and historian, Rashid ud din, whose narrative has been translated by D'Ohsson. "He observed," says Rashid ud din, "during all his reign the precepts of Islam with fervour, whence it is clear he had adopted the faith from conviction. This explains why the descendant of a line of Pagan sovereigns, who had conquered the world, and who had no other motive, should have changed his faith. He caused his army, composed partly of Mongols, who," says Rashid, "were Unitarians, and partly of other races of Northern Asia, who were polytheists, idolators, Buddhists, &c., to do the same. Whenever the kadhis, sheikhs, devotees, &c., appeared before him he gave them some advice. On one occasion, when he had summoned the chiefs of the Muhammedan clergy, he addressed them thus: 'You are robed in the religious dress, and seek no doubt to appear perfect in the eyes of God rather than in the eyes of men.

* D'Ohsson, iv. 351-353.

They may be deceived by appearances, but God sees the core of the heart. He hates what is false, and will punish it in this world and the next. He unveils the hypocrites, tears off their cloak and reputation, giving them up to the contempt and amusement of the world. Your costume shows that while you are otherwise like other men, you have, in virtue of your dress, a reputation for virtue not shared by them. You have also established this reputation by your speech and your austerity. Search yourselves well to see if you strictly carry out the duties this dress imposes upon you. If you do so carry them out, you will be, in the eyes of God and men, superior beings. If otherwise, you will deservedly incur shame. Be sure that God has elevated me to be a ruler, and has confided his people to me in order that I may rule them with equity. He has imposed on me the duty of doing justice, of punishing the guilty according to their crimes. He would have me be most severe with those who hold the highest rank. A ruler ought especially to punish the faults of those most highly placed, in order to strike the multitude by example. I ought, therefore, most closely to watch your faults. Do not think I will pay attention to your dress. Let all your actions conform to the law and to the precepts of the Prophet. Mind that everyone does his duty and leads others in the path of safety. You ought not to expect support from each other by a mere appeal to *esprit de corps*, nor should you exact from other men what God does not command, for it is not seemly that you should torment your neighbour in order to gain repute for yourself, nor yet that you should be more zealous than God himself and his Prophet in the causes of humanity. Warn me if I do anything contrary to the law and to religion, and be sure that when your heart is the true reflex of your profession, your words will persuade me, for they will be dictated by sincerity, true zeal, and courage, and will have corresponding weight; if otherwise, they will only arouse my anger. I might add much to what I have said, but I limit myself to these general rules. If you approve of my words, they will be profitable to us both; but if they wound you, hatred will fill your hearts, and I shall conceive an aversion for you, much to the harm of religion as well as of the things of this world.' "*

Rashid describes his hero as very courageous and firm, and as having been trained well in his youth from his having command of Khorasan, which was incessantly exposed to attack from the Mongols of Trans-oxiana, and against whom there was a campaign or two every year. He often exercised his troops, and used to address them in stirring words. "Death," he said, "attends us at home and while travelling, in the hunt as in the battle. Why then fear the enemy? Fear will only deprive us of resources. It may be useful to lose some blood, lest it should fester and produce fever. Blood, again, is the paint of man. No one

* D'Ohsson, iv. 354-357.

may remain in this world. He who dies in his bed grieves by his sickness his wife and children, and inspires his friends only with pity; but the warrior who dies fighting is honoured, while the prince looks after his family." He often, like Jingis Khan, his great ancestor, gave special instructions to his officers. "When you make an incursion," he said, "take care the enemy is not informed beforehand. Advance with all speed, night and day, so that you may arrive unexpectedly, and withdraw again before the enemy has time to assemble his troops. If you make incursions annually, make them at different seasons, so that your opponents may not be expecting you and be on their guard. It is well also to use different routes, and above all things to secure good guides. If, instead of a mere incursion, you advance with a great army, the wider you spread the news of your approach and the better, for it is not possible in such a case to keep the enemy ignorant, while such news often discourages him and gives rise to disunion. It is important that the source of supplies should not be cut off, and consequently you ought to know before advancing where game, water, and forage are to be found, and to halt in such places, so as to save your provisions for more desolate spots. Always learn the situation of the enemy well by means of spies, for to act without knowledge is to strike with your fist against a shadow. But the chief importance of such knowledge is that you are always free to accept or refuse a combat, as you deem best. Exact rigid discipline; do not allow an individual to leave his standard to take the smallest thing. You can do nothing with an army habituated to licence, for at the moment of battle it amuses itself with plundering, and nothing will prevent it. This is the cause of the greater part of defeats. When the enemy is destroyed, then appropriate his wealth. Do no hurt to your own country, for the prayers of the people will bring you good fortune. Do not despise the enemy; do not exaggerate your strength, and above all things avoid boasting."*

He knew the history, character, and habits of other sovereigns, both ancient and modern, but especially of his contemporaries. He spoke to individuals of other nations in a way which surprised them, but what he was chiefly attached to, like his countrymen, was the history of the Mongols. He knew by heart better than any Mongol, except Pulad Aka, the names of his ancestors of both sexes, the names of Mongol leaders, ancient and recent, and their genealogies. "It was from this ruler," adds Rashid, "that I learnt in great part what I have related in this work, but he knew of many Mongol amirs and historical facts unnamed here. There was no art or handicraft, such as those of the smith, carpenter, painter, founder, turner, and others, at which he did not work with his own hands better than the artisans themselves, and he often directed

* D'Ohsson, iv. 357-359.

them himself." This somewhat hyperbolic sentence of the great vizier is to some extent confirmed by Pachymeres, who says : " I have omitted to add in praise of this great man the attention he paid to the least details of various handicrafts, at which, all-powerful monarch as he was, he liked to work with his own hands. His philosophical spirit judged it praiseworthy to know how to do everything, and to excel in every calling, so no one could manufacture more elegantly than himself saddles, stirrups, bridles, boots, sabres, and helmets ; he could hammer, stitch, and polish, and he was accustomed to devote his leisure when he was not occupied with his military duties to these mechanical works."*

To return to Rashid ud din. He says : " He acquired in a short time a knowledge of chemistry, of all arts the most difficult, and brought about him those who were proficient in it, but instead of wasting huge sums like his predecessors in the search for the philosopher's stone, &c., he rather devoted himself to the more practical part of making enamel, dissolving talc, melting crystal, making condensations and sublimations, and producing substances like gold and silver, and said his object was not to learn how to make these latter metals, which was a most difficult art, but to learn how to make, and to make himself, various chemical experiments. He was also acquainted with medicine, knew plants and their properties, and instead of studying them like the doctors did in the shops of the herbalists, he found them for himself in the fields. He found many in Persia which were thought peculiar to Turkestan, India, and China, and which merchants brought from those countries and sold at great prices. He summoned to his Court several famous botanists, Turks and Tajiks. He took them with him on his walks and hunting excursions, and it was with their aid he acquired his knowledge of plants. He added to the Pharmacopœia twenty-four simple drugs, each one of which was a capital remedy. He was also well versed in the natural history of animals. He knew enough of mineralogy to distinguish minerals, and knew the operations of mining and of extracting metal from the ore, and himself worked at these occupations. He knew the charms and magical formulæ proper for all ills. He often foretold the future, announcing that an envoy would arrive from such a place with such an appearance, or that he would receive good news ; and although most of the princes styled Sahib Kuran (*i.e.*, favoured by heaven) have this faculty, one never saw one endowed to the same degree. Greedy of knowledge, he had learnt the art of taking auguries by means of geomancy *(ramel)*, by the shoulder blades of sheep, by the teeth of horses, and other methods employed by different nations to foretell the future. He knew the planets and constellations, the times of their rising and setting, as well as their various astrological properties. As he often visited the observatory at Meragha, and had the

* Stritter, ii. 1091.

instruments there explained to him, he had learnt a good deal of astronomy, and gave orders for the foundation of another observatory near Tebriz, and designed a cupola for observing the sun's disc, which he described to the astronomers. They told him they had never seen such an instrument, and that it was very ingenious. In building the observatory of Shenb, near Tebriz, which was built in the form of a cupola, this idea was carried out."*

"Before the reign of Ghazan," says Rashid, "it was the amirs and viziers who ruled. The sovereign passed most of his time in hunting and other amusements. We can understand what measures were in consequence passed by a divided ministry. It was they who negotiated with foreign envoys. With Ghazan things were very different. He ruled himself, and established order in the administration, which for years had been in confusion. He listened to the advice of no one, but gave his own orders. Young and old, superior and inferior officers, all obeyed him cheerfully. Recognising his superiority and wisdom, they felt humbled before his genius. When a foreign envoy arrived, he received him himself, instead of remitting him to one of his ministers. This was an advantage, for only men of merit, experience, and knowledge were then selected as ambassadors. All the envoys and learned men who went to his Court were astonished at his eloquence and the grace of his conversation. He quoted incidents from their own history; spoke to them of the character of their masters and the customs of each nation. He greatly delighted in the society of learned men and philosophers, and was a good judge of them; nor did he see them again if their behaviour belied their conversation. In the great assemblies he astonished people of all classes by the questions he put to the different philosophers and learned men. At parties of pleasure, when he had drunk a little too much, instead of saying and doing foolish things like other young people, he dived into subtle and profound questions. He knew the dogmas of other religions, and discussed them with their professors, but of ten questions which he put they could not answer more than one. He completely nonplussed them. He had great discernment of character, and used to note those who made perfidious and malignant insinuations, and watch until they had declared themselves more openly, when he had them punished. When he discovered good men, he gave them his confidence, and was then deaf to the calumnies of hate and envy. He augmented their power and supported them, so that they might carry out their plans. On the other hand, he was very severe with wrong doers." Rashid adds that those engaged in affairs declared on oath that he had never put anyone to death who did not deserve it, and whose existence was not hurtful to society. He recommended his ministers and yargujis to beware of listening to the

* D'Ohsson, iv. 359-563.

accusations brought against any governor or public officer. "For it is possible," he said, "that those complaining have been made to pay taxes which were not exacted previously, that they have lost some post, or have some other private grudge. In such cases it is better to consult public opinion, which is the best judge. Do the people like him or no? There are few functionaries who know how to conciliate the affections of the people, and who are inclined to justice. If an official has many good qualities and only a few faults—if, above all, he be not avaricious—if he be firm and loyal, it is not necessary to displace him." When hunting, if he needed provisions he ordered that twice their value should be paid for what were obtained. If he heard that the troops had committed disorders in some district, he summoned the subordinate officers and had them bastinadoed, and severely reprimanded the generals. "You wish," he one day said to his officers, "that I should let you pillage the Tajiks, but what will you do after you have destroyed the cattle and seed of the labourer? If in such a case you should come to me asking for food, I would punish you. Remember, when you would strike or maltreat their women and children, how dear our own are to us, and that they are men like ourselves." He was generous in rewarding his servants, and in distributing to the poor. Finally, his morals were pure. No one accused him of adultery, and if by chance he looked at a woman lecherously, he did not go beyond looking at her. In time of war, when he was far from his harem, his amirs used to offer him the most beautiful damsels they had secured, but he would never accept them. "He never committed," says Rashid ud din, "any of the sins which in our law are styled fornication, adultery, unnatural crimes, &c., and was as severe in this matter towards others as he was himself strict. He issued stringent regulations about these offences, and punished those who were guilty of them with death."*

We will now turn to the various reforms, &c., which were introduced by Ghazan, and which are described for us by the great Vizier, who took such an active part in their introduction. Before the reforms introduced by him, the hakims (intendants or governors) were charged with the levying and collection of the taxes. The amount each had to account for was fixed for him, as were the charges upon this sum. But these hakims were most extortionate. They made as many as ten and in some cases twenty levies (*coichur*) during the year. They began by putting aside the amount which was needed to make up what they had to account for. Then every time a commissary (*ilchi*) arrived to demand money, or for some other reason, they levied a fresh coichur; and the more of these officials (whose exigencies were very great) arrived the better pleased was the hakim, for while he levied a contribution for their lodgings and enter-

* *Id.*, 363-368.

tainment, for their food, or for the presents they demanded, he took care that a large portion of the levy was retained for himself, while he gave the rest to the *shahneh* or commandant, and to the *bitikchis* or treasury clerks, to secure that these malpractices should not be entered in the official accounts. The revenues of the provinces were largely absorbed by the current expenses, and by a quantity of assignations. In Khorasan four-fifths of these assignations were unpaid. Those to whom they had been made, together with the commissaries, returned to the Divan with their *bérats* or treasury orders in their hands. They were told that the province still owed a part of its contribution, which must be paid. A severe ordinance (*al-tamgha*) was issued, ordering it to be paid at once. They accordingly returned to the province, and the hakim, on their report, immediately made a fresh levy, telling those who had to pay: "You see that many commissaries (*ilchis*) are waiting here. We must supply their needs and expenses until we have time to arrange the matters they have come about." And no one dare tell him that he ought to pay these out of the levies he had already received during the year, which greatly exceeded the proper quota. Two-thirds of the new contribution were appropriated by the hakim and his creatures, and those whose assignations were unpaid, and for whom the levy had been made, had to be content with a third portion, which barely went to cover the expenses of their continual journeyings to and fro. The officials of the Divan did not make inquiries as to the receipts of each province, but granted assignations of revenue indiscriminately, which were not paid, but which temporarily satisfied the importunate. The Vizier and the hakims of the provinces had a secret understanding, and if some secret marks were not attached to the *bérats* or orders of the treasury, money was not forthcoming when they were presented. The public treasury did not, in fact, receive a farthing from the provinces, while they were only charged with one-fifth of the usual payments. Neither pensions nor salaries, nor the expenses of the local administration, were paid by them, although these last were made the first charge on their revenues by the special instructions of the hakims. In the spring they put off those who asked to be paid with the excuse that the treasury must first be satisfied, and promised to pay them at harvest time, and then they were told they must stand aside until the crowd of ilchis and other similar claimants had been paid. Those whose salaries were due waited, hungry and naked, from year's end to year's end for them. The more adroit among them managed to get half of what was due to them from the hakim's officers, by giving receipts for the full amount, and then they had to accept in payment articles at double their real value. Those who in this way secured a fourth of what was due to them deemed themselves fortunate, since so many got nothing at all. If one of these unfortunates went to the Ordu, after a harassing journey, and laid his case before the Divan, and if in consequence inquiry

was made from the governor how such a claim was not discharged out of the first receipts, as it ought to be, the latter laid the blame on his not having been able to get in the whole of the levy, and then gave an order of payment upon the arrears, which in fact were merely arrears of illegal exactions, for he had already received many times his real due.

The unfortunate people who would not meet the repeated demands for dues abandoned their villages and families. If in consequence the last levy or one-half of it was remitted, the bitikchis, or secretaries, nevertheless entered in their books that the money was still owing. The heads of the treasury knew well what took place, but they were bribed by the hakims with a large proportion of the ill-gotten money to say nothing. "All the viziers who have held authority to this time," says Rashid, "have shared in this guilt; but it was chiefly Sadr ud din Chaoyi who carried this iniquitous system to its further limits. During his sway assignations of revenue, pensions, &c., were mere mockeries." Often, we are told, a dervish, a sheikh, or some other deserving poor person would be given an assignation of 500 dinars by him. Overjoyed with his fortune, he would devote 100 dinars to securing a good mount and the expenses of his journey, and hasten to secure the charge which had been assigned him upon the revenues of some province. In his eagerness he would forget his office of sheikh and adopt the *rôle* of a courier or a tax gatherer. But his energy was of no avail, and he ended by taking flight to escape his creditors. The overtaxed people were obliged to emigrate; towns and villages were deserted. Commissaries were sent after the fugitives, but neither menaces nor ill-usage, nor yet further exactions, would prevail upon the runaways to return. Those who remained in the towns blocked their doors with stones and entered their houses by the roof. When the tax collectors visited a certain quarter they employed as guide some vagabond who knew the district, and enabled them to ferret out the unfortunates who had sought refuge in the sewers, where they were hidden; and if they could not find them they took their wives and drove them from quarter to quarter like flocks of sheep. They were hung up by the feet with cords and beaten, and the air resounded with their lamentations. "We have more than once seen a person," says Rashid, "who, on seeing a tax gatherer on his roof, would run and jump into the street, breaking his legs." In the province of Yezd things were so bad that you could go through villages without meeting anyone. The few people who remained employed vedettes, and on a signal from these that some one was coming they hid themselves underground. It is said that in the year 691 (*i.e.*, 1292) a proprietor from the province of Yezd went to Firuz Abad, one of the large villages of that province, to see if he could obtain any rent for the lands he owned there. Notwithstanding all his efforts, he could not for two or three days meet with any of the husbandmen, but he saw a tax collector seated in the midst of the village,

with a *bérat* or order in his hand, and before him were three peasants. They were hung up by their feet, and were being bastinadoed to compel them to supply some food, for these exacting officials insisted upon being furnished with food, forage, wine, and boys and girls. In some districts they were so numerous that they were said to outnumber their victims two to one. While the hakims and their subordinates plundered the provinces in this fashion, nothing found its way to the treasury, which was empty, and when means were urgently needed for the army, the defence of the frontiers, or the necessities of the State, there was no other resource than another set of violent exactions.*

Ghazan felt how difficult it was to alter practices which had taken root so firmly, and which had outlived the various edicts of his predecessors. "How are we," he said, "to bring into the path of honesty these governors and tax collectors, who have become habituated to exact more than is due, and to pay nothing into the treasury; who are habitually tried and habitually secure exemption from punishment by a distribution of money; and when one of their colleagues is put to death, attribute it rather to his evil star, or to some one's malice, for if it were not so many others would suffer the same fate? We must devise some plan by which the provincial governors shall be prevented from handling the public moneys, and the best way will be to take away their power of levying a single farthing." He accordingly ordered a bitikchi to be sent to each province, who was charged to draw up a report on all its communes, to re-adjust the taxes according to the last census, taking care that the imposts should be moderate. He was to draw up an account of the *ingu*, or private domain, and of the *vakfs* or charitable funds, as well as to make out a list of the persons who had enjoyed for thirty years uncontested these funds.

The bitikchis went to the several provinces, to make a survey of the communes and to fix the taxes. As it was impossible in such a great work to have perfect exactitude, when their reports had been sent in to Ghazan permission was given in cases where considerable errors were alleged to appeal to the Divan. From the various registers they prepared a general summary (*kanun*), which was deposited in the Divan, and from which at the beginning of the year the amount of the taxation of each commune was drawn up, which was sealed with the seal of the high officials of the Divan and the golden tamgha. The taxes were to be paid in two ways, first to those who had assignations upon them, certified with golden tamghas, and the balance to the treasury. Everything was to be discharged in cash, and not in kind. Each person learnt from the official tax-paper issued by the Divan how much he had to pay, and knew accordingly to a farthing how much could be exacted from him. The

* D'Ohsson, iv. 370-379.

maliks or prefects, bashkaks or commandants, and bitikchis or secretaries were forbidden, on pain of death, to grant any assignations, and the person who should draw up such a document of assignation was to have his hand cut off. Hitherto, whenever the ruler granted a village or an estate, either as a reward, a fief, or otherwise, or whenever he made the same over to a charitable purpose; each time, again, that a district obtained exemption from paying taxes from a khatun, a prince of the blood, or a Mongol grandee; or when, again, some village became deserted, it had been customary for the receiver of taxes to deduct from his account a much larger sum than the quota paid by the place, and as the treasury officials had no means of checking his statement they were obliged to accept what he and his friends said. After the reforms, the amount to be received from each province was as well known as the amount of money issued by the mint. Henceforth there was no demand made by the central authority upon any province for corn, straw, wine, animals, &c., upon the treasury, in the shape of taxes, and all that went to furnish the army, or was given by the State to private individuals, was paid in specie by the treasury. Nevertheless, the magazines were continually full, and by a comparison of former registers it was seen that in no former reign had as many presents of gold and robes been made in any five years as were made by Ghazan in one year; and while formerly the ungathered harvest was always hypothecated, "now," says Rashid, "there is always a year's supply of grain in the magazines in advance."

Looking into the future, Ghazan wished to secure that his reforms should outlive his own days, and survive the disturbances that might follow on his death. To secure matters against a collapse or laxity at head quarters, a special edict was issued, which was to be enrolled in each commune, forbidding anyone to be taxed beyond the amount fixed by the Divan, and forbidding also the local authorities levying the smallest sum at their own instance. The authorities were ordered to give the widest publicity to the new regulations. The various local returns were deposited in the State paper office which Ghazan built near Tebriz. They were given in charge to several archivists or official guardians, and a sum was set apart for their care. An edict cursing anyone who destroyed these returns was issued, while counterparts of the more important of them were preserved in the offices of the Grand Divan. Ghazan ordered further that the list of expenses of the local treasury of each commune, as contained in the *kanun* or general official summary, and in the orders signed with the golden tamgha, was to be handed by the governor of the province, in the presence of the kadhis, seyids, imaums, and notables of the town, to the various communal authorities, who were within twenty days to have it inscribed on wood, stone, copper, iron, or plaster, as they preferred, and to see that it did not get obliterated. These inscriptions were to be put up at the entrance of the villages, before the mosques, &c.

This publicity, this letting in of the bright sunlight of public criticism upon financial corruptions, was assuredly a most enlightened and brilliant idea to have been formulated in Persia in the fourteenth century. Those places which had hitherto paid their taxes in coin were to continue to do so, and those which had paid them in kind were to continue as they had been accustomed. On the inscribed tables were also to be entered the customs-charges, and alongside of each list of charges was to be written a copy of the order empowering it, so that each one should know what was taxed, and when and how it was to be paid. The payments in kind were to be paid in either by the mayor or by those who contributed them, in a tent set out in the public square, and the receiver was to forward the amount received five times a day to the treasurer of the province. The receivers of taxes were forbidden to accept presents under any pretence. Those who had not paid what was due at the end of the specified time were to be fined a certain sum, and those who did not pay at all were to receive seventy strokes of the bastinado. The country people were to pay the *koijur* and other taxes during two seasons of twenty days each, the first after the *nevruz jelali* (*i.e.*, the vernal equinox), and the other after the autumnal equinox. The nomades were to pay theirs all at once, at the new year. The *kharaj*, or capitation tax, was generally to be paid once a-year, within twenty days after the spring equinox. At some places, as at Baghdad, it was to be paid at harvest time. Twenty days were also allowed there. The taxes paid in grain were to be taken to the magazines which were placed in the various cantons; forty days were allowed during which to pay them. The customs-dues and the tolls were classed under the title *tamga*; the cattle tax was called *koijur*. All four taxes, according to Von Hammer, still survive under different names among the Osmanli Turks. In every canton given as an appanage to the khatuns, princes of the blood, or Mongol grandees, or given as a military fief, or made over to some private individual as a reward or otherwise, or classed as a vakf (*i.e.*, as a pious trust), a table inscribed with the dues which according to the kanun it had to pay was to be drawn up, so that in such cases also there should be no illegal exactions. The edict by which Ghazan regulated these various fiscal matters is given by Rashid ud din *in extenso*, and dated the 22nd of February, 1304, at his palace of Uljaitu-imuk, near the Hulan muran or Red River.*

Rashid tells us that during the reign of Abaka Khan, when he says peace, order, and security prevailed, who was a just prince, and who was essentially a *sahib kiran*, some merchants (*ortaks*) went to his Court with arms, armour, and good horses, which they had bought with their own moneys and sold again to the *kurujis* and *atajis* (knights and squires) at a price which brought them considerable profit. This induced others

* D'Ohsson, op. cit., 370-387. Ilkhans, ii. 172.

to follow their example, and those who had not money borrowed it, intending to repay it out of the profit which they made, securing the capital for themselves. They went to the Divan with the receipts of the kurujis and aktajis, and duly obtained upon them assignations upon the revenue. This brought large gains to many who hitherto had nothing, and they were suddenly to be seen mounted on Arab horses or beautiful mules, dressed like princes, and surrounded with handsome slaves and a great number of muleteers (*serhenks*), &c., who led the mules and laden camels. When it was discovered how this surprising change of fortune had come about others were eager to imitate them. Thousands of Mussulmans and Jews who followed the occupation of vagabonds, or carried sacks of vegetables suspended from their necks, or wretched weavers and others who never possessed a *dank* of gold and had scarcely bread to live upon, began to borrow money, but instead of buying horses and arms they spent what they borrowed on rich clothes, &c.; and although the officers of the Divan knew what was taking place, they gave them assignations on the revenue on receiving hush money. Those who had already made money began to lend it, and so the custom of lending, not only money, but also furniture, clothes, &c., at interest began to prevail, and was accompanied by a free forging of assignations. They even bribed the bitikchis to grant them real assignations on agreeing to pay them in return so much per cent. on the amount so granted, with which they boldly faced the officers of the Divan, and we are told that in this way receipts were current for larger sums of gold and silver than existed anywhere, even counting what was in the bowels of the earth. In effect to translate the naive language of Rashid into that of the nineteenth century, a vast system of most dishonest credit had suddenly sprung up. The treasury officials were no doubt embarrassed when receipts were presented to them for many times the number of articles which had really been supplied. Abaka might well ask where these things had been delivered, in what arsenal these arms were preserved, and in what fields all these horses were being pastured. The officers who should have checked such public robbery had their mouths closed, while each of the ill-doers obtained the protection of an amir or a khatun by the gift of some petty present—a sheep or a skin of wine. On the other hand the governors of provinces, eager to pay the assignations presented to them, passed off upon their holders things worth one-third of the sum asked, which were gladly taken in payment, for if they had not taken in payment these precious stones and pottery they would probably have obtained nothing. Having obtained these things, they sold them again at a low price, or raised money upon them, thus reducing the value of fine stones. But this state of things had its natural Nemesis. Presently, the profits on such transactions became nothing at all, and the merchants found themselves without either food or clothes. The money-lenders were

chiefly Mongols and Uighurs, and their debtors who were unable to pay their debts ended by becoming, with their wives and children, the slaves of the usurers. The worst result of all (says Rashid) was that men of birth and consideration, who were the proper people to be superintendents of finances (*muluks*) and farmers of the taxes (*motassarifan*), avoided such employments, while those who had spent their lives in poverty, and hoped to become rich in a few days, undertook to farm the finances under onerous conditions, and in order to supply themselves with slaves, horses, clothes, and also to meet their expenses at the ordu, they were obliged to misappropriate money. Increased risks naturally led to enhanced interest; 300 and 400 per cent. was offered for money by these new taxing-officers, and it was natural that all the revenues of the provinces upon which they had a lien did not suffice to meet their debts. They were obliged, therefore, to have recourse to extortion of various kinds. · The officials of the Divan were kept quiet by a liberal flow of presents, and the treasury hardly ever received a fourth of what ought to have gone there. The army was in need of necessaries. Honourable people among the higher classes shunned these public employments, and referring to this Rashid says, "Wise men have declared that a State falls into decrepitude when those most worthy of fulfilling public duties avoid them." Surely we could point this moral in the nineteenth century, by some conspicuous examples in more western and self-sufficient latitudes.

Under Sadr ud din Chaoyi, the employés of the treasury were the vilest of men, says Rashid (who, it must be remembered, however, was a Muhammedan vizier criticising a *Jewish* predecessor), and as they knew his habit of selling a cow for its ear, when they had borrowed a large sum of money they made him a present of it. They took what was worth 10 dinars and gave 20 for it, and then presented it to him again at the value of 30. Sadr accepted the present, and then said to the tax-farmer, "The treasury needs money." He replied he had had the greatest difficulty to raise enough to pay the present which he had made to him. "Very well," he replied, "in order that you may not be a loser, you must set off the value of what you have given me at the price which it cost you." They accordingly, in paying the amount they owed to the treasury, the price in fact they had paid for their office, set off the value of the presents they made the Vizier at the valuation they themselves put upon them, and thus things which were really worth but 10 dinars were palmed off upon the treasury at 40. On the other hand, when Sadr ud din was pressed for money, his own subordinates cheated the public purse in another way by declaring that such objects, although valued at 10 dinars, would not really fetch more than 6, and thus pocketed 4, so that of 40 dinars which were professed to be paid into the treasury, it really received 4. Rashid quotes an actual example of what happened. He had ordered some thousands of sheep to be bought at 5 dinars each,

payable in two months. When the money became due, there was none forthcoming. Many of the sheep had meanwhile become very thin, while others were dead. He had them all sold at a low price to pay the interest which had accrued due during the two months, and the obligation was renewed for another two months.

Things grew so bad that during Gaikhatu's reign neither assignations on the revenue, salaries, nor expenses, &c., were paid, which was the chief cause of the discontent in the army. Sadr ud din never had any money, and the worst feature of the case was that the worthless people who had got the taxes into their own hands, as farmers, &c., were protected and patronised by the princes of the blood, khatuns, amirs, viziers, bitikchis, &c. Some of them owed money to these people, others were partners in their gains, others again had received presents to keep them quiet, and it naturally required great firmness and prudence to combat such a deeply-rooted dishonesty.

Ghazan, by an edict dated in May, 1299, prohibited the charging of interest. Those who had been in the habit of practising usury, and their patrons, complained loudly, saying that all commercial transactions would be stopped. Ghazan replied that his only object was to put a stop to illicit transactions; others said that the treasury was constantly in need of money, and that if the farmers of the revenue were not to be allowed to borrow they could not supply it with funds. Ghazan and his viziers replied that they did not expect the farmers to pay in advance, and an ordinance forbade the farmers of the tax making up either capital or interest due by borrowing. He more than once advised the khatuns, princes of the blood, and amirs not to lend these people any money, and had the following notice proclaimed by criers, "As we do not allow one who has lent money to a tax-farmer to recover it, neither during the life nor after the death of the debtor, so we do not demand payment in advance from the tax-farmers, and if they squander the revenue, their goods, movable and immovable, will be answerable for it." As these patrons of the old state of things raised various other excuses, Ghazan asked them if God and his Prophet knew more of worldly affairs than we ourselves do. On their saying "Yes," he said, "Then God and his apostle have so ordered it, and we will listen to nothing against their commandment." From that time the taking of interest was forbidden. Some tried to evade this by charging an excessive rent for furniture, pretending that this was only a bargain. Ghazan in a rage declared that if these artifices were not given up he should forbid the repayment of capital as well as interest. He asked why those who had money did not buy articles with it, or employ it in cultivating the soil, or in legitimate commerce. "Now," says Rashid, "Good faith and justice have returned. The greater part of men's wealth is honestly acquired, abundance reigns, and

industrious people engage in agriculture, commerce, and other useful occupations."*

We will now turn to another abuse which had grown up, and to whose remedy Ghazan applied himself. This was the great number of messengers and couriers who were constantly going about, and who were a great source of harass to the people. They traversed the country with large suites, and lived at the expense of the much-enduring inhabitants. It had become customary (says Rashid) for the khatuns, the princes of the blood, the commanders of tumans (or 10,000 men), commanders of 1,000 and of 100 men, the shahnahs, or governors of districts, officers of the Court, and even equerries and hunters to send couriers on the smallest pretext. If a dispute arose between two individuals, the party won it who could secure the services of some powerful man's courier to go to headquarters on his behalf, and it came to be a custom for people in such cases to give their sons up to slavery to the khatuns, princes of the blood, or amirs for the smallest gift in order to get their patronage. The person who lost the case, if he had to save himself from ruin, had to secure the services of a courier, who speedily returned from headquarters with the means of revenge. This move had to be met by the sending of another courier. Thus a number of agents were kept going to and fro on these trivial errands, for the protectors of each side made it a point of honour to secure the triumph of their clients. People who wished a favour from the mayor of a village, dispatched couriers, others were sent merely to receive presents. The idajis, or officers of the table, sent so many couriers for provisions, that the halls where the divans in the large towns met could not always hold them, and things became so bad that more couriers were met on the great roads than other travellers, and a thousand horses at each posting station did not suffice for their needs. They even began to employ the horses of the Mongol soldiery encamped in the district. If they met caravans coming from abroad, or public officers or private people travelling on their own business to the capital, they took their horses, and left them unmounted with their baggage, sometimes in dangerous places. Not content with being fed, they even forced quarrels on their hosts in order to extort money, while their muleteers appropriated what they could lay hands upon—dresses, turbans, &c. They took more horses than they had need of. In the villages and the cantonments of troops they extorted more provisions than the law permitted, and more than they could consume, making merchandise of the rest. It is indeed wonderful, as our author says, that the miserable inhabitants could support existence under the constant attacks of these myriads of gadflies.

The couriers generally styled themselves brothers or sons of this or that

* D'Ohsson, iv. 387-397.

great amir, and declared that they were sent on most urgent business, but no one believed them. Their calling had become contemptible, and when an officer of mark, really commissioned with some important duty, happened to come, the chances were that the people on the route who should furnish the horses had withdrawn for safety to the mountains, or else he was supplied only with poor horses, so that his journey took two or three times the proper time to accomplish. Of 500 horses at each post station not more than two were really efficient. The money set aside for meeting the expenses of posting and the couriers was largely appropriated by the prefects to their own use, and although all the customs receipts, which were the most satisfactory part of the revenue, were appropriated to the expenses of posting stations, they did not suffice. The customs officers, afraid of the unruly couriers, often fled, leaving them to fight for the money. Thus it became the custom for them to have a party of their friends, relatives, or clients with them. It seems hardly credible to read that the less important couriers had a suite of two or three hundred men, while those of greater distinction had as many as 500 or 1,000. Often when several of these couriers met in a town, the prefect asked them in a loud voice, "Whose business is the most pressing? I will begin with him." And they would then fight with one another for precedence, and he who won was first served. Meanwhile the highwaymen profited largely, as it became the custom for one courier to stop and take the horses of another, whom he declared to be of lower rank, so the highwaymen, pretending to be couriers, did the same, and not only took horses, but stripped those whom they met of everything, including yarlighs or diplomas, and paizahs or tablets, which were equivalent to passports. Armed with these official documents, they proceeded to plunder the caravans, being mistaken for official persons.

Ghazan felt he could not stop these abuses all at once. He began by founding a special post service for his own private couriers. Stations for these were placed at intervals of three parasangs apart. Those on the most frequented routes were to have fifteen horses, and on the other roads fewer. These horses were only to be forthcoming when the person asking for them could produce an order with his own golden tamgha attached. He appointed officers to supervise specially these relays, who were themselves closely watched, and he devoted large sums to making the service efficient. In order that the frontier commanders might send immediate news of importance, Ghazan confided to them a number of these special orders for two, three, or four horses, and forbade the use of more than four horses to a courier, even when he was the son of a noyan. In pressing cases the same courier was not to take the message all the way himself, but the dispatch was to be sent from one station to another, and in this way sixty parasangs could be covered within the twenty-four hours, and a message sent from Khorasan

to Tebriz in three or four days, which it would take a courier six to compass. Some time after this he ordered that his officers and the public functionaries should travel with their own horses, and at their own cost. Then the public posts (*Yamha-i-Tuman*) were suppressed. Lastly, he forbade anyone except the sovereign sending couriers, and ordered the governors of provinces to arrest and imprison all whom they met with. This put an end to the custom of private people sending couriers. Another order assigned definite pay to the Government couriers, and forbade them exacting anything *en route*. In this way, in the course of two years the people were delivered from the scourge of having to find horses and provisions for a host of men. "At present," says Rashid, "they are not more than a thirtieth of what they were, and as they cannot make exactions on the people as they travel, they cannot be distinguished from ordinary travellers."* Wassaf says that the mounted couriers were expected to travel continuously for twenty-four hours and to cover sixty parasangs at a stretch; unmounted ones forty. They were to carry passports, describing themselves and stating the time of their starting, which was to be checked by the recorders of the post stations.†

There were always in each town (says Rashid) one or two hundred messengers (*ilchis*), who were billeted on the citizens. There were also many others, friends of the prefect, &c., who were similarly privileged. "Valets de place," in numbers, gained their livelihood in finding lodgings for these people, taking them from house to house and receiving black mail to persuade them to go on a little further, and eventually dropping their charge where most convenient to themselves. They appropriated beds and other furniture for these messengers in various houses, which seldom returned to their owners, the excuse being that the travellers had taken them with them; or if they were returned at all it was generally in very bad condition. Every commandant (*bashkak*) going to his post generally took with him more than a hundred families, who were billeted as above described. Rashid says that to his own knowledge, when Toghai, son of Yasudar, was deprived of the government of Yezd his suite occupied 700 houses. It was of course natural that both ilchis and bashkaks should choose the best houses for their lodgings. Building ceased, or if it went on a person would call his house a college or a hospice. Nor did this even avail; the doors were blockaded and narrow underground entrances made to the houses. The ingenious travellers thereupon did not scruple to break holes in the walls, while they forced the inclosing boundaries of the gardens and pastured their horses there, and a garden which had taken ten years to beautify was desolated in a single day. If one of the horses so pastured fell into a hole or a ditch, or escaped, the host was

* D'Ohsson, iv. 397-404. † Ilkhans, ii. 168-169.

made to pay its value. In winter the trees and even the doors of the houses were burnt for fire. We have heard it said (again reports Rashid) that one of the Imaums of Yezd having, in 1296, received at his house Sultan Shah, son of Nuruz, with his mother, they stayed four months, and on leaving left behind none of the furniture they found there. He had the damage which he had sustained valued by experts, and it was found that, besides other mischief, they had burnt the outer door of the house, which might have cost 5,000 dinars, as well as many of the internal doors of exquisite workmanship. When such things could happen to the mufti of the town, it may be imagined what befell ordinary individuals. In addition to this, many thousands of coverlets and mattresses, with furniture and house gear, were annually taken from the houses, on the plea that the newly-arrived ilchis needed them. The day one messenger left a house another one entered it, and his arrival caused desolation to all the neighbourhood, for his people made their way by the door or the roof into the neighbouring houses, killed the fowls and pigeons with their arrows, and often wounded the children. They also carried off all the eatables and forage they could find, and it was no use complaining, for the complaints were not listened to.

One day a good old man, father of a family, went to the Divan, and said, "My lords, can you approve what has happened to me. I am old, and have a young wife. My sons, who are away, have left their wives with me. I also have daughters. Several young and handsome ilchis have come to my house. They have been for some time with me, and have been seen by these women, who are no longer content with me and my sons, who are absent, and I cannot guard them night and day. The greater part of the fathers of families are in the same difficulty. If this continues there will not presently be any more legitimate children. They will all be bastards, half-breeds, and sons of Turks." The old man then told Ghazan the following story: "In the days of the Seljuki, in the royal capital of Nishapur, the Turkish officers were billeted on the inhabitants as is the case now. A Turk was billeted in a house whose mistress, young and beautiful, had just been married. He wished to compel the husband to go out of the house, which the latter, knowing his motive, refused. The Turk struck him, and ordered him to go and water his horse. Thereupon his wife seized the bridle, and herself went with the horse to the brook. At that moment the Sultan was passing, and seeing such an unusual thing as a bride in her bridal costume watering a horse, asked her for an explanation. 'It is because of your tyranny,' she replied, and on her telling her story at length, the Sultan was so touched that he forbade the Turks in future billeting in Nishapur, and ordered that they should build houses for themselves outside the town, which was the foundation of Shadiak." The old man ended his story in tears, but they did not touch the amirs or viziers.

Ghazan had already limited this abuse by reducing the number of couriers, who were only now dispatched on urgent business, and were obliged to use diligence on their journey, only stopping to change horses or to hastily take some food. Nevertheless, as commissaries had still to be dispatched occasionally to look after the finances, he ordered that in each town a special residence should be built for these officers (Ilchi Khaneh), furnished with proper furniture. Von Hammer says that the Elchikhan at Constantinople, where envoys were formerly entertained, was an imitation of this.* The citizens, freed from their tormentors, proceeded to decorate their houses and plant gardens, and many who had left their native towns and become vagabonds, returned home again.†

Ghazan forbade people to speak to him on business matters when his reason was in any way obscured by wine, nor would he allow them at such times to press insidious and malicious insinuations against others, nor would he do things in a hurry. In order that he might not be thus induced to sign orders whose contents had escaped his memory, and to prevent plausible people from obtaining orders on the treasury by surprise, he himself kept the key of the casket where the great seal (tamgha) was preserved. Formerly it had been in the custody of the bitikchis. When he had a certain number of assignations (*bérats*) and orders to seal, the secretaries, viziers, and other officers of the Divan asked for the key, and returned it again after affixing the tamgha in his presence to the various documents. These documents were then countersigned on the back with the black tamgha of the four heads of the four kiziks (*i.e.*, body guards). They were then looked over by the officials of the Divan, who appended the tamgha of the Divan. No royal ordinance was valid which had not passed through these formalities. A special secretary registered every yarligh, word for word, with its date, the name of the writer and the reporter, so as to guard on the one hand against any alteration, and on the other against its being disavowed by the officials who had drawn it up. There was a register for each year, which was kept in the casket with the great tamgha. The aljis, or officers of the seal, were not permitted to receive anything from individuals. Formerly they had been most exacting. There were different seals. The grand tamgha was made of jade (*yeshim*). It was used for the letters of investiture of sovereigns, the diplomas of general officers and of civil governors (*muluks*). Another seal, also of jade, but a little smaller, was used by the kadhis, the imaums, and sheikhs. A great gold tamgha was used in matters of smaller importance. Another gold tamgha, with the same inscription as the preceding ones, but around which were engraved a bow, a mace, and a sword, was used by the generals, and the troops were not to obey anyone who was not possessed of such a tamgha. A

* Ilkhans, ii. 168. † D'Ohsson, iv. 404-409.

smaller tamgha was employed for sealing assignations upon the treasury and other treasury documents issued in conformity with the orders (pervaneh) of the sovereign.* As it was not possible for Ghazan to read all the documents issued in his name, he had forms drawn up very carefully upon each subject, and also forms of answers to the various questions that might be sent to the authorities. By this means documents were simplified, and as they were all more or less of one type, it reduced litigation and disputes. When these various forms had been drafted, Ghazan summoned the grand officers and said to them, "We are about to read them through very carefully, and each one who has corrections to suggest must point them out. When they are entirely approved by you and me, they will serve as models for all my decrees, and there will be greater uniformity in business matters." All these forms were transcribed into a register, which was entitled "The Canon of Business." If a new case occurred a new formula was prepared, which was submitted for the prince's approval. It only needed a few alterations to adapt it to various persons, places, or circumstances.†

In regard to paizahs, or tablets of office, whose use we described in a former volume, Ghazan ordered that the large ones, with a lion's head upon them, were to be given to sultans, military governors, and prefects. These were to bear their names, and were to be cancelled when their commission ceased. There was one assigned to each province, which might not be taken to another. Formerly, if twenty governors succeeded each other during twenty years, each one received a paizah, which he retained after he lost his office, and continued to use. The paizahs issued to commandants and prefects of the second order were smaller, and bore particular marks. It was forbidden to make these paizahs in the provinces, and when one was conferred the goldsmith who made it engraved on it a special mark, difficult to counterfeit, with a steel punch. There were special tablets used by couriers and messengers. Five in copper were sent to governors of the first class, and three to those of the second, for the couriers whom they might have occasion to employ. The princes of the blood and military chiefs no longer employed their paizahs, which were formerly employed by them in covering the land with their couriers.‡ It was the custom for each sovereign on mounting the throne to send round a commissary to collect the yarlighs and paizahs issued by his predecessor, and those who had them were bound to give them up on pain of punishment. But these commissaries were generally bribed, as we have seen, and did not return with more than one in a hundred of the various yarlighs which had been issued. It often happened that fresh yarlighs were issued contradicting previous ones, which caused endless litigation, especially as these yarlighs were passed on from father to son.

* D'Ohsson, iv. 409-411. † *Id.*, 411-412. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 412-413.

Often, too, the secretary whose duty it was to draw up the yarligh was bribed to insert some words extending its authority, or especially favouring the person to whom it was given. So many contradictory yarlighs and paizahs were current that the Mongol judges (*yargujis*) and administrative authorities (*hakims*) found matters too complicated for them to decide. Thus people took the law into their own hands, and murders increased greatly. Ghazan, by a special order, annulled all yarlighs and paizahs which were current, ordered the governors of the provinces to disregard them when presented, and cancelled all those issued in the first three years of his reign; for at first, in order to conciliate a certain number of friends, he was obliged to confirm the former yarlighs, while afterwards, Nuruz, the vizier Sadr ud din, and other ministers, abused their power and issued a multitude of these documents. None were in future to be regarded which were issued before the order above named. Thus only those who had a good title to these documents, and who therefore had no difficulty in getting them renewed, retained them.*

Persia had been terribly devastated by the invasions of Jingis Khan and those who came after him. The borders of the Euphrates and Tigris were similarly laid waste. From the Oxus to the Syrian borders were almost continuous ruins, and lands lying fallow. If rulers like Khulagu, Abaka, Arghun, and Gaikhatu (says Rashid) had the desire to build, and did in fact proceed to build, palaces at Alatagh, Arminiya, Sukurluk, Nejas, Khojan, Zindan, and Mansuriah (in Arran), or if they wished to build a bazaar, to found a town, or open a canal, they merely ruined the country in doing so. They spent immense sums without carrying out their object, and thus we are told that barely one house in ten was inhabited in a large number of towns. The land was largely uncultivated, whether belonging to the public domain or in private hands; no one dared cultivate it, for fear he should be dispossessed of the product of his labour after devoting his money and energies to it. Ghazan felt the necessity of encouraging this kind of enterprise, and issued an edict assuring to those who should cultivate the land the fruits of their toil. The public domains which had been waste so long were given to anyone who would undertake to till them, without charging any dues for the first year, and in the second only a third, one-half, or two-thirds of the ordinary charges, according as the state of canals which irrigated them rendered them more or less easy to cultivate, and in view of this the domains were divided into three classes. A special divan was appointed to lease out these crown lands and look after the taxes which they were to pay. In regard to lands in private hands, it was decreed that those which had been deserted for a certain number of years might be cultivated by anyone, and if the real

* D'Ohsson, iv. 414-416.

owner came and proved his ownership, the treasury was to surrender to him one-half of the taxes and to retain only the other half, the cultivator taking the produce of the land for himself. The treasury officials made repeated reports that the land was untilled and the people reduced to misery because they had neither the necessary bullocks nor seed. These reports had hitherto been neglected, but Ghazan ordered that a certain proportion of the money paid by each farmer of taxes, &c., was to be devoted to buying bullocks, seed, and other necessities for agriculture, and each one was to give a written assurance that the bullocks so bought should be used in his own province, and to encourage agriculture. At the same time it was forbidden to use the people's donkeys for posting. Before this they had been arbitrarily seized and used, and they were seldom recovered. Ghazan forbade his falconers to take the pigeons and fowls of his subjects, saying it was necessary to exact compliance in small matters if bigger ones were to be carried out. If it was not forbidden to take pigeons, why forbid the taking of sheep and oxen? In accordance with this, sportsmen were forbidden to spread their nets in any place where there was a dovecote. Many of the lands thus restored to cultivation were portioned out as military fiefs, thus enabling the army to be rewarded, while a large margin remained over, with the income of which the treasury was replenished.* In regard to these military fiefs, Ghazan introduced important reforms. Before his reign the Mongol soldier had received neither pay nor clothes, nor land nor food. On the contrary (says Rashid), as among all the nomadic nations, a contribution (*coichur*) of horses, sheep, cattle, pieces of felt, skins, &c., had been made from the whole army, the proceeds of which were made over to the ordus, and the tribes reduced to indigence. Ghazan began by giving a small quantity of wheat to the troops who were habitually cantoned about his residence, which he afterwards increased; but the State farmers, who were to furnish this grain, were loth to comply, and frequent messengers had to be sent to urge the matter forward, causing great harass to the cultivators. All this cost much money, without benefit to the troops. The various officials, farmers, bukauls, high stewards (or commissaries of food), bitikchis, and idajis (or commissariat officers) were all more or less corrupt, and although the soldiers had the bérats or orders for food in their hand, they could not obtain it, and there were constant disputes with the idajis. At length, after four or five years, weary of the complaints he received from all sides, Ghazan issued a special order on the subject, which also extended the privilege to the whole army. The order issued on this occasion was as follows :—

"Let it be known to the Seyids, khatuns, princes and princesses of the blood, relatives, chiefs of tumans, millenarians, centurions and decurions,

* *Id.*, 417-420.

sultans, maliks, bitikchis, and all others our subjects, from the banks of the Jihun to the frontiers of Egypt,* that our great ancestor, Jingis Khan, assisted and guided by the Divine power, caused his smallest wish to be carried out, without allowing a step to be taken away from the path of obedience. This was why, at the head of his Mongol armies, he conquered the whole earth, from the East to the West, and filled the page of history with his great deeds. He left his empire to his sons, of whom those who governed wisely acquired a great renown, and as this is the sole advantage we can secure from our transitory voyage of life, we deem it well to try and secure it in the few years that we shall occupy the throne, by working for the happiness of the ulusses which have passed under our rule, so that we may engrave on the leaves of time merits of which an eternal memory shall be the reward, and to perpetuate the renown of our justice. It is well kown that in the days of our ancestors the ulusses were weighed down with taxes and imposts which we have totally abolished, while the troops used to receive for the most part no gifts of food. Nevertheless, satisfied with their condition, they served faithfully and supported patiently the fatigues of distant campaigns. Since God gave us the kingdom of our fathers we have paid every attention to improving the condition of the army, and assuring its comfort now and in the future. It is well known that only a section of the troops have hitherto received small grants of food, while the greater part of the army has received nothing from the State. We wish it all to share equally in our munificence, so that it may all show equal zeal and valour in the defence of the State, of which it is the support. We therefore order that the land belonging both to our private and to the public domain, both cultivated and uncultivated, shall be distributed to each soldier in the form of fiefs (*aktá*), under the following conditions :—

"1. The peasants on the lands belonging to the private or the public domain shall continue to cultivate it, and shall pay to the soldiers all the contributions in coin (*mal*), in cattle (*coichur*), and otherwise, which they have hitherto paid to the treasury.

"2. The soldiers are not to appropriate either the land or water belonging to private people, nor to the vakfs or pious foundations.

"3. In regard to the ruined villages and untilled lands belonging to the public domain which are comprised within their territory or yurt, and the soil of which has become grass-grown, they are to cultivate a portion of it themselves, and to cause the rest to be cultivated by their slaves and servants. They are to employ their own bullocks and seed, and to claim what produce the land may give.

* D'Ohsson remarks, in reference to this enumeration, that formerly the khatuns were named first, but Ghazan, as a good Muhammedan, gave the preference to the Seyids, or descendants of the Prophet. The Arabic title of *malik*, which originally meant prince, was employed during the Mongol domination to designate the heads of the civil administration. *Bitikchi*, a Turkish title, meaning originally a scribe, was used for subordinate officials. It will be seen that the sultans and maliks are named after the lowest Mongol officers.

"4. Those people who have been absent from ruined villages, or villages given to the soldiery, for a less time than thirty years, and who have not been enrolled in some other district, are to return home, no matter with whom they are living, and if the soldiers find men on their fiefs belonging to some other district they are to send them home. They are not to give asylum on any pretext to those of other districts; they are not to transport the people from one village to another, on the plea that all are their vassals, but, on the contrary, the people of each district are to cultivate that district. The soldiers must not consider that the peasants have been made over to them with their fiefs as if they were serfs. They have no other rights over the peasants than to see that they cultivate their lands, and to receive the quit-rent and other dues which they have to pay. Nothing more is to be exacted from them, while as to others who are not cultivators, if they pay the soldiers the imposition fixed by the Divan, they are not to be made to work on the land, nor to be treated harshly.

"5. The soldiers are not to usurp the villages neighbouring upon their fiefs on pretence of obtaining water there, and they are to leave them enough pasture for their cattle, donkeys, and sheep.

"6. Having granted these favours to our troops, with the intention of securing the well-being of our subjects, of making them love our memory, and establishing order and justice, and the commanders of tumans, millenarians, centurions, and decurions having in writing (*mojelga*) given us their assurance that they will use all their power to cause justice and good faith to prevail, that they will no longer commit acts of oppression and iniquity as they have done hitherto, they ought to keep their promise, and to extort nothing on any pretence.

"7. The treasury is never to grant assignations on military fiefs, but they are to pay into the treasury a tax of fifty menns, according to the standard of Tebriz, for each military colonist.

"8. When the fiefs in gross, comprising cultivated land, land lying fallow, and running streams, are assigned to the various regiments of 1,000 men, the notables of each canton are to meet the official bitikchi. Thereupon lots are to be drawn, and the whole distributed in this way among the companies of 100 men each, and these again among sets of ten men. The bitikchi, or registrar, is to inscribe separately on the registers the portions assigned to each decuriate and company. A copy of this register is to be deposited at the treasury, and another handed over to each commander of a regiment. Similar registers of smaller portions are to be assigned for custody to the centurions. The registrar is to make an annual inspection, and those soldiers who have neglected to cultivate their lands are to be punished. The fiefs are not to be sold or given away, nor assigned to a sworn friend (*anda kuda*), to an older or younger brother (*aka or ini*), or other relative, nor granted by way of jointure or otherwise, on pain of death.

"9. On the death of a military man, his fief is to pass to one of his sons; if he have none, to one of his old slaves (*gulam*), and, in default of slaves, to a man chosen from his company. A fief forfeited for misconduct is to be made over by the officers to a person competent to serve, and who is to be inscribed on the register in his place. The registers are to be examined annually. The inspector is not to allow a military man to exact anything beyond the quit-rent, the *coichur*, and the other payments which are assigned him in the register, and he is to report the cases of extortion he meets with."*

It would seem from clause 8 of these regulations that the military fiefs were granted out to small colonies of soldiers, who tilled and worked them in common, and were not individual holdings.

Ghazan felt the necessity of increasing the army, so that the frontiers when attacked might be more easily defended, and in order that the troops of one frontier should not be marched away to another, thus leaving it unprotected, he formed a kind of special active division, recruited from the territorial army, each hut or tent of several men furnishing a quota of one or two soldiers. He also ordered that when a frontier was menaced the force nearest to it should at once march to the rescue. In regard to the frontiers where there were mountains and defiles, as these could be guarded by infantry he placed there the Tajiks or Persians, who received pay and also fiefs. Hitherto a grant had been made regularly for a body of Persian soldiers, but as they had until now been only men in buckram this had merely profited the officers, who bravely drew the money. Ghazan ordered this to be remedied, and the Persian soldiers in future were organised in bodies of a thousand and a hundred, and were inspected every three months.† Ghazan also increased his own guards (*kul*). Hitherto his *kul*, or regiment of body guards, had numbered only a thousand men, but in future it was raised to two or three thousand. They were reviewed by the Khan annually. He gave them presents, pay, and fiefs. During the wars with the princes of the houses of Juchi and Jagatai many Mongol children were captured, and were sold as slaves by the victors. Ghazan was outraged that the descendants of officers who had served under Jingis Khan in his conquests should be sold as slaves to Persians, and determined to upset this practice, which destroyed the respect formerly entertained for the name Mongol, and humiliated the race in the eyes of strangers. He ordered that all Mongol children offered for sale within his kingdom should be purchased on his own account, and in the course of two or three years a body of nearly 10,000 of these young people was formed, for whose sustenance the district of Meragha was assigned. Ghazan nominated officers over them from the officials of his Court, and made Pulad Ching

* D'Ohsson, iv. 420-429. † *Id.*, 429-430.

Sang general superintendent of them, with the rank of commander of a tuman. This body, which was daily augmented, was attached to the royal guard.*

There were in each province and town many armourers (*ozan*), both Persians and Mongols, who made bows, arrows, quivers, swords, &c., who received annually a salary from the State, and were in return to furnish a certain number of arms. In addition, there were in certain towns regular manufacturers of arms, under the control of officers appointed by the kurujis, and to whom were assigned large grants from the revenues of the province; but these moneys had, as in so many other cases, been grossly misappropriated and embezzled by the various officials. Ghazan ordered that in future the manufacturers of each article should form a separate company or guild in every town; and that they were to receive no fixed salary, but should be bound to supply a certain number of articles at a fixed price. He said that, although they were his slaves, he wished them to be paid the value of their productions, just as private and independent artisans were who sold theirs in the bazaar. He placed a governor over each of these guilds. The money necessary to pay them all was made a charge on the revenue of a single province, so that it should no longer be needful to send messengers at great cost in all directions, to secure payment for what was supplied. Every year 10,000 complete suits of armour were to be supplied. Hitherto not more than 2,000 had been annually furnished. Ghazan ordered that fifty were to be supplied for his own special use, while he stored his arsenals with many thousands of bows, arrows, and coats of mail. The same system was adopted in regard to saddle and bridle makers, as well as those who made the necessary equipments of the sekurjis (halbardiers or lance-bearers) and idajis. Previously, instead of having them in store, if an article of 50 or 100 dinars value was needed a messenger had to be sent for it.†

Hitherto there had been no regular account kept of the receipts and outgoings of the royal treasury of the Mongol sovereigns. There were a number of treasurers whose duty it was to receive what was paid into the treasury, and to pay it out collectively. The articles in the treasury were so badly taken care of that they were not even put under tents, but exposed to the air, or merely covered with felt. From this mode of guarding them the general method of administration may be guessed. Every time money was paid into the treasury it was customary to give the employés of the treasury who asked for them presents according to their rank. When the cupbearers or butlers, the housekeepers or grooms, brought any food or something to drink, the treasurers, after a consultation, gave them what they asked. Whoever, in fact, went and begged the custodians of the

* *Id.*, 430-431. † *Id.*, 431-433.

magazines to give him something was pretty sure to get it. These custodians were also in the habit of making mutual presents, and thus every year four-fifths of the contents of the treasury were dissipated. Knowing of this dishonesty, the governors of the provinces, when they sent their contributions to the treasury, used to obtain by the payment of a small bribe a receipt for twice the amount they really contributed; and although the ushers (*tangauls*) had strict orders to arrest all plunderers, they were so lax that a culprit was hardly ever seized, and if he was it was some one against whom they had a spite.

Ghazan began by ordering the various classes of objects in the treasury to be separately classed. He caused the Vizier to draw up an inventory of his precious stones, which he locked up himself in a special case, sealed it with his own seal, and gave it in charge to the double custody of a treasurer and of a major domo (*khoja serai*). Gold coin and the precious stuffs which had been made in the royal manufactories, or sent as presents from distant countries, were also confided to the same individuals, after a list had been made of them by the Vizier, and it was forbidden to dispose of any of them except under authority of a special order (*pervaneh*) of the Ilkhan himself. Another treasurer, with a major domo, was intrusted with the silver coin, and with the robes destined for ordinary gifts. These were not to be disposed of except under a pervaneh of the Vizier, countersigned with the signature (*nishan*) of the Prince, written with his own hand, which was to be registered by the Vizier's substitute, and they were forbidden to take notice of a pervaneh which was not countersigned in this way. The former section of the treasury was styled *narin* (*i.e.*, small, fine), the latter *bidun* (*i.e.*, great, thick). The former distinguished what was reserved for the Prince, the latter what was destined for the public. An inspection was to be made by the Vizier every six months, or every year, to see that the treasury contained what it ought to do. Formerly, the treasurers used to lend money to the grandees, or their own friends. It was now forbidden to lend anything without a royal ordinance (*pervaneh*). All the fabrics deposited in the treasury were marked with a special mark, so that they could not be changed for others. It was ordered that the various housekeepers employed in the treasury should in future limit themselves to their proper duties, and should not meddle with the disposition of the objects, which duty was to be performed by the four officials just named, and by them alone. They were to be paid 2 per cent. on the revenues sent in from the provinces, and were to exact nothing more from anyone. Ghazan also instituted a third department, under a major domo (*khoja serai*), who was to receive a tithe of all the gold and the fabrics sent in to the treasury, which he was to distribute in charity. When the Prince changed his residence, at the approach of summer or winter, he went himself to the treasury to order what things were to be transported with him. The Vizier drew up a list of the trunks

which remained at Tebriz, and the magazine was then sealed. Rashid adds that no prince made so many presents of gold and robes as Ghazan.*

Formerly, the expenditure of the moneys devoted to providing the Ilkhan's table was a perpetual subject of contest among the officials charged with this duty (*Bitikjian Idaji*), who were always making mutual accusations. As in other cases, the moneys allotted for this purpose were appropriated by various officers, and otherwise dissipated, and consequently those whose duty it was to supply the table had to borrow money at heavy interest, and to pay exorbitantly for what they purchased; so that, for instance, wine whose normal price was fixed at ten dinars for every hundred menns, and which under a better administration ought not to have cost more than five, was bought sometimes at twenty and even forty dinars, and often the royal table was largely in debt to the various dealers, who begged in vain for the payment of their accounts. Ghazan ordered that in future the moneys necessary to supply his table were to be furnished by the treasury six months in advance, so that things might be bought with ready money, and in this way order was restored in the kitchens and other domestic offices.†

The camels and sheep which belonged to the royal domain were formerly under the inspection of certain officers called *kanjis*, who were uncontrolled, and although the pastures were abundant, and the herdsmen numerous and exempted from the payment of all public taxes in view of their occupation, instead of the flocks having increased a hundred-fold, it was found that they had diminished almost to nothing. Ghazan fixed the number of sheep which the kanjis were bound to provide annually. The baggage camels were confided to special officials, and this part of the public service was so well organised (says Rashid) that no sovereign either Mongol or Mussulman, ever had so many beautiful camels to transport his baggage, while their pack saddles and equipment were extremely elegant.‡ The Ilkhan's herds of sheep had a particular name.§

Formerly, orders were issued annually to the falconers (*kushjis*, *i.e.*, birdcatchers), and those who had to procure hunting leopards (*barsjis* or *parsjis*), when they were to capture the falcons and leopards, which they were to hand over to the officials of the hunt. They were paid by assignations from the revenue, which they exacted from the most fruitful sources, and by liberal blows if necessary, making also outrageous levies for food and forage; and when *en route* for the capital with the animals they had in charge, they requisitioned post horses liberally for themselves and their baggage from the various towns, post stations, and cantonments of troops on the way.

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* D'Ohsson, iv. 433-437. † *Id.*, 437-439. ‡ *Id.*, 439-447. § Ilkhans, ii. 157.

They freely gave away many of the animals they had charge of, and the few leopards and falcons they eventually accounted for cost the public revenue a very large sum, besides the private rapine we have mentioned. A person who succeeded in securing an animal useful for the chase, either by trapping it or otherwise, demanded a patent as *terkhan* (*i.e.*, one exempting him from all taxes), armed with which he proceeded to persecute the much-enduring people. There were many such patents issued, and each holder had an entourage of a crowd of dependants. The falconers and officials of the hunt, who lived at the Court, had in their wake a number of palfreymen (*kuteljis*), muleteers, cameleers, &c., all of whom had their girdles ornamented with feathers, bunches of feathers on their heads, and carried poles, professedly for the birds of prey to perch upon, with which they belaboured those whom they met before addressing them. If they met anyone who wore owls' feathers in his turban or cap they took them from him, on the pretence that everybody was not allowed to wear them, and those who had to pass the tents or huts where the huntsmen lived were generally plundered. They appropriated sheep and fowls for their own food and that of their charges from the various villages, and straw and barley for their horses, &c. They seized on post horses, which they sold, and if they saw good asses, kept them for themselves, and to create terror they sometimes seized a proprietor and cut off his beard, while on every side vagabonds and ne'er-do-weels attached themselves to them. They were, in fact, organised brigands.

Ghazan set to work to reform these abuses. He ordered that no more than 1,000 falcons and 300 leopards should be annually supplied to the Court, that a list of the authorised falconers and hunting-leopard men should be prepared, with the name of the province where they were to live, and that no one else was to be considered as of their craft. The price to be paid for hunting animals, trained or untrained, was fixed, and also the pay of the huntsmen, which was to be according to the number of animals of which they had charge. They were each given yarlighs, with a golden seal (*altun tamgha*) attached, and were given proper salaries on condition that in travelling they made no exactions of post horses, provisions, &c. This regulation was ordered to be published by proclamation in the various provinces. When a calculation was made of the cost of this part of the public service it was found that although three times the number of animals were now supplied, it was at half the cost, not counting the exactions which had been made from individuals, which were of course incalculable. In regard to the falconers who lived at the Court, it was ordered that their wages, and what was needed for the food, &c., of the animals in their charge, was to be paid in advance, so that there was no pretext for their making exactions. It was ordered that whenever they were sent to a distance to exercise their animals they were to be supplied with post horses (*ulagh*), and were to be granted assignations, sealed with

a golden seal, upon the revenues of the province to which they were sent, greater or smaller, according to the distance or the season. To prevent all wrongdoing, fowls and pigeons, kept in cages, were provided for the food of the royal falcons. It having come to his ears that some of the huntsmen had made exactions in excess of the sum permitted by their bérats, Ghazan sent a special commissioner to make inquiries, and those who had been guilty received seventy-seven strokes with the bastinado. "Frightened by this example," says Rashid, "their companions ceased their ill deeds. It is rare now that a falconer or a huntsman gives rise to just complaints, and although the wolf never becomes a sheep, abuses have considerably diminished."*

The Mussulman kadhis were all subject to the chief judge, and the Mongol judges to the great yarghuji.† Ghazan issued instructions to his judges in the following edict :—

"In the name of the most clement and merciful God.

"By the divine power and under the auspices of the Muhammedan religion.

"Ordinance of Mahmud Ghazan.

"Let it be known to the commandant (*bashkak*), the prefect (*malik*), and the other functionaries who exercise authority in our name in such a province, that we have conferred upon X the office of judge in such a place, with its dependencies, so that he may judge and decide causes in his jurisdiction according to the law of religion, and that he may carefully protect the property of orphans and those who are absent. With these duties no one else has any right to interfere, nor yet to release from prison whoever has been legally condemned. The grand yarligh having laid it down that the kadhis, doctors of the law, and the descendants of Ali should pay neither *kolan* nor *koichur* (*i.e.*, taxes and tithes), we order that they be exempt, and that in future they are not to be called upon to furnish post horses (*ulagh*) or food (*sussun*). That neither Turks (couriers) nor *ilchis* (envoys) are to be billeted upon them, and that the full amount of their salaries is to be punctually paid them every year. Anyone failing either in word or action to pay proper respect to the kadhi is to be punished according to his fault ; while, on the other hand, we enjoin the kadhi, according to his written engagement (*mojelga*), to refrain from receiving anything from anybody for the exercise of his functions. When a new contract is made the old one must be produced in court and put into the *thas* (basin) of justice, so that the water may efface the writing. Pretensions which have not been urged for thirty years, and contracts thirty years old, are not to be admitted, but to be remitted to the basin (*i.e.*, washed out).‡ Anyone convicted of having used violence to another in order to compel him to do an illegal act, is to

* D'Ohsson, iv. 440-445. † Ilkhans, ii. 163.

‡ This is surely a very extraordinary anticipation of our statutes of limitation.

have his beard cut, to be promenaded about the town on a cow, and to be severely chastised. Attestations in common, *i.e.*, made collectively (*mahzars*), are abolished, and if any exist they must be washed out. If parties to a suit appear in court with people whose aid and protection they have invoked, their case is not to be heard until these patrons have withdrawn—the cause is in no case to be commenced in their presence.

"In causes between two Mongols, between a Mongol and a Mussulman, and others difficult to decide, we order that a council of justice (*divan ul mozalim* = the divan of grievances) comprising the commandants, prefects, treasury officers, kadhis, doctors of laws, and descendants of Ali shall meet two days in each month in the great mosque, decide the matters together, judging offences according to the Muhammedan law, and signing the sentence jointly, so that no one in future shall be able to disturb the decision.

"When a piece of land is in dispute, neither the mother nor grandmother (of the Ilkhan) nor his sons—nor the khatuns, the princes, princesses, the relatives of the ruler, the chiefs of tumans, millenarians, centurions or decurions, nor the ordinary Mongols, nor the officers of the Great Divan, nor the kadhis, descendants of Ali, doctors of the law, sheikhs, nor mayors are to purchase it. The kadhis are to take care to prepare no contracts transferring to any of these persons the land in dispute, and if they learn that others have done so they are to exert themselves to get it annulled.

"The seal of the kadhi is to be charged at nineteen dinars and a half and no more.

"If the districts belonging to the jurisdiction of X are too far away from his head-quarters, and he deems it well to place deputies there, he is to take care to select magistrates worthy of confidence, and to impose upon them the prescribed obligation. He must look over all they do monthly to secure that justice is being done according to our wishes. He may authorise them to draw up contracts and to decide causes, and each month they are to send him a report of what they have done."

The edict seems then to say that the deputy kadhis placed in the rural communes *were not* to try causes, give judgment, or prepare contracts of sale, but were to confine themselves to reciting the Friday prayer or khutbeh, preparing deeds of partition on succession to property, and deeds securing dowry (*sadak nameh*); while if difficult cases came before them they were to remit them for trial to the kadhi of the principal town. Perhaps this means that unless specially authorised, the deputies were only to try the limited cases, and do the less important work just mentioned. The kadhi was to have a person worthy of confidence to date contracts and to keep an exact register, so that if anyone sold or mortgaged a property, and wished to sell or mortgage it again, the first transaction might be easily verified. Any person guilty of fraud in these

transactions was to have his beard cut off, and to be promenaded about the town, while a registrar found guilty of abetting him was to be punished with death.

In this edict Ghazan warns the judges against the practice which had grown up of setting up false titles to property. These false titles were thus obtained: The original person who first tilled the land, or who inherited it after it had been cultivated, obtained from the proper authorities a number of documents of title. He then made over his property to some one else, who sold it to a third, and so on; but the original documents were meanwhile retained by the first owner; and when presently, in many cases through carelessness, or the troubled times, or other causes, it was thought that the person in possession had no documents to show his title, these original deeds were produced, and with them a number of suborned witnesses, and the kadhi having nothing brought before him on the other side to weigh against these official documents, declared them genuine, and, thus armed, their possessor proceeded to oust the real proprietor. Similar practices had long before attracted the notice of the famous Seljuk sultan, Malik Shah, and his vizier, Nizam ul Mulk, and he had in consequence issued an order by which documents of title which had been in abeyance for more than thirty years were not to be received in evidence. This order had been sent to all the muftis in Khorasan, Irak, and the district of Baghdad, in order that they might give their *fethva*, or judicial decision, about it, which was sent to the Khalif for his imprimatur. If such things took place (says Rashid) in the days when magistrates were just and enlightened men, how much more during the domination of the grandsons of Jingis Khan? In Persia the Mongols only recognised those who followed the profession of the law by their turbans and costume, and they had no knowledge of jurisprudence or equity. It was natural, therefore, that ignorant men should usurp the distinctive insignia of the magistrature, and by presents, &c., secure the patronage of some Mongol grandee, and thus obtain judicial offices, which led to the greater part of the more worthy magistrates resigning their posts, as they could not bear to have these men their equals. Presently, the evil deeds and injustices of these parvenus brought the whole profession of the law into contempt, and with it the Muhammedan faith also suffered. The Mongol commanders became the patrons of these judges, and presented or deprived them at their pleasure, and in some cases received money for them. It was chiefly during the reign of Gaikhatu and his minister, Sadr ud din, that these things happened.* Sadr ud din nominated his own brother to the office of chief judge (*Kadhi ul Kodhat*). Sheikh Mahmud was at that time head of the sheikhs (*Sheikh ul Moshaikh*). They sold the judicial

* We must always remember that Sadr ud din was a Jew, and therefore especially hateful to our authority, Rashid ud din, who had been accused of being a Jew himself.

offices. In consequence of fraudulent documents, those who had estates were in greater danger than if they had a hundred enemies, for dishonest men, dying of hunger, would not scruple, when armed with obsolete titles and false witnesses, to attack the most respectable people. When judicial offices were objects of traffic these same unworthy processes were much encouraged by the judges, who stimulated the aggressors, and delayed judgment for months and even years. Meanwhile they appropriated the income of the estate, and made both sides pay black mail. Many estates were thus for a long time the subject matter of litigation, and the unfortunate proprietor spent in law more annually than his income from his property; while those who attacked the judges received presents and made themselves feared, and a regular system of levying black mail on the proprietors, with the alternative of being dragged into the courts, became the custom. These pestilent people sought out others who happened to hold any old title deeds, or in other cases fabricated them. Ordinances of former sovereigns were produced—titles dating 150 years back—and although these required to be attested by witnesses, the claimant nevertheless proceeded, having first secured a powerful Mongol as a patron. The threatened proprietor was obliged to find a protector too, and thus the area of litigation and of dispute widened. Every proprietor, we are told, was threatened either in his estate or his honour.

The Tajik viziers of Khulagu had brought the order of Malik Shah before his attention, and he had issued a corresponding edict forbidding the production of deeds more than thirty years old in evidence, which edict had been renewed by Abaka, Arghun, Ahmed, and Gaikhatu; but these edicts were not obeyed, the interest of the officials, whose object was to obtain the properties of the proprietors at a low price for themselves, being to throw obstacles in the way of carrying it out. When Ghazan issued his edict, he had it specially drawn up with the help of the most learned kadhis, with full explanations of the principles upon which it professed to proceed, and also the various regulations and laws which had been passed on the subject.

This edict, prohibiting the reception in evidence of documents dated more than thirty years before, is dated from Keshaf, near Mosul, the 29th of March, 1300. It concludes with these words: "If a powerful man urges a kadhi to act in opposition to this edict, and if the kadhi sends me his name, I will see that he is punished in such a manner as will serve as an example." This edict also contains the formula which each kadhi was to sign. It enjoins the magistrates to decide cases according to the law, and with strict equity. They were to examine most critically old contracts and deeds, and to verify the witnesses, so that false documents might not be palmed upon them, and the kadhi bound himself to perform his duties strictly, on pain of being punished or deposed.

Another edict provided that before the sale of immovable property, &c., the right of the vendor should be properly made out. It ran thus :—

"In the name of God, &c. By the divine power, &c.

"Order of the Sultan Mahmud Khan.

"Let it be known to the commanders, prefects, judges, officers of the treasury, governors, notables, proprietors, and to all our subjects in general that according to the word of David 'we have appointed you our lieutenant upon earth. Judge between men with equity,' and according to the sentence of the Prophet 'An hour of justice is worth more than seventy years of prayer.' We exert all our care to secure the wellbeing of our people, and desire that the shadow of our justice may be generally spread everywhere, so that the powerful may not be able to oppress the feeble, that right may not be undone by wrong, and that the greater part of the differences among private individuals may disappear. Among the evils which afflict our kingdom are the numerous disputes between our subjects about old titles and based upon old contracts. In some cases the vendor who has more than one title deed retains a portion, and after selling his property has the dishonesty to produce these documents, and to lay claim to what he has already been paid for, and succeeds in getting witnesses who have been won over by his solemn declaration, or are prepared to suborn themselves. If the vendor does not do this his descendants sometimes do it, and produce this really false evidence either knowingly or innocently. It is natural that when these old documents are brought before the kadhi duly attested, that he should pronounce them genuine. How is he to know that the rights claimed under them have been already legally parted with. In order therefore to prevent these miscarriages, it is decreed that on a sale of land the vendor and the purchaser are to appear before the kadhi. The vendor is then to produce his title, and witnesses to swear that they have never known anyone raise a legal claim to the estate. The titles thus produced are then to be washed in water and cancelled. If the vendor has no documents, the witnesses must attest that he has been since such a date in possession of the property, while he is to declare that he has no title deeds, and that if any are afterwards found they will be considered as null and void. A document is then to be drawn up affirming his right to the property. The witnesses are to attest it, and the kadhi is also to add his attestation. Below this is to be written the contract of sale. If in future any other title deeds relating to this property are produced by the vendor or his heir, or anyone else, the kadhi is not to admit them, but he is to take possession of them, and immerse them in water. If the owner of the document refuses to give it up to the kadhi, he is to report the matter to the commandant of the town, who is to take it and wash it in the court. The contracts for the sale of immovable property are to be prepared by the registrar of the court. The kadhi is to have beside him a basin of water on a stool. This

basin is to be styled the basin of justice (*tass-i-adl*). When a dispute of the nature above-mentioned has been decided, the old titles produced and rendered obsolete by the decision are to be washed.*

"If a witness to a contract of sale or mortgage eventually raises pretensions to the thing sold or hypothecated, or if a person tries to sell a *part of* what he has already sold or mortgaged to another, he is to have his beard cut, and to be promenaded about the town on a donkey; while a person who tries to sell a property which he has already sold or mortgaged, is to be put to death."

The kadhis were not to accept anything for settling contracts or deciding causes, but were to be content with the salaries they received. The registrar was to receive a dirhem for each document (*heujet*) which he prepared, if the matter it referred to was of the value of 100 dinars, and one dinar if it exceeded 100 dinars, and was to take nothing more. Every police officer (*vakil*) who took money from both sides was to be scourged, deprived of his post, and to have his beard cut, and for a second offence was to be ridden through the town on a donkey, with his beard cut off. "We desire," says Ghazan, "that the commandant, or the prefect, in each town is to inform the kadhis that they are to enter into a written undertaking in regard to performing their duties." Ghazan appointed special commissaries, who were to search out and report to him the names of those who had made a trade of attacking the titles of proprietors by means of false documents, and to take care that they did not shield themselves from public justice. All those who were thus pointed out to him were sent to the capital, and were put to death.

Ghazan introduced fresh regulations in regard to the coinage. Up to this time several types of coins had been current in Persia. "It is not long ago," says Rashid ud din, "that the princes of Rum, Fars, Kerman, Georgia, and Mardin still enjoyed the right of coinage, and coined money of various standards." Again, although according to the edicts of Arghun and Gaikhatu the silver coins were to contain nine-tenths of silver, there was really only a proportion of four-fifths. Outside the Mongol world things were very bad. The coins of Rum, which were of higher value than those of other countries, were so reduced that where there ought to have been ten dinars worth of silver there was only two, that is, one-fifth; all the rest was copper, besides which they were clipped. This difference of intrinsic value in the coins of the two countries had to be taken into account in various trade transactions. He who bought merchandise lost 10 or even 20 per cent. upon the transaction, while there was some difficulty in passing off the money in the villages and the military cantonments, where the very ignorance of the people as to the amount of alloy in the coins made them more suspicious.

* D'Ohsson explains this reference to washing by saying that the soluble ink used by Orientals is removed from the polished cotton paper used by Orientals when a document is dipped in water.

Ghazan had a new die (*sikkeh*) made, with a mark (*nishan*) which could not be easily counterfeited. The gold and silver coin was re-struck, so that in future they might bear the name of God and of the Prophet. They also bore the name of Ghazan. In Georgia the names of God and the Prophet had never been placed on the coins; they were now to appear there also, according to Rashid ud din, since no other coins than those so stamped had currency in Persia. In regard to the standard, Ghazan said that if he permitted any alloy to be mixed with the gold and silver in the coins, as it was in those of the Khalifs of Egypt and of Africa, it would speedily happen that more and more would be so mixed with it, and his inspectors would either not notice the bad practice, or would be bribed to keep their eyes shut. It was much better that the coin should be struck without alloy, so that when the gold coin was tested with borax, and the silver was either tried with mercury or in the fire, the sophistication might be easily detected. He ordered that the gold pieces of Hormuz, which were not of greater value than those of Africa, and other baser gold coins, were to pass current at a lower value, so that the bankers might be induced to buy and melt them down into ingots, and it followed that in the course of a twelvemonth there was not a *miskal* of base gold coin to be found in the country. Formerly gold and silver were rare in the market place, and when a little was forthcoming there was a rush for it. The quantity had diminished in consequence of the increase in the use of gold tissues, &c., during the Mongol domination, as well as in consequence of the exportation of gold to India; but now (says Rashid) it circulates abundantly in the bazaars, even in the hands of the peasants. Ghazan wished the silver dinar to weigh three miskals. Pieces of gold (*durusthai thila*) were struck of the weight of a hundred miskals, upon which his name was engraved in the letters of different countries, so that it might be known everywhere that he had struck these coins. They bore, in addition, verses from the Koran and the names of the twelve imaums. The coins were so beautiful that those who obtained one had not the heart to part with it. Ghazan liked to give these medallions—for so they really were—as presents, so that they might be known to foreigners.. Pachymeres speaks of the gold coins of Ghazan as having been of exquisite purity. This kind of money, he adds, was called *kazaneos*.*

There were formerly a great number of weights and measures current; they differed even in the various districts of the same province. Commerce was neglected in favour of the mere transporting of objects from one district to another, the difference of weight in the two districts affording a profit in itself. From this cause some materials became very scarce, and even unprocurable in certain countries. There were two or

* Stritter, iii. 1092.

three kinds of measure (*kufiz*) current in each village. The villagers employed the longest one among themselves, but in trading with strangers they used the shortest, and whether the latter knew the fact or no they had small redress, since the natives swore boldly together that this was the legal standard. The provisions, which ought to have been supplied to the troops by the *kuban* of 100 menns, were really weighed to them by the *kuban* of 70, or 60, and even of fewer menns, while powerful people exacted the full measure by the liberal use of the bastinado. This variety of weights was a constant subject of disputes.

Ghazan issued an order on the subject, which, after the usual initiatory formula, went on to say that in the markets of the Ordu and of the towns each one used at his pleasure weights made of stone, bone, iron, &c., and increased or diminished them arbitrarily. "We order that in all our kingdom, from the River Amu (*i.e.*, the Oxus) to the frontier of Egypt, the weights and measures shall be tested and verified; that they be made of iron, and be properly marked."

1. The weights of gold and silver coins were to be according to the standard of Tebriz, so that money should not in future be transferred from place to place to make a profit out of the mere difference of weight. In future it was to be everywhere of the same weight, as it was of the same value. Fakhr ud din and Behai ud din, of Khorasan, were charged to make special weights for the gold and silver coins, which were to be of an octagon shape. They were to appoint two of their people for each province to revise the weights there, who were to be assisted by an expert (*amin*), and to carry out their work in the presence of the inspector of the markets (*mohtesib*). In consequence of this order various private individuals were to have iron weights, made similar to the patterns furnished by Fakhr ud din and Behai ud din, which were to be taken to the experts in each province, just mentioned, so that they might be verified, and that they might attach their marks to them. The counterfeiting of these marks was punishable with death.

2. All who were provided with these stamped weights were to be registered, and the weights were to be verified monthly. Anyone who had unjust weights, or counterfeited the official mark, or who in buying or selling used weights which were not marked, were to be brought before the commandant (*shahneh*), who was to have him punished as ordered by the Khan's ordinance.

3. The weights used for selling merchandise were also to be fashioned after a type of an octagon shape, in iron, and were to be duly marked and verified by the same experts. These weights were to consist of a series of eleven, from 10 menns down to a drachma, in this order: 10 menns, 5, 2, 1, ½, ¼, ⅛; 10 drachmas, 5, 2, 1. For objects weighing more than 10 menns the tamgajis were to make kubans, or hundredweights, weighing 100 menns.

4. As there was in each province a variety of measures under the names of *kil*, *kofiz*, *jerib*, *tugar*, &c., and each one in fact used his own measure, and as the Mongol soldiers, merchants, and strangers who went to receive the provisions which had been apportioned them by the treasury, or to buy things, had constant quarrels with the inhabitants, the consequence being that might generally prevailed, it was accordingly decreed that there should be a uniform standard of weights (*kileh*), viz., that of Tebriz, of which the unit weighed ten menns, each menn being of 260 drachmas. Ten of these kilehs were to go to a tugar. Different kinds of grain, such as wheat, barley, rice, sesamé, and millet were each to be measured by a separate measure, which was in every case, however, to be based on a standard quantity of grain weighing ten menns of Tebriz. Each of these measures was to be marked as the kileh of such a grain, and the experts already mentioned were to attach their marks to them in the presence of the inspector of markets (*mohtesib*). They were to be inspected every month in the town and country districts; anyone found with an unmarked measure was to be taken before the commandant, and, if found guilty, was to have his hand cut off or to pay a penalty.

The measure of liquids used for the ordus, and for distributing in presents, was to contain five péimanés, weighing fifty menns, while that used for feasts (*thui*) was to be of the capacity of four péimanés, weighing forty menns. All the ell measures (*guez*) used in measuring cloth for sale were to be of the length of the guez of Tebriz, excepting, however, the measure used in Rum, which was very different. The two sides of the ell measures were to be marked with a mark composed by the two officials, Fakhr ud din and Behai ud din. These measures were also to be periodically inspected by the experts already mentioned.

The kingdom, through the recent ill-government, was overrun with highway robbers, Mongols, Tajiks (Persians), Kurds, and Shuls, who were joined by runaway slaves and other Bohemians. The peasants, as in Southern Italy and in Ireland, acting as their guides and their spies, informed them of the route taken by travellers. If a brigand fell into the hands of justice he easily found powerful friends, as he does still in Calabria, and these friends urged that it was not right to put to death *a man who was so brave*. By an old decree those who travelled together were to make a joint defence against any robber band which attacked them; but the brigands, who knew their victims well, used to shout, like the chivalrous Jack Sheppard, that they did not want to molest those who had nothing, who consequently withdrew, leaving their richer brethren in difficulties. The robbers became so bold that they attacked travellers close to the military cantonments, the towns, and villages. They had friends among the peasants and the nomades, and those who denounced them were visited with vengeance. The peasants, and even the village mayors, were so closely bound up with the robbers that they supplied

them with everything they needed, and gave them asylum in their houses. Their friends in the towns disposed of the stolen booty for them, and they sometimes spent a month or two in the towns with their accomplices, thus enjoying the fruits of their rapine. The Tangauls (Tetkauls of Von Hammer), whose duty it was to protect the great routes, only aggravated the evils. They stopped caravans on pretence of searching for thieves, and thus gave the latter timely warning to escape or plant ambuscades. Instead of pursuing the robbers they levied black mail themselves on travellers, who feared their protectors more than the thieves, since the latter were only encountered occasionally and at haphazard; while the Tangauls were sure to be met with at every station, and many caravans, rather than run the risk of being plundered by them, adopted unfrequented and difficult roads.

To remedy these matters Ghazan ordered, first, that anyone abandoning his companions when attacked by robbers was to be pursued, and to forfeit his goods and life. The cantonment or village near which a robbery occurred was to be made answerable, especially if it had been warned. Anyone convicted of connivance with the robbers was to be put to death. Ghazan ordered Inkuli, one of the officers of his household, known for his integrity, to carry out this scheme. Many robbers were captured and punished, and the few who escaped, forsook their occupation. Those who denounced them were created *terkhans*, and Inkuli was rewarded for his zeal with all that was recovered from the robbers. Ghazan ordered that the Tangauls should only be posted in dangerous places, or where the caravans needed instructions as to the route they ought to take. They were to be paid a stated fee of half an akchi for every four mules or pair of laden camels, and no more. Nothing was to be paid for animals without burdens, or carrying only provisions. The places where Tangauls were to be stationed were marked with stone columns, on which were inscribed the number of the guards, the duties of their chief (*bashkak*), and the dues to be paid by travellers. These small monuments were called tables of justice. They prevented the exercise of the office of Tangaul by unauthorised persons, which had hitherto prevailed. The guards who failed to arrest the robbers after a robbery committed near their post, had to make good the property stolen. They entered into written engagements to fulfil these conditions. If a caravan wished to halt near a village or military cantonment, it was to make inquiry if there were robbers in the neighbourhood. If the answer was yes, the caravan was to be permitted to enter the village for safety, and no one was to prevent it. If the answer was no, and in consequence the caravan stopped in the open country, and robbery ensued, they were to answer for it. This order was not made applicable to towns, because of the great difficulties in such cases. The amir Buralghi was appointed head of the Tangauls. When he inspected the rolls he found that nearly

10,000 men with their officers were engaged in protecting the lives and goods of travellers.*

As drunkenness and consequent quarrels and murders prevailed largely, Ghazan issued an order, in which he said: "Our legislator and other heavenly messengers have forbidden the use of wine, nevertheless the prohibition does not prevent its use. An absolute interdiction on our own part would have no better result. We merely order, therefore, that anyone found drunk on a public road is to be stripped naked, and tied to a tree in the midst of the public square, as an example." But he forbade private houses being entered for the purpose of looking for drunkards, on account of the abuses which his officials might be tempted to make.† In the great towns houses for prostitution had grown up close to the mosques, monasteries, and private dwellings, and as those who kept them paid a higher price for young slave girls than private individuals, and therefore commanded the market, much to the horror of such of these girls as had any feelings of chastity and self-respect, Ghazan said that all such establishments ought to be closed, as contrary to religion and morals; but as they had been tolerated for a long time it was not possible to abolish them suddenly. He, however, forbade any girls who objected to this mode of life being sold to the keepers of such houses. Those who had objection and were nevertheless in houses of ill-fame were to be liberated, the State paying their ransom, and they were then to be married to whoever wished to marry them.‡

Formerly, a well-dressed man (says Rashid) could not traverse the bazaars without a crowd of muleteers, cameleers, or servants pressing him for money for their needs or pleasures, and if this were refused he was insulted, and sometimes even struck. These people collected in groups in the streets and markets, and scarcely was a traveller free from one gang than he encountered another. They were generally in the service of the khatuns, princes of the blood, and amirs. On solemn days, as those of Bairam and Nevruz, they decked out their mules and camels, and took them to the doors of people of mark. If the person in charge were at home they extorted money from him by repeated and energetic solicitation. If he were away they seized what they could and pawned it, and when the proprietor tried to recover his own he had to redeem it at a large price, and to listen to much insulting language. These scenes were renewed annually during the five days preceding and succeeding the festivals, and it became the fashion for officials and others to imitate the custom, and to pass for the nonce as muleteers, cameleers, &c., and to go about with animals dressed out, levying their contributions, until decent people avoided the streets and bazaars, while shopkeepers were made

* D'Ohsson, iv. 470-474. † *Id.*, 474. ‡ *Id.*, 474-475.

victims of the same artful system of compulsory almsgiving. Ghazan forbade such exactions on pain of death, and the guards were ordered to strike with their maces any camels and mules on the head and legs, when on feast days they heard the sound of their bells, and also to punish their conductors. This order caused the nuisance to cease.*

Ghazan's financial reforms enabled him to distribute alms generously. Twenty tumans (*i.e.*, 200,000 dinars) were distributed in this way annually, of which Shiraz furnished 40,000. Funds were set apart for the pilgrims to Mecca, and by a yarligh issued in 1300 the Seyids, sheikhs, imaums, and sacristans at Mecca were secured all their privileges. The young amir Kotlokia was appointed general conductor of the pilgrim caravans, and for their safety a guard of a thousand horsemen, with officers, drums, kettle-drums, and standards, was set apart. Ghazan sent thither himself a cover for the Kaaba, embroidered with all the titles of the Ilkhan, and an imperial camel-sedan, in describing which Wassaf has an opportunity for pouring out his hyperbolic phrases with gusto. Twelve gold tumans were set apart for the pensions of the Arab sheikhs at Mecca and Medina. The camel-sedan still sent annually by the Turkish Sultan seems, like a good many other Turkish institutions, to be derived from Ghazan's example, which itself was doubtless an imitation of older Mussulman sovereigns, like the Sultans of Egypt.†

Von Hammer remarks that one of the great causes of corruption and of confusion in the finances was the double year, founded respectively on a lunar and a solar basis. The difference between the two became so great that at the end of the seventh century of the hejira there was a gap of nine years between the two reckonings, causing constant strife between the tax collectors and their victims. Ghazan therefore determined to rectify the calendar and to fix a new era, which commenced on the 13th Rejeb 701 (*i.e.*, 14th March, 1302),‡ and was known as the Ilkhanian or Ghazanian era. We shall have more to say about it in the accompanying note. Ghazan left no son, but had three daughters—Otoghloghshah, Aljui, and Oljai, who married Bestam.

Note 1.—Ghazan was a great builder, and a large number of his foundations are recorded. Hitherto the Mongol sovereigns had been buried in the manner prescribed by old custom, in a retired place which was kept secret from the people, was planted over with a wood and access forbidden. Ghazan, who had become a faithful Mussulman, followed the practice of Mussulman sovereigns. He had visited many tombs of saints in various parts of Persia, and is said to have declared that a man who died in a state of grace, and whose tomb was thus revered, was happier, though dead, than living men. "That I may have some part with these holy men I will plant some pious

* D'Ohsson, iv. 475-477. † Ilkhans, ii. 172-173. ‡ *Id.*, 174-175.

foundations about my own tomb, which will perhaps secure me the divine pity." He accordingly laid the foundations of some of these establishments at Shenb, two miles to the south of Tebriz, which was thenceforward known as Sham Ghazan or Shenb Ghazan. They were completed in the course of a few years. These buildings, which were on a greater scale than the famous cupola of Sultan Sanjar, the Seljuk, at Merv, which passed among the Mussulmans as the largest of their buildings, consisted of (1) a mausoleum. The foundations of this were laid in the third year of his reign. Its walls were of the thickness of thirty-three bricks, each brick weighing ten menns. Fourteen thousand four hundred workmen were engaged upon its construction, of whom 13,000 were continually employed, and 1,400 assisted. The height of the building, as far as the vault of the cupola, was 130 ells. Within three years it rose to a height of 80 ells. The pediment was 10 ells high, and the cornice also 10 ells. The perpendicular measure of the cupola was 40 ells, its circumference 1,530 ells. It formed a dodecagon, and on it was represented the signs of the zodiac.* The mausoleum was girdled about with a golden inscription, composed by Wassaf in his usual exaggerated language. It terminated with these phrases: "Thanks be to God that he has permitted him (*i.e.*, Ghazan) to build these beneficent buildings, and to found these all-embracing charities, and to cover over the traces of decay with these high-reaching and deep-sinking gardens, stretching widely like heaven's blue vault, before which the pyramids must hide away, before which the two eagles of heaven, the rising and setting one (*i.e.*, the zodiacal signs of the swan and of lyra) must writhe like the crab and scorpion. Whose battlements, like those of heaven, rise stage upon stage, whose lamps shed their light like the sun and moon, whose summit is high as Arcturos, whose diameter is like that of the Pole of Heaven, which runs like an Eden balcony from the Garden of Paradise, where dwell pity and kindness and Rizwan, the guardian of Paradise." Among the many objects of gold which it contained was a great lamp, which weighed 1,000 miskals. For the decorating of its walls with lapiz lazuli, not less than 300 menns of that substance were used.

In addition to his tomb, a number of Ghazan's other foundations are enumerated, as (2) a monastery for dervishes, (3) a college where the doctrines of the Shafi sect were taught, (4) a similar one devoted to the Hanefi sect, (5) a hospital, (6) a palace for the administrator of the various establishments, (7) a library, (8) an observatory, (9) a philosophical academy, (10) a noble fountain, (11) a house of residence for the Seyids, or descendants of the Prophet. The majority of the carpets for the rooms in these buildings were made at Shiraz. (12) The garden and kiosk or summer-house of Aafdiliya (*i.e.*, of Justice), in comparison with which, says Wassaf, "the palace of Khosroes was only rubbish, the Khavrnak a mere bagatelle, and the Kedir a wilderness." The cost of keeping up the mausoleum and its dependent buildings was over a hundred tumans (*i.e.*, a million) annually, and a special divan was appointed to superintend them, presided over by the great amirs Kur Timur and Terentai. In addition to the buildings here named the whole town of Aujan was rebuilt, and

* *Id.*, 153.

supplied with markets and baths. Tebriz was surrounded with a wall, which inclosed within it the suburbs of Jerendab, Surkhab, and Beilankuh. This wall was 10 ells wide and 54,000 paces in circuit, with five gates, compared by Wassaf with the five senses of the body. Shiraz was also surrounded with a wall, while a monastery was built at Hamadan.*

Chardin, in describing Tebriz, tells us that when he wrote, the mosque built there by Ghazan's first vizier, Khoja Ali Shah, had been almost entirely destroyed. The base had been repaired, and thither people went to pray. The minaret, also, which was very lofty, had been similarly repaired. Of Ghazan's tomb there only remained a large ruined tower, which was still called Minar Khan Ghazan.† Ker Porter thus refers to these ruins: "To the south-west of the new walls of the city, but far within the remnants of the old boundaries, stand the magnificent remains of the sepulchre of Sultan Kazan. It is situated about two miles from the town, the whole way being marked with shapeless ruins, even stretching beyond the sepulchre to a great extent; but the tomb itself is an object too pre-eminent in desolated grandeur to descry without approaching. Its appearance now is that of a huge mound of mingled lime-dust, tiles, and bricks, but surrounded with spacious arches of stone and other vestiges of departed majesty.‡

Note 2.—The era of Ghazan. Among Eastern peoples there were two ways of calculating the year, one based on the sun's motion, the other on the moon's. The former commenced with the entrance of the sun into Aries, when day and night are exactly equal, and terminated when it reached the same point again, and was reckoned by Wassaf 365¼ days. The lunar year, based on the reciprocal positions of the sun and moon, was calculated on the basis of twelve lunar revolutions. This year numbered only 354 days and a fraction. It is very clear that these two years speedily fell asunder, and left a considerable gap between them. To rectify the lunar year, and make it consonant with the solar one, various devices were at different times adopted. The Persians, whose era, says Wassaf, commenced with the reign of Yezdejird, the son of Sherujar, calculated their year on a basis of twelve months of thirty days, adding five days to the end of February (Izfendiarmed), which they named the five added. In the course of 120 years this reckoning was a month wrong. The Romans, who were well skilled in science, says the same writer, and made observations in their observatories, included thirty days in November, April, June, and September; twenty-eight in February, and thirty-one in the other months, but every fourth year counted twenty-nine days in February. That is, their calendar was the same as ours, and they thus made their lunar year commence with their solar one. The sixteenth Abbasidan Khalif El Motedhadbillah Ahmed founded an era based on a calculation of thirteen lunar months to the year. This era began on the 11th of June in the year 1207 of the Alexandrian era, the 218th year of the hejira, the sun being then in the zenith. The solar and lunar years had since the commencement of the hejira accumulated a gap of nine years between them. This was now rectified, and

* Ilkhans ii. 153-155. † Chardin Voyages, ed. Langles, ii. 323.
‡ Ker Porter's Travels, i. 223.

they were brought together again. Seventy years later the secretary of state, Iz ed daulet Bakhtiar, of the Buweyid dynasty, wrote a treatise on this era. From its commencement to the year 702 of the hejira, when Ghazan's era commenced, the differences between the solar and lunar years had accumulated to 13 years. Ghazan's new era, which began on the 14th of March, 1302, rectified this, and again brought the solar and lunar years into unison. It was known as the Ilkhanian era.*

Note 3.—John of Montecorvino in a letter dated at Cambalec, on Quinquagesima Sunday, in the month of February, 1306, written to the Vicar-General of the Franciscans, to the Master of the Order of Preachers, and to the Friars of either order abiding in the province of the Persians, mentions how, in the January of the previous year, he sent a letter to the father vicars and friars of Gazaria, by a friend of his attached to the Court of the Lord Kathan Khan, and he had since learnt from some messengers of the same Kathan Khan to the "Cham" (*i.e.*, to the Emperor of China) that his letter had reached its destination, its bearer having gone on to Tebriz from Serai This Kathan Khan, as Colonel Yule urges, can be no other than Ghazan Khan, who, however, died in 1304, which makes the chronology hard to reconcile.†

* Ilkhans, ii. 175-177 and 357-365. † Cathay and the Way Thither, 204.

CHAPTER X.

ULJAITU KHAN.

WITH the death of Ghazan we lose the assistance of the great historiographer, Rashid ud din, whose work concludes at that point. It was continued by Masud, son of Abdullah (at the instance of Shah Rukh, the successor of Timur), who wrote an account of the reigns of his two successors.

On Ghazan's death his brother Khodabendeh, whom he had nominated to succeed him, was in his appanage of Khorasan. General Mulai advised him to keep the news secret, and to take measures for preventing troubles, especially on the part of Alafrenk, son of Gaikhatu, who raised claims to the throne, and was supported by Hirkudak, whose wife was the daughter of Kutlugh Shah and of a sister of Alafrenk, and who had recently been appointed commander-in-chief in Khorasan. It was determined at a council that before publishing the news of Ghazan's death these dangerous people should be removed. Three distinguished amirs, Isenbuka, Gurji, and Kartokabuka, were told off for the work. When they arrived at the ordu of Alafrenk that prince was not aware of Ghazan's death. They sought a secret interview with him, during which Gurji killed him with his sword. Hirkudak apparently fled, but was pursued. A vigorous struggle ensued, during which Gurji fell, but at length Hirkudak and his people were captured and taken before Khodabendeh. Ismail Tarkan was ordered to put him to death. His head fell off at the second blow. This was on the great military road, and the troops were marched over his body. His two brothers, Toghuz and Ala Timur, and his three sons, Malik, Arab, and Ramazan, were likewise put to death. Hirkudak's widow, Shahaalem, the daughter of Siurghutmish, sent her son Jihangir, who was a minor, to Khodabendeh, to ask his mercy. He granted him his life, and spared her house from being plundered, as was customary in the case of executed criminals. Alafrenk's troops swore allegiance to Khodabendeh, who appointed Musasadeh Beiktuk, the son of Aladai Noyan, as his deputy, and also as commander-in-chief, and made over the yiziership of Khorasan to Alai ud din, the son of Said Weji ud din. He then set out for Tebriz with his most faithful noyans, Husinbeg, Sevinj, Isen Kutlugh (called Uveis Kutluk by D'Ohsson), and by the amirs Mulai (the Melaidu of Von Hammer), Jelair, Yas the son

of Juchi, Alikushji, and a large contingent of troops.* At each station he was met by amirs and troops who went to do homage, and in six weeks, on the 10th of July, 1304, he arrived at Aujan, where he performed the ceremonies usual after the death of a Muhammedan ruler, and distributed funeral meats to the officers, soldiers, and public. Ten days after his arrival was fixed upon as a fortunate day by the astrologers for his enthroning, which was carried out with the usual ceremonies. The princes Kutlugh Shah, Choban, Pulad, Sevinj, and Isen Kutlugh stood on the right of the throne, with their girdles bound round them, while the princesses stood on the left, and in front were the amirs. Outside the tent the troops were ranged in ranks, the military music played, while the various grandees in order offered the cup and did homage.†

Khodabendeh adopted the style of Sultan Uljaitu (*i.e.*, the fortunate or rich Sultan).‡ He was the third son of the Ilkhan Arghun, and was now twenty-three years old, having been born in 680 HEJ. His mother, Uruk Khatun, the daughter of Prince Sarijé, brother of Dokuz Khatun, gave birth to him in the midst of the desert separating Merv and Sarakhs. There had been a great scarcity of water, and her suite were troubled how to procure it, but directly the prince was born an abundant rain fell, whence they called the newly-born infant Uljai-buka. Presently the name Tamudar was substituted for this, according to a Mongol custom. They believe that a change in the name of their children protects them from the evil eye. When, in more modern times, Shah Sefi fell into a state of languor, and it was suggested that it was due to the witchcraft of the Jews, he was recommended to change his name to undo the effects of this sorcery.§ Uljaitu was a Shia, and was surnamed Khodabendeh (*i.e.*, servant of God) by his co-religionists, while the Sunnis played on the word and called him Kharbendeh (*i.e.*, servant of the ass), a name corrupted by Pachymeres into Karmpantes. On most of the State documents he was called Uljaitu Muhammed Khodabendeh. Makrizi says he was called Ghiath ud din Muhammed.‖ In his infancy he had been married to Kunjuskat Khatun, daughter of Shadi Gurkan, with whom he was brought up. She persuaded him to become a Mussulman after the death of his mother, the Kerait Uruk Khatun, who, according to Haithon, had taught him the Christian faith, and had had him baptised with the name Nicholas.

Three days of feasting followed the enthronement, after which an order was issued strictly enjoining the observance of the commandments of religion and the precepts of Muhammedanism, while an adherence to the yassa of Ghazan was also required. Robes of honour were distributed among the principal officers. Kutlugh Shah was appointed commander-in-chief of the army and given the first position at Court as Beglerbeg,

* D'Ohsson, iv. 478-480. Ilkhans, ii. 178-180. † Ilkhans, ii. 180.
‡ Remusat, Mems. Acad. Inst., vii. 392. § Quatremere, 31. Note. ‖ Op. cit., ii. part 2, 233.

and his tamgha or mark in red was attached to all orders. The noyans Choban, Pulad, Husein, Sevinj, and Inskutluk were put under him. Khoja Said Rashid ud din, the historian, was appointed first vizier, and Khoja Said ud din of Saveh his coadjutor. They had control of the finances, and authority over the Tajiks (*i.e.*, native Persians). The administration of the vakhfs was assigned to Kutlugh Kaya and Behai ud din Yakub. They were enjoined to distribute these funds according to the will of the founders, and not to take a tenth for themselves, as their predecessors had done, contrary to the religious law. A considerable largess was distributed, by which the treasury was emptied.* Directly after the festivities were over Khodabendeh released the Egyptian envoy Hosam ud din Mojiri and the judge Imad ud din Ali, who had been placed in confinement in the latter years of Ghazan's reign.

On the 8th of August he set out from Aujan for Tebriz, where he visited his brother's grave, and prayed, shed tears, and distributed alms. On the 19th of September he received in audience the envoys of Timur Khakan, the Emperor of China, and nominally, at least, his suzerain, as he was of all the Mongol world. They took presents and congratulations. He also received envoys from Chapar and Dua, the heads of the ulusses of Ogotai and Jagatai, who went to report the treaty by which the long feuds between the rival princes of the house of Jingis had been terminated,† and offering their friendship. The Khakan's envoy presented a yarligh, in which he expressed the hope that thenceforth there might be concord and good understanding among the princes of the house of Jingis, &c. A great feast was given. In front of the throne were placed the golden sideboards, shaped like lions, and decked with cups and beakers. On the right sat the princes; on the left the royal princesses and their daughters. The tent was encompassed by a tuman of troops. Immediately before it were the Sikurjis or lancebearers, the masters of the horse, and riding masters (*akhtajis*), with led horses in rich bearings; the fowlers (*kushjis*) with their falcons; the four amirs commanding the four sections of the lifeguards. Sentinels with cudgels were employed in keeping back the pressing crowd, and in maintaining order. Kumiz and kara kumiz flowed freely, amidst singing and music. The reunion of the Mongol world was made the subject of congratulations. The Khakan's envoys were treated with the greatest honour, and presented with rich gifts, and Yaghmish, who had been governor of Ispahan during Ghazan's reign, was commissioned to take the Ilkhan's homage, or, perhaps, rather congratulations, to China.‡ Uljaitu now set out for Meragha to inspect Khulagu's observatory. There he installed the Khoja Assil ud din, son of the great astronomer, Nasir ud din, as director. Returning once more to Tebriz, he set out for Mughan to pass the

* D'Ohsson, 481-483. Ilkhans, ii. 180-182. † Ante, i. 288-289. ‡ Ilkhans, ii. 183-184.

winter. There he, on the 9th of December, received envoys from Toktu, the ruler of Kipchak; and on the 7th of January dispatched an embassy to Egypt, with which were sent the two envoys recently released from prison, with the request that Irinchin, brother of Sevinj, whom the Egyptians had captured in the recent campaign and detained, might be released. A friendly message was also sent by the Ilkhan. Uljaitu had asked for the hand of Irinchin's daughter, Kutlugh Shah, in marriage. The contract was signed on the 23rd of March, Pulad Ching Sang representing the Ilkhan and Rashid ud din the princess, and the marriage was celebrated on the 29th of the same month. On the 20th June the bakhtak (the word means a helmet in Persian) was placed on Kutlugh Shah's head, and she was installed in the grand ordu of Dokuz Khatun. At this marriage Rashid acted as vakil to the princess. Three days later Uljaitu married Bulughan Khatun Khorasani, widow of Ghazan, to whom he gave a marriage gift of 90 menns of silk.*

We have seen how Shah Jihan was nominated ruler of Kerman by Ghazan. He was summoned to his presence by Uljaitu, was reproached with his want of courtesy to the representatives of his suzerain, his carelessness in paying tribute, and his cruelty towards the grandees of the country. The Ilkhan, touched by his youth and beauty, spared his life, but he would not allow him to return to Kerman, which was thenceforth governed in the name of the Mongol divan. Shah Jihan reconciled himself to his fate, and withdrew to Shiraz, where he amassed great wealth and acquired great influence. With him ended the dynasty of the Karakhitais of Kerman, which had reigned there since the year 1223.†

Uljaitu allowed the great sheikh Safi ud din of Ardebil to sit on his right at table, and on his left the great sheikh Alai ud daulet of Semnan. One of these ate while the other touched nothing. When the tables were removed, Uljaitu said, "The piety of the two great sheikhs is pre-eminent, but why did one eat of all meats while the other ate not at all? If it was lawful, why did they differ? If unlawful, why did one of them not refrain like the other?" Safi ud din replied, "His eminence the Sheikh Alai ud daulet is a sea, which nothing can soil," and Alai ud daulet replied, "His eminence the Sheikh Safi ud din is a royal falcon, which soars over everything." The Ilkhan was much pleased with these reciprocal compliments of the holy men, and commended and rewarded them accordingly.‡ At this time, we are told, several Jewish physicians embraced Muhammedanism. In order to test the sincerity of their conversion the Vizier, Rashid ud din, urged that they should be asked to eat some mule's flesh (Quatremere says camel's flesh), boiled in sour milk, the Mosaic law having prohibited both the eating of mule's flesh and the cooking of flesh in sour milk. This test was accordingly applied to them.

* D'Ohsson, iv. 484-485. Ilkhans, ii. 184. Quatremere (Rashid), xiii.
† D'Ohsson, iv. 485. Ilkhans, ii. 142. ‡ Ilkhans, ii. 185-186.

As Von Hammer says, it may have been suggested by Rashid ud din to prove his own faithfulness to Islam, some having accused him of being a Jew by origin.* Wassaf reports an intrigue which now arose against Rashid ud din and his colleague, Said ud din, who were accused by Kursirh, the former secretary of Hirkudak, and others, of some malpractices. Kutlugh Noyan was deputed to inquire into the matter, and the accusations having proved groundless, some of the accusers were put to death and others bastinadoed.† On the 8th of March, 1306, fresh envoys came from the Khakan Timur with a present of gerfalcons.‡ This was apparently followed some time after by another embassy, headed by Uljaitu Buktimur, who escorted a princess of the imperial house as a wife for the Ilkhan, and also took a present of 1,500 horses. This envoy, on his return home, was detained by Isenbuka, the Khan of Jagatai.§ Rashid says when envoys arrived from the Khakan's Court they became Mussulmans, and submitted to circumcision, though they would have to bear severe reproaches on their return.‖

In the second year of Uljaitu (*i.e.*, 1306) a struggle broke out in the further East between the houses of Ogotai and Jagatai, which will be described in detail in the next volume. One of the consequences was that Sarban, son of Chapar, who was at the head of the ulus of Ogotai, with a number of princes and other supporters, fled to Persia, and sought shelter at the Court of Uljaitu. Among the fugitives were two whose relatives had filled a notable *rôle* in the history of the earlier Ilkhans, named Behadur Kazan, son of Kurkuz, and Ordu Kazan, the brother of Nuruz. They sent word to the frontier to explain the reason of their flight. The noyan Yasaul, commanding the frontier, to guard against surprise first sent forward a regiment of karauls, or frontier guards, and followed himself with his amirs, fully armed. When they drew near Konduz-baghlan, in the neighbourhood of the Oxus, there was some misunderstanding between their outposts, which led to a momentary struggle, but the real state of things having been disclosed, there was a speedy peace-making and feasting. When Uljaitu heard of their arrival, he summoned them to the Court. Sarban, who was the most important among them, died in passing through Khorasan; but Timur Oghul, a descendant of Juchi Khasar, with his son Minkian, and Sarban's two sons, Buruntai and Bojir, with the amirs Behadur Kazan and Ordu Kazan, leaving a portion of their forces in their yurts, repaired with the rest, and the amirs of the *hazarehs* (*i.e.*, the commanders of regiments) to the Court, where they were royally entertained. Prince Buruntai was, with the concurrence of the Grand Prince Suntai, who was master of the horse, appointed governor of Georgia. His brothers, Bojir and Hirkodak, were given a body of 500 Karaunas, at the request of the vizier Rashid ud din. Timur Oghul

* D'Ohsson, iv. 487-488. Ilkhans, ii. 186. Quatremere, xiv. † Ilkhans, ii. 186-187.
‡ D'Ohsson, 487-488. § Quatremere, 13-14. Note. ‖ *Id.*

died about this time. Lastly, the amirs Behadur Kazan and Ordu Kazan, were given suitable yurts, forces, and pensions.*

We described in a previous chapter the earlier doings of the famous farmer-general of the taxes of Fars, the Seyid Jemal ud din, who lived in regal splendour in the island of Kish in the Persian Gulf.† On Uljaitu's accession he went to do homage to him, and was offered the government of Fars; but he declined it, and returned to his principality of Kish. His son, Fakhr ud din, had been sent, as we have seen, by Ghazan to China to look after his share of the imperial revenues there, and also to buy silk, and died, on his return home, on the coast of Coromandel, where a tomb was erected over him near that of his uncle. This uncle, who died early in the year 1303, was Taki ud din Abdur Rahman Al`Thaibi, who was the chief minister of the Diro, or ruler of that coast—a man of sound judgment, to whom Fitan, Mali Fitan, and Kabil were made over. On his death his master would have confiscated his property, but his son, the Malik Muazzain Siraj ud din, having secured his goodwill by the payment of 200,000 dinars, obtained his father's post as Vizier, and also his property.‡ In 1305 Jemal ud din was summoned to Shiraz, the government of which was conferred on him in order that he might restore order to its finances; but he was ill at the time, and died the following year (*i.e.*, 1306), to the great regret of the people of Shiraz, who raised a handsome tomb over his remains, and composed an elegy on his death. Wassaf himself, who had known him, composed another.§ On the 14th of April, 1306, Rashid ud din presented Uljaitu with his famous work, entitled "Jami ut Tevarikh" (or Collection of Annals), and was duly praised.‖

Uljaitu now turned his attention to the strip of mountain country lying north of his favourite residence, Sultania, called Ghilan, which, thanks to the difficult passes and forests which it contained, had hitherto maintained its independence against the Mongols. This district, lying between the Caspian and the high mountains of Dilem, although only thirty parasangs in length, was divided into twelve districts, subject to as many princes. Ardai Kazan, son of Arghun Aka, Khulagu's famous minister, who arrived at the Ilkhan's Court on the 25th of December, 1306, with the news of the death of Dua Khan, the chief of the ulus of Jagatai, told Uljaitu that Dua and his officers used to speak scornfully of the fact that the ruler of Persia could not conquer such a small district as Ghilan, inclosed as it was in his dominions. Piqued at this remark, he determined to subdue it, and consulted with Kérai, the governor of Tharem, who knew the country. Four divisions were accordingly ordered to march. Choban commanded one which went by way of Ardebil, Kutlugh Shah by Khalkhal, Tugan and Mumin by Kazvin, and Uljaitu

* Ilkhans, ii. 189-190. † Ante, 418-421. ‡ Elliot, iii. 45.
§ Elliot, iii. 47. Ilkhans, ii. 197-198. ‖ D'Ohsson, iv. 488.

in person by way of Lahejan. At Sitaré Choban was met by Rokn ud din Ahmed, prince of the district, who had prepared provisions for his troops, and took him presents. He was ordered to guide the Mongol forces by the easiest route, and was promised that he would be confirmed in his principality when the country was conquered. The Mongols then marched on Kesker, or Kierkier, ravaging, making prisoners, and killing those they found in arms. When Choban arrived near Kesker, the amir Sherif ud daulet went to him with presents. This part of Ghilan having thus been conquered without resistance, Choban took the two princes with him, and joined Uljaitu on the road to Lahejan. Kutlugh Shah had received the submission of the prince of Khalkhal, named Sherif ud din. Having asked him for information on the country he was going to march through, and which he proclaimed he intended desolating with fire and sword and conquering, Sherif ud din recommended him to be prudent, as the country was difficult and the people not easily frightened; but Kutlugh Shah, who was of a reckless disposition, took no heed, and sent Pulad Kaya in advance. The Ghilanians defended their passes bravely, and after three encounters, in all of which they were beaten, they sent to offer their submission to Pulad Kaya, who sent on the news to Kutlugh Shah. He would have assented, but his son Sipauji dissuaded him, saying that having entered the country it was better now to conquer it, and to exterminate the inhabitants, and that if Pulad Kaya's advice were followed they would lose the glory of the campaign. The latter was therefore recalled, and Sipauji given command of his detachment. He continued the advance, putting everyone he met to the sword, and arrived at Tumin after slaughtering a great number of people. Reduced to despair, the Ghilanians concentrated between Tulem and Resht, and marched against him. Sipauji was encamped on marshy ground. After a stubborn fight the Mongols were defeated, and their horses being bogged, most of them perished. Kutlugh Shah wished to advance with his division to avenge this disaster, but his men refused to obey, and retreated in disorder, nor could he stop them, although he put several of them to death. Although he had but forty companions left he would not retire, but continued to fight on bravely. He at length fell from his horse, struck by an arrow, whereupon a Ghilanian officer ran up to him, and said, "Nuruz did not find an avenger in Persia; God has sent you here to receive punishment at my hands." He thereupon killed him. The immense booty which the Mongols had made in the district of Dibaj fell into the hands of the Ghilanians.

Meanwhile, Togan and Mumjn, who had advanced by way of Kazvin, received the submission of Prince Hindushah, whom they took with them to Uljaitu's camp, promising to secure his confirmation on the throne. Uljaitu himself left Sultania in May, 1307, leaving Pulad Ching Sang in command of his oghruks, or domestic establishment. He traversed

Tarem, and entered Dilem on the 21st of May by the route of Kurandesht and the village of Lussan, and pitched his camp on the Sipid rud. His troops pillaged Khashjan, although that town had submitted. On the 29th Talish had the same fate. Many of the people of Dilem who had withdrawn to the woods were killed, and their wives and children carried off. On the 2nd of June the royal head-quarters were moved to the banks of the river Deiléman. On the 6th Uljaitu broke through the pass of Ghilan, and entered the country of Nu-Padishah by Russita, which is on the main road to Kazvin. The troops could only traverse the defiles in small parties, and suffered considerably. Near Shiruyei-Talish, which was situated amidst forests and mountains, the inhabitants fell on the baggage train, and captured many arms. When he arrived near Lahejan, Uljaitu summoned the Padishah to submit, so as to spare the blood of his people. "Trust not in the height of your mountains nor the denseness of your forests, for my army can fill up the sea and overturn the mountains." The Ghilanian prince went with his sword and a sheet to implore the clemency of Uljaitu, who, at the instance of the general Isen Kutluk and the vizier Rashid ud din, received him well. When he entered Lahejan the Padishah gave him a feast. He stayed four days there, and left again on the 13th of June. Having crossed the Sipid rud, he encamped at Kerjian, whose environs were laid waste. The following day he received the submission of Prince Soluk, and after sending a body of troops into the district of Témijan, he withdrew again by way of Kutem and the Sipid rud.

When he heard of the fate of Kutlugh Shah he was much distressed, and sent a picked body of 3,000 men under Sondavé Behadur, Behlul, and Abubekr to revenge him. They found the people of Tumen, Resht, and Tulem had assembled to resist them. A battle ensued on the 18th, in which both sides fought desperately. Sondarvé and Abubekr, the latter of whom commanded the men of Khorasan, both fell. Sheikh Behlul was wounded. The Mongols, weakened by their losses, withdrew from the battle-field, and entrenched themselves to await reinforcements, which duly arrived under Hussein and Sevinj. A second struggle, more bloody than the previous one, now ensued. This time the Ghilanians, having lost half their men, fled to the woods and mountains. Tumen, Resht, and Tulem were sacked, the men there killed, the women and children carried off into slavery, and the whole district ravaged. Another body of Mongols marched on Temijan, whose prince, Amir Muhammed, offered tribute. The Mongol chiefs would have granted him peace, but were dissuaded by a certain Mamshaki, who urged them to plunder the town, which was believed to be very rich. Muhammed's envoy was sent back with a negative answer. Driven to bay, he met the invaders on favourable ground, and won such a complete victory that few of them were able to regain Kazvin. Muhammed now sent to explain the circumstances to

Uljaitu, and offered to go to the Court. Uljaitu accepted his statement, blaming those who had refused to accept his advances.

Having conquered Ghilan, he set out again on his return on the 29th of June, taking with him the Ghilanian princes who had submitted, among whom the Padishah was the most powerful, and also Soluk, who was renowned for his bravery, and Jelal ud din, brother of Dibaj. They offered to pay an annual tribute of silk, and also redeemed the prisoners who had been carried off, and who were sent back to Ghilan. The Padishah was given a robe of honour and special diploma, and also a royal princess in marriage, and with Soluk and the other chiefs was allowed to return home. Dibaj, who was descended from the Sassanian princes, on whose territory Kutlugh Shah had perished, feared to meet Uljaitu, but sent his submission. He afterwards went, however, and subsequently paid several visits to his suzerain, who always treated him with distinction. Uljaitu, on reaching Sultania, issued a commission to inquire as to who had been to blame for the deaths of so many brave officers. After strict inquiries the yargujis pointed out Sipauji, Mamishki, and several other amirs. They were condemned to death, but the Sultan remitted the punishment in the case of Sipauji, on account of his father, in favour of 120 strokes of the bastinado, while his father's tuman, or division, was made over to Choban. Other officers received 120 strokes of the baton on their back and chest.*

The "History of Georgia" describes the events of this campaign in some detail. It tells us the Georgian king Wakhtang was attached to Uljaitu's army corps. That Kutlugh Shah was accompanied by the people of Beka; that Usen, the Jalair (*i.e.*, Hussein), marched with the Osses or Ossetes, living at Gori; and that Choban, the Sulduz, went with a fourth army. Among the Ghilanians there were four princes—Erkabazn, Ubash, Rostan, and Asan, the last of whom occupied the most inaccessible defiles. Erkabazn opposed the Khan's army. A sharp fight took place, in which Wakhtang commanded the advance guard. The Mongol advance was much impeded by woods and marshes. A hand-to-hand fight ensued under the Khan's eyes, and the carnage was great, only one-fifth of the Mongols escaping. All those of Somkheth perished close to the king, many aznaurs leaving no heirs, since fathers, sons, and brothers were all killed. The king himself, who fought very valiantly, was wounded in the thigh. The Khan, seeing how desperately the country was defended, determined to retire. He was pursued, and again lost many men. Ushish, prince of the Ghilanians, closed one of the defiles with a gate, and thus cut off Kutlugh Shah's retreat. He thereupon dismounted, and ordered his people to do the same. Presently he was shot by an arrow while sitting on a bench. His son Sibuchi (*i.e.*, Sipauchi)

* D'Ohsson, iv. 488-497.

thereupon fled, but the greater part of his people were killed, many of them being bogged in an inundated rice field, and slaughtered. Meanwhile Choban defeated the Ghilan chief, Rostan Malik, who retired to a secure vantage, where Choban did not pursue him, but retired slowly. Gamresel Javakhis Shiwili fought bravely in this struggle. The Tartars succeeded in withdrawing without any inconvenience. Usen, with the Osses, fought an indecisive battle, after which both parties withdrew. When the troops reunited again at Aujan, Uljaitu appointed Choban generalissimo in the place of Kutlugh Shah. Wakhtang, the Georgian king, and all his didebuls, were handsomely rewarded for their brave conduct in the campaign, and were then sent home again.*

When Wakhtang returned, the people of Khodris, who were Mussulmans, incited the Khan against the Christians. Uljaitu, seduced by their advice, sent a noyan to Georgia to cause the King and his people to apostatize, and to destroy the churches. He arrived at Nakhchivan, as the King was leaving there. Instead of ceding to his menace, he appealed to his companions to remember the faith of their ancestors and the glorious end of the Holy Martyrs, and bade them accompany him to the Khan, where they might sacrifice their heads for him who had laid down his life for them. His soldiers gladly obeyed, and Uljaitu was astonished to see the King's return. Kneeling down, Wakhtang said, "High and powerful Khan, you know that all the Christian chiefs have been ordered to abandon their faith. Listen, now, to me. My father and grandfather served thy grandfather and father while they professed this faith, yet no one said to them, 'The Georgians hold a wicked creed,' and we Georgians are distinguished among all. The religion of the Persians, on the other hand, was regarded as abominable by preceding Khans, who exterminated those professing it, because they were poisoners, pédérasts, and homicides. If you listen to them, O, Khan, I, the King of the Kharthlis, and all the Georgian mthawars are ready to be executed." He then presented his neck. At these words the Khan treated the King honourably, raised him up, and addressed him some sweet words, and repenting of what he had done, blamed his counsellors. The Georgian history says that while the Christian churches were being dismantled four of Uljaitu's sons died on four successive days. The King now returned to Nakhchivan, where he fell ill and died. This is the account in the Georgian history. Wakhusht, on the other hand, says he was actually put to death by the Khan with cruel tortures.† Wakhtang was taken and buried at Dmanis, and left two sons, Dimitri and Giorgi, the former of whom possessed Dmanis, and the latter Samshwildé.

When Choban succeeded Kutlugh Shah (also called Kutlugh Buka) he marched with a large army to Kola, thence to Artan, and as far as Arsian.

* Hist. de la Géorgie, 635-638. † *Id.*, 638-639, and notes.

He summoned Béka to go and see him or the Khan. The latter, instead of going, sent his young son Shalwa, whom the Mongol commander took with him when he traversed Somkheth, not molesting Béka's country.* Béka died in 1308,† and his son David VI., brother of Wakhtang III., in 1310. The latter left a young son Giorgi, known as Mtziré, or the Little, and who is referred to as Giorgi VI. He was only two years old on his father's death. The boy was summoned to the Ordu, and was nominated ruler of Tiflis by the Khan. He was placed under the tutelage of his uncle Giorgi, called Brtsqinwaléh, or the Brilliant, son of Dimitri the Devoted, who was brother of David VI. and Wakhtang III. When Giorgi VI. was sent to Tiflis, Uljaitu sent with him a certain Zaal Malik, a Persian, of Khorasan, and also Akhrunchi, brother of Choban's father, who had orders to bring all the Georgians under his rule.‡

When Uljaitu set out for his campaign in Ghilan he left his harem at Konkurolang (*i.e.*, the place where Sultania was afterwards built). His favourite wife, Iltermish, was left in charge of Rashid ud din, who had orders to remain with her till her recovery. Meanwhile Taifur, a son of Uljaitu, who was a child, had a narrow escape of being burnt to death. Some one having planted a torch near his tent, it was upset, and the tent got on fire, and had it not been for the devotion of two attendants, who threw themselves on the burning tent cover, which they clasped, and at great risk to themselves, put out the flames, he would have perished. Iltermish thereupon distributed alms among the poor.

Let us now turn our view further East. We have seen how Fakhr ud din, the Malik of Herat, had proved rebellious, and had supported the turbulent Nigudarians during the reign of Ghazan, and how Uljaitu, who was then governor of Khorasan, was sent against him. When the latter mounted the throne, he summoned the malik, like the other great vassals, to go and do homage, an invitation which he evaded. Presently the Ilkhan dispatched Danishmend Behadur at the head of 10,000 men to bring him to his senses. On arriving at Herat he sent Tutak bela and Hindujak into the place with the Sultan's orders, which were that he must surrender the Nigudarians and send home again the people of Merv, Abiverd, Sarakhs, Jam, and Khavaf, who had rebelled at Herat, and remit to Danishmend's agents the produce of the three previous years' customs and the profits of the mints. The "Chronicle of Herat" says the demand also included that the Ilkhan's name should appear on his seal and coins. In case of refusal he threatened to besiege the place. "Tell Danishmend," said the malik, "that if he wishes for presents due to my generosity I am willing to satisfy him, but if he has come here sword in hand to acquire renown, and to subject me to his authority, he has come with a vain hope." Danishmend thereupon

* Hist. de la Géorgie, 640. † *Id.*, 641. Note 1. ‡ *Id.*, 642.

summoned the great feudal chiefs of Khorasan with their troops, and there speedily arrived the lords of Ferah, Déréi, Izfézar, Tulek, and Azab, each with some cavalry and infantry. The mollah Vejih ud din Nesséfi, grand judge of Herat, having left that town with Fakhr ud din's consent, met Danishmend at Nishapur, attached himself to his person, and urged him strongly to attack Herat, which he told him he would capture if he cut off its supplies. A close blockade was accordingly instituted. Fakhr ud din prepared for a vigorous resistance. He opened the magazines which his predecessor had stored, and distributed largess among his troops, who, thus encouraged, made some vigorous sorties and killed many of the besiegers. In the course of ten days Danishmend, who was somewhat discouraged by these reverses, sent the Sheikh ul Islam, or mufti, Kutb ud din, of Jesht, or Chesht (now called Khajeh Chisht), a place near Herat, to say that he had no personal animosity against him, nor did he wish to ruin the country or shed Mussulman blood; but that he had received orders, and that if he did not execute them he would be held responsible. "I suggest to you, therefore," he continued, "whom I look upon as my son, to defer to the royal wishes, and to retire for a few days to one of your fortresses, while one of my sons occupies Herat; and rest assured this proposal has no other motive than to secure peace between us." Fakhr ud din said he was willing to do anything which the Sheikh ul Islam suggested. The latter therefore advised him to drive out the pestilent Nigudars, and to withdraw himself to the fortress of Amankuh, whence he could return when the Mongol troops had withdrawn. When the malik suggested that Danishmend meant to deceive him, and to waylay him *en route*, the sheikh urged that he should ask for hostages. He therefore asked that Danishmend's son Togai should remain in the city, while his other son Laghiri accompanied him to Amankuh, saying he would send him back on his return. Danishmend, on the return of Kutb ud din, called a council of the maliks and amirs, and in spite of their advice he ordered Vejih ud din to draw up the formula of his oath. It ran thus in Persian: "By the God, before whose majesty the powerful and the weak, the king and the pauper, are prostrate. By the Almighty Being and the All-powerful. By the God of heaven and earth. By the God who knows what is hidden, and knows one secret from another, and by his Apostle. When the Malik Fakhr ud din shall have departed for Amankuh, I, Danishmend Bahadur, will not do, nor attempt, nor order to be done, any harm to his ministers nor his officers. I will, on the contrary, be kind to the people of Herat; nor will I attempt to capture its citadel." The sons and relations of Danishmend, the maliks, and amirs became guarantees of this promise, and signed it with their signatures. Kutb ud din took the document to the malik, who sent him a corresponding engagement in these terms: "By the substance of God and the soul of Muhammed. By the high veneration due to Islam and the

glory of the Holy Faith. By the purity of every precept of the divine law, By the interpretation of every letter of the Koran. I, Malik Fakhr ud din, will do no hurt to the amir Danishmend, and when I arrive safe and sound at Amankuh I will send back the amir Laghiri, and so long as the amir Danishmend remains faithful to his promises, and treats me as a father, I will not oppose him, and if I violate this engagement may I be abandoned by God and become the object of the severest punishment of the Most High." Danishmend now sent Laghiri, with ten of his chief officers, to accompany the Malik to Amankuh, and Togai with others to enter the town, and ordered the latter to act prudently, to win over the maliks and officers, and to secure the goodwill of the inhabitants by his affability, and to hold out hopes until the town was fairly in his possession, when he might proceed to punish the guilty.

On the arrival of Togai the Malik confided the command of the town and citadel to Jemal ud din Muhammed Sam, one of his old officers, whom he instructed to carefully guard the citadel, known as the Castle of Ikhtiar ud din, and beware of any stratagem on the part of Danishmend; that he was not to allow any of the garrison to go, nor to go himself to him, but to plead that the Malik had made him swear not to leave the citadel without his permission. If Danishmend asked for presents he was to send him 10,000 dinars, fifty sets of robes, some loads of provisions, an Arab horse, and a Turkish slave, whom he pointed out. Having given these orders, he summoned the Heratian, Seistanian, and Ghurian officers in his service, distributed robes among them, and made them promise to be united, and to strictly obey the orders of Muhammed Sam, to whom he gave his sword, saying, "If anyone disobeys you, cut off his head." He also handed over to him the arsenal of the citadel, which was well supplied with swords, cuirasses, coats of mail, bucklers, and bows and arrows, and left at nightfall, with his coat of mail and helmet on, and escorted by two hundred horsemen and three hundred foot soldiers. He arrived at Amankuh at night, and the following day sent Laghiri back to his father, begging him to keep his word, and to treat the people of Herat well.

The following day Danishmend entered Herat at the head of his troops, with trumpets and cymbals playing, and with a standard representing a dragon. He was astonished when he saw the fortifications there, which Fakhr ud din had recently augmented. The Molla Nesséfi urged upon him that it was these fortifications which made the people of Herat so hard to manage, and that it would be well to destroy them. Danishmend caused the gate of Khosh, by which he had entered, to be dismantled, drove away with blows of maces those who were guarding it, and posted a detachment of his troops there. A proclamation was issued, stating that the city belonged to the Sultan Uljaitu, that Danishmend governed it in his name, and that the inhabitants could count on

his goodwill and should peacefully continue their occupations. The following day he sent Tutak Bela to summon Muhammed Sam to his presence, and receiving an insolent answer he swore in his rage that he would make a terrible example of him, and told his officers and the Persian grandees that the citadel must be assailed that very day. "General," replied the Molla Nesséfi, "it would be better to take it without a struggle." "Without doubt," said Danishmend, "if it be possible." "Send word, then, to the Malik, by Kutb ud din Cheshti, that you are going to send your son Laghiri to the Sultan to announce to him that the Prince of Herat has submitted to his orders and surrendered the town, and to beg that he will deign to confer on the Malik the grand diploma and robes from the royal wardrobe, and that the country of Herat cannot be better governed than by this Ghurian prince; but do not fail to add to Fakhr ud din, 'The citadel of Herat has become so famous since the catastrophe that overwhelmed Nuruz, that the Sultan will not fail to ask if it has been surrendered. I beg of you to order Muhammed Sam to allow my son Laghiri to enter it with twenty men, so that he may truly say that he has been received within the citadel.'" Danishmend readily adopted this advice, and ordered Kutb ud din Cheshti, Tutak Bela, and one of his relatives to set out. When Fakhr ud din heard the proposal he at once replied, "I always said that this cursed Turk was not to be trusted, and would not keep his word." Tutak Bela assured him that his master meant no deception, and swore that it was in the interest of both parties. "That may be," he said, "but the demon of pride may overcome him, and he may try to secure the garrison, which will cause great trouble, for they are all determined men, especially Muhammed Sam, the bravest of the Ghurians." He ended, however, by giving his consent, and wrote a letter to Muhammed Sam, which he intrusted to them, stating that his father, Danishmend Behadur, was coming to see the citadel, and that he must show him the greatest honour. It is said that by another letter, which he dispatched secretly to him, he told him to be on his guard against any artifice that Danishmend might contemplate.

Muhammed having received these orders, planted three hundred men in ambuscade in various parts of the citadel, and made preparations for a feast he was going to give to Danishmend. Presently Kutb ud din Cheshti arrived with the announcement that the general was coming. The commander replied that he was ready to obey the malik's order, and would open the gates of the citadel whenever Danishmend wished. The latter's officers were greatly elated, and fancied themselves already masters of the place. Danishmend asked Kutb ud din how many men there were inside. He replied there might be 250 Seistanis and 50 Ghurians, who in a struggle would fly before ten men. Vejih ud din said that there were not so many as this, and that his spies informed him there were not more than thirty armed men, the others being merely servants or

custodians of the magazines. Thereupon Kutb ud din said to the general, "If the amir is going to the citadel with sinister views, he may repent of it. I know Muhammed Sam and his companions Ilduz, Lokman, Ferrukhsad, and Abul Feth. They are resolute men. God grant that no harm comes to you, and that you lose not in one moment the whole fruit of your negotiations." "Rest assured," said Danishmend, laughing; and taking his sons apart, he said to them, "Keep your eyes always on me. When I ask for my bow from my squire seize Muhammed Sam and his men." He then went to the bath of Chehar Su, whither he summoned a Hindu geomancer, and asked him whether he should or should not go to the citadel. The Hindu having gone through his calculations, said neither the aspect of the stars nor the lines of the *reml* were favourable, and tried to dissuade him. Danishmend, affected by his reply, was about to return to his quarters when he met Vejih ud din, who said to him, "Pay no heed to the words of the geomancer. He professes to know the future, which is known to God alone. Remember this divine sentence: 'Whoever believes in the influence of the stars is an infidel.' Very often there happens the exact reverse of what these people predict." Danishmend being reassured by these words, first sent his son Laghiri with twenty picked men to the citadel. They were followed by Kajui with ten other men, while Minkui, one of his relatives, conducted a third body. Muhammed Sam received the amir's son with marks of respect and conducted him to the malik's tent. In the course of an hour, the other two detachments having arrived, there were collected some eighty of Danishmend's men inside. Dinner was served to them, and Muhammed Sam did the honours, presented the cup, and received the congratulations of his guests. Meanwhile Kajui, who was half drunk, having left the room, noticed four armed Ghurians hiding in ambush among the fortifications. Entering the room again, he said to Muhammed Sam, "My brave friend, I have seen some armed men behind a wall. Have you put them there to arrest us?" "God preserve me," he said, "from having any ill designs against you," and seizing a mace he drove the men outside the citadel with great blows. Danishmend, having heard of this incident, had his confidence increased, and arrived at the citadel with 180 picked horsemen. The governor went out to meet him with every token of respect, holding his stirrup while he dismounted. But Danishmend, who had his previous uncivil answer still on his mind, addressed him, saying, "Insolent Tajik, how did you dare to refuse to come to me? Your prince did not disobey my orders, while a dog like you, who have sheltered yourself behind four walls, proud of a few Tajiks whom you command, dare to place yourself among the enemies of the ruler of the world. I will have you cut in pieces, and your castle razed to the ground." "Servants ought to faithfully obey their masters," said Muhammed, "and I did not come because Fakhr ud

din ordered me to stay in the citadel." Professing to be satisfied with this reply, Danishmend embraced him, said he pardoned his temerity, and received in return assurances of his devotion. Danishmend alighted in the square in front of the citadel, and advanced towards the door of the grand saloon, having beside him the Molla Vejih ud din and the amir Kirai, who had arrived the same day from the Court with the appointment of governor of Herat. Danishmend's officers wore coats of mail under their cloaks, and as they could not openly wear arms they had secreted daggers in their girdles, and other weapons in their boots, and followed their commander. The road leading up to the citadel was carpeted with costly stuffs. Muhammed Sam had ordered his people to kill Danishmend when he arrived at the foot of the staircase leading up to the grand saloon. When he reached the fatal place, Taj ud din Ilduz came to meet him, and having kissed his hand, let him pass in front of him. He then seized him by the collar with one hand, and struck him on the head with his mace. At the same moment Abubekr Sédid, another of the malik's officers, came out from behind a parapet and struck off Danishmend's head with his sabre. Thereupon the Molla Vejih ud din, Hindujak, Kirai, the Indian astrologer, and the rest rushed for the gate, but it had been closed. Men who lay in ambush rushed out from all sides. Terrible cries filled the air, and they were all speedily overwhelmed by the Ghurians. Meanwhile Kutb ud din Cheshti, who had remained between two gates, cried out "Fear the anger of God. Do not act against the malik's orders, and bring misfortune on the town." Laghiri and his companions, who were still in the room where they had been feasting, barricaded the doors, but the windows were speedily broken, and they were killed with volleys of stones and other missiles, Laghiri having rushed out, sword in hand, was slaughtered; others tried to escape by the walls, and were broken to pieces. Shirin Khatun, Danishmend's wife, with his daughters, and the wives of his sons and brothers, who had gone to the *fête*, and were witnesses of the tragedy, raised terrible cries. Muhammed Sam abandoned them to his officers. Outside, people were ignorant of what had taken place. Inaltikin, Prince of Férah, and Tutak Bela, with a group of officers, were assembled before the gate of the citadel. The "Herat Chronicle" says at the reservoir called Filbend. A Seistanian, who was a friend of Inaltikin, having passed out, as if with a message from Muhammed Sam, was asked by the Prince of Férah if Danishmend had finished his meal. He replied in the language of his country that they had given Danishmend the same feast as Nuruz. At these words Inaltikin and Tutak, who were naturally greatly agitated, withdrew hastily to regain their quarters. They found the gate of Firuz Abad closed, but they broke the chain and lock with hatchets, and left the town with one hundred horsemen.*

* D'Ohsson, iv. 497-513. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 481-485.

Hardly had they escaped when the Ghurians cried out from the walls of the citadel to close the city gates and announce to the inhabitants the death of Danishmend and his companions. They lit a great fire as a signal to Fakhr ud din at Amankuh. Muhammed Sam descended at the head of his warriors, and put to the sword all the Mongols he could meet with, and a terrible massacre was the result.

Delighted as Fakhr ud din was with what had occurred, he was too prudent to show any exuberant feeling; but while he professed in the presence of his followers to be displeased with Muhammed Sam, he wrote to him, saying, "It would have been better not to have done this, but now it is done you will defend the city at all hazards, and say that Danishmend entered the citadel with the intention of killing you, and that you only acted in self-defence." At the same time he sent 100 well-armed men from Amankuh to reinforce the garrison of Herat. These events took place in September, 1306. When Uljaitu heard of them he dispatched Yassaul to take the command of the troops of Khorasan, with orders to establish his head-quarters on the Jihun or Oxus, and ordered Bujai, son of Danishmend, who was then in Rum on the Greek frontier, to go and avenge the slaughter of his relatives. Another of Danishmend's sons, Togai, who was encamped at Tus, marched with his men upon Herat, took command of the troops in its neighbourhood, and blockaded it, pending the arrival of reinforcements. By the influence of the Sheikh Kutb ud din Cheshti, and after long negotiations, an order was issued by the Malik Fakhr ud din for the release of Shirin Khatun, Danishmend's widow. On leaving the citadel she had 200 people of Herat killed, and further ordered everybody within forty parasangs of the city to be put to death. While the Mongols were investing it they were attacked several times from Amankuh, and many of them killed. Bujai arrived before Herat in the beginning of February, 1307, five months after his father's death. In conjunction with his brother Togai, the funeral ceremonies were renewed, and according to the Mongol custom nine days were spent in lamentations and mourning. On the 10th Bujai wrote to Fakhr ud din at Amankuh, saying: "Jemal ud din Muhammed Sam has killed my father and three hundred of his people. Let me know if it was done by your orders. If not, write to the officials at Herat that in order to avoid great troubles they must surrender Sam and the other enemies of my blood, and restore the money, goods, horses, and arms which they have taken from us. If not, all this country shall be wasted with fire and sword." "I declare," said Fakhr ud din in reply, "that I never ordered Jemal ud din or any other person to kill your father, and that I have never approved this act. Sam did it at his own instance to protect his own life, but he is at the head of 2,000 well-armed men. How can the people of Herat execute any order I may give them for his surrender. It is a matter for arrangement between you and me." Irritated by this

answer, Bujai sent out couriers in various directions to summon the great vassals. He had brought with him men from the country of the Franks, skilled in using the balista. In the course of forty days he assembled an army of 30,000 men, who were brought to him by the princes and lords of Esfizar, Aazab, Herat rud, Kussuyé, Bakharz, Jam, Khavaf, Sarakhs, and other districts of Khorasan. The attack on the town began in the early days of March. Muhammed Sam commanded its garrison of 2,000 men, who were clad in mail, and to whom he had distributed gifts according to their rank. For three days a fight took place under the walls of the bastion Khak ber ser (afterwards called Khakister), when Bujai, seeing he had lost many men, withdrew to a distance and converted the siege into a blockade, determining to take the place by starving it out, for it was so well fortified that he despaired of its capture. The various approaches were closely guarded, but we are told Muhammed Sam made nightly sorties, and carried off many hundred horses. During these events Fakhr ud din died at Amankuh. Muhammed Sam tried to keep the news secret, and even produced a fabricated letter from the Malik, stating that he had been ill, but thanks to God he had recovered, and hoped the people of Herat would second all the efforts of Muhammed Sam. This letter was read to the magistrates and people, but the very night of the Malik's death one of his squires, Mozaffer of Esfizar, left Amankuh and repaired to inform Bujai, who was so pleased that he took off his robe and cap and gave them to his guest. He was also invited to a feast, attended by the maliks and other officers, who in their delight at the news spent the night drinking. The following day Bujai's camp resounded with the noise of musical instruments calling the troops to the assault. The defence was obstinate. During the fight Mozaffer of Esfizar cried out to the townsfolk, "Do not sacrifice yourselves; Fakhr ud din died yesterday morning. I have come from Amankuh." Seeing the impression this news produced upon his people, Lakman the Ghurian shouted out from the top of a tower, "Miserable impostor, we received last night a letter written in Fakhr ud din's own hand." He then poured out invectives upon Bujai and the officers of his army, so that he began to doubt of the Malik's death, and Mozaffer had to confirm his statement on oath.* After an attack lasting for five days Bujai, again despairing of capturing the city by force, determined to sow discord among its defenders. He wrote a letter in his own hand to a Seistanian chieftain, named Shah Ismail, in these terms: "You promised some days since that you would arrest Muhammed Sam. If you were serious in making this promise, it should be fulfilled this week. Promise the inhabitants that I will show them pity, so that they will unite with you." Bujai then sent for one of his Herat prisoners, and said, "I intended

* D'Ohsson, iv. 513-518. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 486-487.

putting you to death, but I grant you life for the prolongation of that of our sovereign. You must go this very day into Herat. Say you have escaped, and let this letter drop on the threshold of the door of Shah Ismail." Bujai wrote another letter in the name of the people of Herat who were in his camp, informing Muhammed Sam that Shah Ismail was in correspondence with himself, and that he had better be on his guard. This letter was fastened to an arrow and shot into the town, and was taken to Muhammed. The next day Bujai's own messenger appeared at the gate of Herat. He was taken before the commander, and said he had escaped; but on being pressed about the reason why Bujai had let him go he produced the letter. Muhammed Sam at once deemed the whole thing an artifice, summoned Shah Ismail, showed him the letter, and said, "He wishes to create a difference between us by means of this." The two chiefs renewed their mutual promises to remain united, and following Bujai's example wrote a letter to a Heratee in his camp, named Fakhr ud din Zengui, saying, "It is a long time since you left us with the intention of killing Bujai. Why do you delay?" They wrote in a similar way to other people of Herat who had withdrawn to the Mongol camp. These letters showed Bujai that his ruse had been seen through.

There was in Herat an officer named Yar Ahmed, whose great bravery had gained him the favour of the Malik Fakhr ud din. He commanded 200 warriors. Envious of Muhammed Sam, he formed a plot with two other officers, Mahmud Féhad and Nikpei, to kill him and seize the citadel. To them he said that Bujai had offered, if he would betray Muhammed, to make him governor of Herat, to get the appointment confirmed by the Sultan, and to make over to him 10,000 dinars for distribution among his companions. The plot was to have been carried out on the morrow, but it was disclosed by Nikpei. Muhammed Sam informed his other officers of what he had heard, and they said it was necessary to arrest the conspirators. On the following day, as appointed, Yar Ahmed, with his sword by his side and his khanjar in his girdle, went up to salute Muhammed Sam, who sat in his hall of audience, with his guards ranged in ranks on either side. He had five companions with him. Muhammed received him in a friendly way, and told him laughingly to sit down. Yar Ahmed gave his sword to one of his followers, and seated himself on the sofa beside him. Directly after, Muhammed said to him, "Pehluvan, take out your khanjar." Ahmed did so, and gave it to his follower. The former then continued, "Pehluvan, is it thus that brave men act?" "What have I done to displease you?" said Yar Ahmed. "Have you not formed such a plot?" He denied it, but was arrested with Mahmud Féhad, and the next day they were executed on the public square. The same day 200 of his people left the town and went over to Bujai. Khuandemir tells us, on the contrary, that these 200 men

were decapitated, and that their heads thrown over the ramparts informed Bujai that the plot had been discovered.*

Meanwhile Yassaul, the commander-in-chief, had arrived in Khorasan, and had sent several thousand men, under the orders of Muhammed Duldai, to reinforce Bujai. Duldai sent to Muhammed Sam a message from his leader, saying he would place him and the people of Herat under his own protection if they submitted. Muhammed Sam declared he had merely acted in self-defence in his attack on Danishmend, and was ready to submit to the general. Hearing of these negotiations, Bujai feared he might lose the fruit of his exertions if the town submitted to Muhammed Duldai, and after a consultation with his officers and the Malik's he sent word to Muhammed Sam that if he would send him Kutb ud din of Tulek, who had been captured by the garrison, and would promise to surrender the town and citadel to him, and not to Duldai, he would pardon the shedding of the blood of his father and brothers, and would bind himself by a most solemn oath to do him no hurt, nor to any of the people of Herat. Muhammed destroyed Bujai's letter publicly, heaped insults on his messenger, and declared only that he would fight. Bujai's answer to this truculence was to press the siege. Famine now began to be felt, and was so severe that we are told a load of wheat cost eighty dinars, and 6,000 people perished of hunger. A crowd of starving people went to the gate of the citadel to implore the pity of Muhammed Sam. Another account says they entered the Great Mosque and cursed him, and asked in loud voices that the gates of the city might be thrown open. The commander allowed those to march out who had no food, and we are told that 5,000 thus left; but they were driven back again with swords and sticks by Bujai's people, and the greater part of them perished on the banks of the Kartébar, on the roads, and along the walls. The next day Muhammed Sam removed the manacles from the feet of the Malik Kutb ud din Tulek, dressed him in a robe of honour, and sent him to Bujai with an offer of capitulation. Bujai gave his promise in writing to spare Muhammed's life, and the maliks, as well as his principal officers, also signed the document. On the following day Bujai's brother Togan had an interview with Muhammed on the banks of the Kartébar, and assured him that the engagements entered into with him would be faithfully carried out. The next day the city gates were thrown open, and the Mongols marched in. The inhabitants were told to march out, and orders were given to demolish the ramparts, towers, and walls. On Sunday, the 23rd of June, the people left the town and scattered themselves on the banks of the Kartébar. Muhammed Sam still held the citadel with 200 men. He now went in person to Bujai, who embraced him, seated him beside him, called him his son, and said to him, "I

* D'Ohsson, iv. 518-522. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 487. Note.

forgive you the blood of my father and all your crimes. Rest assured, and open the gates of the citadel, so that I may send some of my men in." "All that you command shall be done," was the reply. Bujai gave him his own robe, and ordered his officers to offer him the cup, and afterwards gave him a feast in his tent. When Muhammed saw that Bujai was overcome with wine he withdrew under some pretext, and said to his people, "Bujai is drunk; he has but a handful of men with him in the tent; let us go in and kill them." They dissuaded him, on the ground that vengeance would be exacted from the people of Herat, and that they were too few to escape easily from the camp. Towards evening Muhammed Sam returned to the citadel. The next day Shah Ismail was well received by Bujai. Each day a fresh officer paid him a visit, and returned well satisfied with presents of horses and robes of honour. Bujai wished all the garrison to come out together and surrender, but Muhammed objected, and his small following daily diminished by desertion until he only had 100 men with him. Muhammed had sent word to Yassaul that if he would come the citadel and city should both be given up to him, and that he would place himself at his orders. Yassaul reached Herat with 5,000 men, four or five days after Bujai had taken possession of it. He sent word to Muhammed to go to his camp, promising to protect him from the resentment of Bujai. Trusting in this promise, he went with all his garrison. Yassaul had him and his people arrested, and handed them over to Bujai, in spite of his promise, telling him to execute them according to the Sultan's orders, and then to leave Herat, since he was merely to punish the assassins of his father and brothers, but not to exercise authority in the place. He put Taj ud din Yilduz, Lokman the Ghurian, and twenty other brave warriors, to death, near the Puleh Malan, and then raised his camp. Yassaul issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, bidding them return to the town and resume their ordinary occupations. They found it much dilapidated. Bujai took Muhammed Sam with him in chains, and ordered one of his relatives to conduct him to Uljaitu's Court, certain that Muhammed would lay the blame of the death of Danishmend upon Fakhr ud din, and thus obtain for him (Bujai) the Malik's inheritance. But Yassaul, afraid that Muhammed might charge him with betraying him after receiving splendid presents from him, was determined to prevent him reaching the Ordu. He accordingly sent a body of 100 horsemen after him, who overtook him near Tus, and conducted him to Béshuran, where Yassaul was. The same day Bujai arrived there from the Murghab, and demanded that he would surrender his prisoner, but Yassaul, feigning that he had an order from the Court, put him to death.*

Fakhr ud din was hardly dead when his brother Alai ud din seized his treasure, and began to behave in a sinister way towards his other brother,

* D'Ohsson, iv. 522-527. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 487-488. Note.

Ghiath ud din, who repaired to Uljaitu, by whom he was well received, and invested with the territory from Khorasan as far as India. This was a safe gift, much of it being altogether beyond the power of the Ilkhan to give away, being now in the hands of the Jagatai princes. But perhaps we must merely understand by the phrase the principality of Herat. Presently, Uljaitu, moved by some intrigues, put him in prison. After Bujai's capture of Herat, and revenge on the murderers of Danishmend, the Ilkhan's irritation was appeased, and Ghiath ud din was authorised to return to Herat as Malik. This was in the year 717 (*i.e.*, 1308).*

Let us now return to Uljaitu. In the beginning of 1307 an envoy came from the ruler of Kipchak, or the Golden Horde, to ask for the return of a beautiful maiden who had been captured in the war between Toktu and Nogai, and been sold into slavery in Persia. She was sent back again, and at the same time an order was issued that in future no Mongol maidens were to be sold as slaves within the Ilkhan's dominions, and that loose houses and wine shops were to be put down, one only being allowed in each district for the use of strangers.† On his return from Ghilan, Uljaitu spent some days feasting at his new capital of Sultania, and left there on the 7th of September for Hamadan, for hunting. On the 30th was celebrated the wedding of his daughter Dulendi with the amir Choban. The succeeding month he passed at Gaubari.‡ The festivities this autumn were enlivened by the dancing and singing of a famous performer named Rebiiol-Kolub (*i.e.*, the Spring of Life), who belonged to the tribe Ikdish, and was born at Baghdad. The Sahib Taj ud din Ali Shah Tarkhani, who afterwards became vizier, married this singer. He also presented Uljaitu with a splendidly equipped ship to navigate the Tigris, whose sails were decorated with stars, with white curtains and a canopy. This ship was fitted up with various luxuries, including fountains and a dancing-stage.§ A Kurd named Musa at this time gave himself out to be the Mahdi, the Messiah of the Shias. He drew a large number of Kurds after him, and the matter might have been serious but for the activity of the Mongol officials stationed in the country, who captured the false prophet and some of his followers, and sent their heads to the Royal Ordu.

We must now revert a little to bring up the history of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia to this date. We have seen how the partially blinded Haithon II. was replaced on the throne by the Armenian barons. He almost immediately, however, probably owing to his infirmity of vision, abdicated in favour of his nephew, Leo IV., the son of his murdered brother Thoros, retaining the position of atabeg or governor of the young prince.‖ The little principality of Armenia had been, as we have seen, greatly cherished by the Mongols, to whom it formed a kind of advanced post towards their mortal enemies the Egyptians. This alliance naturally

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 487-489. † Ilkhans, ii. 198. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 529-530.
§ Ilkhans, ii. 198. ‖ Abulfeda, v. 173. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 385.

brought upon it the bitter hatred of the latter, and whenever an opportunity arose it was cruelly punished. Two months before Ghazan's death the Egyptian Sultan sent an expedition to Cilicia, under pretence of avenging a body of troops which had attacked that district from Aleppo, and had been in turn assailed by the Mongols. The amir Bedr ud din Bektash was appointed commander of this expedition. He left Egypt in March, 1304, and was joined *en route* by contingents from Damascus, Hims, Hamath, Tripoli, and Aleppo. Bektash was delayed in the last of these cities by illness, but his troops marched on under his son. They were divided into two bodies. One advanced by way of Kalat ur Rum and Malattiya, and the other by Derbend. After laying waste the country, and killing and making prisoners many of the inhabitants, these two divisions united under the walls of Tel Hamdun, which capitulated on the 17th of June. After this the Egyptian army retired.* The following year (*i.e.*, in July, 1305), Shems ud din Kara Sonkor, the governor of Aleppo, under pretence that the Cilician king had failed to send the usual tribute, sent a body of 2,000 men under Kush Timur, one of his Mamluks, again to invade Cilicia. The King offered him a considerable sum of money if he would retire.† The Egyptians continued their course of rapine and destruction, burning a number of villages, until threatened by a body of 6,000 Armenians, Mongols, and Franks. A struggle ensued at Arasa, in which they were defeated, and were pursued by the Mongols and Armenians. Only a few returned home again with Kush Timur, and Marino Sanuto says that of 7,000 who reached Tarsus only 300 escaped.‡ The regent or atabeg, Haithon, now wrote to Kara Sonkor to say that it was the Mongols, and not his people, who had attacked the Egyptians. He promised to ask Uljaitu to release four Egyptian officers who had been captured and taken off to the Ordu. He also sent rich presents, and promised to pay his tribute regularly. Kara Sonkor sent word on to the Sultan, who accepted the presents and excuses.§ The same year the historian Haithon, who was a grandee of Corhicos, retired to Cyprus, with the permission of his namesake, the King of Armenia, and joined the order of the Premonstantensians. Having gone to Rome in 1306, he thence went on to Poictiers, in France, where he dictated in French his Oriental history, which we have so much quoted. This was translated into Latin by Nicholas Salcon, by order of Clement V.‖

Bilarghu, a relative of the noyan Togachar, was the commander of a small body of troops under Irenchin, who in 1306 was appointed governor of Rum. He was encamped in Cilicia, and being a fanatical Mussulman persecuted the Armenian king bitterly. In the spring of 1308 he went

* D'Ohsson, iv. 530-531. † Makrizi, ii. (part ii.) 254.
‡ Abulfeda, v. 197, and note 121. D'Ohsson, iv. 532. § D'Ohsson, iv. 532.
‖ Hist. de la Géorgie, 631. Note 1.

with his patron Irenchin to the Ilkhan's Court, where their conduct was approved, and whence they returned with their authority more firmly established. Bilarghu had heard that Leo had complained of him at Court, and resolved to ruin him. He entered the district of Sis with 500 men, and asked that twenty-five of his men might be allowed access to the strong fortress of Anazarba. This the King was obliged to grant. Leo, who paid tribute both to the Mongol ruler and also to the Sultan of Egypt, sent word secretly to the latter that Bilarghu, who disposed of the revenues of the kingdom as he pleased, prevented him from paying his tribute. The Sultan sent an officer to inquire into this, who informed Bilarghu of Leo's message to his master. The Mongol commander sent for him to have a conference with them. The King accordingly went, accompanied by his uncle, the late king, Haithon II. (who acted, as we have seen, as his atabeg or tutor), by the generalissimo Oshin, Haithon's brother, and some forty barons. He was introduced to Bilarghu alone. The latter, after a few minutes, rose as if he was going to make his *namaz*, when, drawing his sabre, he decapitated the King while he was himself saying the *tekbir*. When his people heard him invoking God they proceeded to slaughter Leo's attendants. The atabeg Haithon, Leo's uncle and predecessor, was also put to death. This was on November the 17th, 1307. At the news of this treachery the governor of Anazarba put Bilarghu's soldiers to death, while he ordered watch fires to be lighted as a signal to the other strong fortresses. Bilarghu now went to Anazarba, hoping his soldiers would open the gates to him, but he was received with a shower of stones and other missiles. He was allowed to withdraw, we are told, because the Armenian troops did not wish to harm the troops of their suzerain. Meanwhile Oshin, Leo's uncle, set out for the Ordu, but was arrested at Sivas by order of Bilarghu. Irenchin, who was on his way from the Court, set him at liberty, and reported to his master how matters stood. Both parties were cited to appear. They pleaded their cause before Uljaitu, who pardoned Bilarghu, but shortly after was prejudiced against him, and had him put to death. Oshin, the youngest of the five brothers of Haithon II., was now raised to the throne of Cilicia, and was duly consecrated at Tarsus.* Abulfeda says he was nominated king by Bilarghu, and that it was his brother Alinak who went to complain to Uljaitu of the murder of his relatives.†

Uljaitu, as we have seen, was in his young days a Christian, and had been baptised with the name Nicholas. On his conversion to Muhammedanism by his wife he attached himself to the Hanéfi sect, by the Imaums of which he had been surrounded in Khorasan. He naturally favoured this sect, and had the names of the first four Khalifs inscribed

* D'Ohsson, iv. 532-536. † Op. cit., v. 205.

on his coins. Under this patronage the sect grew insolent, and attracted the hatred of several powerful people, notably of the vizier, Rashid ud din, who was attached to the Shafiyi rite, and patronised and protected its professors. He, however, concealed his resentment in consideration for his master. Notwithstanding his preference for the Hanéfis, Uljaitu appointed Nizam ud din Abd ul malik, of Meragha, who was a learned Shafiyi doctor, to be chief judge of Iran, thus raising him above all the Hanéfi magistracy. Nizam ud din seems to have owed this appointment to the skill he showed in his polemics with the doctors of the rival sect. In 1309 the son of Sadr Jihan of Bokhara, who was a devoted Hanéfi, having visited the Ordu, determined to undermine the position of Nizam ud din, and one day, in the presence of Uljaitu, pressed him with a question relative to marriage with a woman who had been born in adultery. The judge repudiated the interpretation put upon the opinions of his sect, and in turn assailed his opponents with the charge that they permitted a man to marry his mother or his uterine sister, and further cited against them the axiom of the "Manzuméh," a Hanéfi treatise: "Pederastry is not forbidden; if you marry your sister, do not consummate it." This discussion was much to the distaste of Uljaitu and his officers, who said: "What have we been doing to abandon the religion of our ancestors, the faith of Jingis Khan, for this Arab religion, which is divided into so many sects, and which permits a man to cohabit with his mother, sister, or daughter? Let us return to our ancient religion." Although such marriages were really forbidden by the Muhammedan law, an opinion spread among the Mongols that it was not so, and the princesses were especially outraged. They began to despise those bearing a doctor's turban, and the Mongols in general took a dislike to Muhammedanism. While this feeling was still warm, Uljaitu, on his return from Arran, stopped at Gulistan, in a summer-house built by his predecessor, and witnessed a terrible storm, during which several people who sat about him drinking were killed by lightning. Frightened at this, he set out hastily for Sultania. After this he always carried eagles' feathers, jade, and other stones, which were supposed to protect people from lightning. The Mongol grandees declared that, according to the national practice and the yasa of Jingis Khan, the Sultan should pass between two fires, and they summoned some Bakhshis or Shamans to preside at the ceremony. The Lamaist priests declared that misfortune had overtaken him because he had become a Mussulman, and entreated him to abjure it. Uljaitu spent three months in hesitation, saying to those who urged him to recant his new opinions, "How can I abandon the Muhammedan faith, which I have professed with so much zeal?" The amir Taremtaz replied that Ghazan, the ablest man of his time, had embraced the religion of the Shias, and that the Sultan would do well to imitate him. "How, wretched creature," said the prince, "do you wish me to be a *rafizi* (heretic)?" Taremtaz, who was a ready

person, made a judicious reply, and contrived to exalt the Shias at the expense of the Sunnis. "See," he concluded finally, "in what they differ. It is as if the Shias were to maintain that the succession belonged of right to the descendants of Jingis Khan, while the Sunnis pretended that it also belonged to his generals, the karajus (*i.e.*, to his subjects)." This neat and judicious speech made an impression on the Sultan. He was also moved by the declamation of several Alévi Imaums at the Ordu, who continually attacked the Sunnis, but they were powerfully answered by the Mollah Nizam ud din. During the latter's absence on a journey to regulate the vakhfs of Azerbaijan, in 1310, Uljaitu visited the tomb of Ali. There he had a dream, after which he determined to embrace the doctrine of the Shias, and desired his generals and courtiers to follow his example. They obeyed, except Choban and Issen Kutlugh, zealous Sunnis. They resisted all the importunities of the Shia Imaums and Seyids, who feared these powerful grandees, to convert them.

The conversion of Uljaitu was followed by a change in the formula of the khutbeh, or Friday prayer, in which the names of the three first khalifs were suppressed, and those of Ali and his two sons, Hassan and Hussein, and that of Ali Muhammed, the Mahdi, alone retained. The type of the coins was also changed. The principal doctors of the Alévi sect were summoned to the Court, where the Ilkhan liked to discuss the dogmas of the faith. Wishing to encourage learning, he founded a kind of nomadic college, which was held under tents in his ordu. He attached to it as professors five of the most learned men in Persia. Their disciples, to the number of one hundred, were entertained at the cost of the Ilkhan, who was followed about the country by this movable college, for which special horses were supplied. He had already founded near his tomb at Sultania a college with sixteen professors and assistants, which could accommodate two hundred students.* In regard to his change of religion, the author of the "Shajrat ul Atrak" tells us that Uljaitu was reputed to be the most just of the descendants of Jingis Khan, and a great protector of seyids and learned men; but in the year 709, at the instigation of some persons of the Imaumia sect, as Sheikh Jemal ud din Hussein, the son of Seyid Bedr ud din Muthuhur Hulubi, &c., who was making proselytes for the Imaumia religion, he was induced to add to the profession of the faith inscribed on the coinage from the time of Sultan Ghazan, the words, "*Ali wuli Allah*"—"Ali the friend of God." He also expunged the names of the three khalifs from the khutbeh, and after the name of Ali, the fourth khalif, he inserted those of Hassan, Hussein, and Ali Muhammed, the Mahdi. He also inserted in his sekka the names of the leaders of the twelve sects, and for this the Sunnis called him in disgust Sultan Muhammed Kharbundeh, or "the slave of an ass," but the Shias Khodabendeh, or "the slave of God."

* D'Ohsson, iv 536-542. Ilkhans, ii. 216-219. Quatremere, 437.

We now read of Uljaitu quarrelling with his principal vizier, Said ud din Sauji, or Savaji (*i.e.*, a native of Sava). He had forbidden him giving assignations on the revenue, or granting pensions and salaries, and wished that the revenue should be handed over to him intact, so that he himself might dispose of it. The Vizier had also drawn upon himself the hatred of several powerful chiefs, notably of Tokmak, who was a favourite of the Sultan; Ali Shah, who was also a *protégé* of the Ilkhan; and of Rashid ud din, formerly a friend of Said ud din. The Vizier had, in fact, courted this feeling by his arrogant behaviour. His employés were so numerous that anyone wishing to see him had to see successively some thirty-five officials, to whom it was necessary to make presents by way of blackmail. This bureaucracy absorbed the revenue, which amounted to 30,000,000 drachmas. The Sultan's anger at getting so little of the revenue received an impulse when two employés of the Vizier, having quarrelled at Sultania, accused each other of having taken a considerable sum from the treasury. Said ud din, alarmed at the consequences that such imprudence might bring, ordered the Seyid Taj ud din Uj to summon them before him in order that they might be reconciled, and to inform them they must not in future let a word drop about the revenue. Shortly after the Vizier met two others doing the same thing, and ordered them to go to Taj ud din, and to hear his admonition as if it had been made by himself. They accordingly went, and had the same homily preached to them; but on going out they went and reported the whole matter to Rashid ud din, who informed the Ilkhan that several of the employés of the Divan had sworn to make no disclosures about the affairs of the treasury. Uljaitu sent from Baghdad an order for the apprehension of Said ud din, and to try his dependants. Five of the latter were condemned to death, and Said ud din himself was executed the same day (*i.e.*, the 19th of February, 1312). Their goods were all confiscated, and large sums were extorted from their subordinates by torture.* Wassaf says that with the Vizier, the Great Khoja Bedr ud din Luli and seven great amirs named Kairbuka, Urba Kerim, Khuljin, Daujah, Sain ud din Museri, Shiab ud din Mubarek, and Nasir ud din Yahyah were put to death, their houses plundered, and their estates confiscated.†

About this time Uljaitu laid the foundations of a new town, in the *Jèmhal* (*i.e.*, the defile), on the way from Baghdad to Sultania.‡ He called it Sultan Abad. Choban, the greatest of the amirs, was sent to Sultania, armed with a golden bull, to superintend the dedication of the high school, called Seyar, there. Four thousand workmen were employed in making a huge bazaar, 300 ells in diameter and 100 ells wide, which was supplied with sweet water, and became the residence and rendezvous of the dealers in cloth. At this time also an order was

* D'Ohsson, iv. 542-544. † Ilkhans, ii. 219-220. ‡ *Id.*, 220. D'Ohsson, iv. 544-545.

given that the various works of Rashid ud din, including not only his history, but also his exegetical and juridical works, the description of the seven climates, genealogical tables, &c., were to be transcribed in ten volumes, consisting of 3,000 leaves. The writing out, gilding, and binding of the work cost more than 600,000 dinars. Quatremere says 60,000 dinars (*i.e.*, 900,000 francs). These famous works were ordered to be deposited in the newly-founded mosque.* Rashid ud din's income at this time must have been enormous, and Uljaitu lavished great sums upon him. The author of the "Mesalek Alabsar" cites the Sheikh Mahmud, a native of Ispahan, for the following story: One day Rashid presented his master with one of his works, and said to him, "Aristotle having offered Alexander a work he had written, received from him a present of 1,000 gold pieces; a prince as magnificent as yourself should deem it unworthy not to equal the liberality of Alexander." The Sultan answered this challenge by making over to him a domain worth three times the amount of Alexander's gift.†

Ali Shah had been a jewel merchant and dealer in precious stuffs and other things, and he had been brought into commercial relations with the amir Hussein Gurkan and the Prince Oljitai, who introduced him to the Ilkhan. He was adroit, insinuating, and witty. The vizier, Said ud din, who was jealous of him, sent him to take charge of the royal manufactory at Baghdad, where he introduced many improvements. When the Ilkhan went there Ali Shah gave him a splendid feast, and, among other presents, he offered his master fourteen *rotl* of the richest jewels and pearls, a richly embroidered cap, decked with stones, and having on its summit a ruby of four-and-twenty miskals in weight; nine beautiful boys, with girdles made of chrysoliths, in robes of moghribin; and gold-harnessed horses. Quatremere also mentions a splendid ship.

We are told that the Baghdad singer previously named, who was probably a gipsy, whom he married, contributed to his rise by the admiration she inspired the Sultan with. Ali Shah erected a splendid bazaar and other buildings at Sultania, which pleased Uljaitu very much. The late vizier, Said ud din, had treated the favourite with scant courtesy, refusing to rise and meet him when he entered the room, &c., while his colleague, Rashid ud din, on the other hand, had showed him marked attention. On one occasion, Ali Shah, having given the Sultan and his grandees a splendid feast, offered Rashid ud din three pieces of rich stuff, and afterwards a similar present to Said ud din. The latter, who had taken too much wine, professed to consider it a slight that his colleague should have been first considered, and abused him in an unbecoming manner. Rashid ud din kept a discreet silence, which won him the good opinion of his master, who was indignant at the Vizier's

* Ilkhans, ii. 220-221. Quatremere, xix. † Quatremere, xviii.-xix.

conduct. The latter, as we have seen, presently fell a victim to his two rivals.* When he was beheaded, Ali was, at the instance of Rashid, given his post.†

Soon after this, a Jew named Nejib el devlah, who was in the service of the Amir Togmak, concerted with another Jew a plot against the Vizier. A letter was written in Jewish characters, in Rashid's name, and addressed to a jeweller, who was a confidante of one of the chief amirs. In this letter Rashid urged his correspondent to poison the Sultan. The letter was allowed to fall into the hands of the amir Lulu, who passed it on to Uljaitu. The latter, in a violent rage, summoned Rashid, whom he sharply attacked. He asked for a delay of three days in which to discover the authors of the plot. This was disclosed by the amir Muhammed, who had been devatdar of Said ud din, and who confessed that the note had been written by a Jew at the instance of Said to undo Rashid. The Jew was summoned to the Royal presence, and having been duly examined, confessed. He was executed. Some time after Muhammed Zerker, nephew of Said ud din, Taj ud din Uj, the leader of the Shias, the amir Muhammed Seyar, and several other amirs, who, according to the Jew, had been accomplices in the plot, were also put to death. This was on the 10th of April, 1312.‡ The Seyid Ainad ud din had his eyes seared, but did not lose his sight.

Another tragical event which occurred at this time, if it took place as reported by one historian, a descendant of Ali, reflects considerable discredit upon Rashid. There lived at Baghdad a Seyid or descendant of Ali, named Taj ud din Abu fazl Muhammed, who had formerly been a *vaiz*, or preacher, and having secured the good opinion of Uljaitu was by him promoted to the post of Nakib, *i.e.*, head of all the descendants of Ali, who were scattered in Irak, Rai, Khorasan, Persia, and generally in the Ilkhan's empire. The historian above referred to, Omdat Altalib, reports that not far from the Euphrates, between Hillah and Rufah, is a town where, according to tradition, was buried the body of the prophet Ezekiel. The Jews had a great reverence for this place, often went there on a pilgrimage, and gave large alms there. The Nakib forbade them access to this town, and having put a pulpit within the sacred structure had the Friday prayer said there. Rashid, according to this author, was much grieved at this prohibition, and was jealous of the Seyid and the favour Uljaitu showed him. He determined therefore to ruin him and his son Shems ud din Hussain, who was head of the Seyids of Irak. He had by his tyranny and ill-conduct disgusted many of them, and through them Rashid succeeded in poisoning the Sultan against Taj ud din and his children. Uljaitu having appealed to the Vizier as to what should be done, he, to avoid all controversy, suggested that Taj ud din should be

* D'Ohsson, iv. 545-546. † Quatremere, xxiii. ‡ *Id.*, xxiii-xxiv.

tried by the Seyids themselves. Meanwhile, he incited a violent and sanguinary person to kill his rival and his two sons, promising him the posts of nakib, kadhi, and sadr of Irak. He recoiled, however, from such a crime, and said he would never assassinate a descendant of Ali, and the same night fled towards Hillah. Rashid then tried another Seyid, but equally in vain. Eventually a third, also of the sacred caste, descended from Ali, Taj ud din bin Mokhtar, who was in Rashid's service, and completely devoted to him, having secured Taj ud din and his two sons, Shems ud din Hussein and Sharf ud din Ali, conducted them to the borders of the Tigris, and there had them put to death by his satellites. By the Vizier's suggestion the two sons were killed before their father's eyes. The people of Baghdad and the Hanbalis wreaked their vengeance on the body of the Seyid, which was cut in pieces, and the pieces themselves were eaten. His hair was pulled out, and each hair in his beard was sold for a golden piece. To appease Uljaitu, who was much grieved at these events, Rashid declared that it had come about with the assent of all the Seyids of Irak. The Sultan wished to suspend the Kadhi of the Hanbalis from a gibbet, but spared his life on the representation of several eminent persons. He nevertheless had him mounted on a blind ass, with his head turned towards its tail, and promenaded about the town, and ordered that in future the Hanbalis should have no kadhi. Quatremere urges strongly that this story has many incredible features, and argues that it is incredible that Rashid, who was of a tender disposition, should have outraged all decency. It is more probable that Taj ud din had committed some grave offences and been duly found guilty, and that the details of the story as it affects Rashid were made up by the descendants of Ali, who were enraged at the violent end of their chief. Wassaf certainly supports this view. He tells us how in the year 711 (1311) the principal amirs and viziers, in the presence of the kadhi of the kadhis and of a large number of Imaums and Seyids, formed a court to try Taj ud din, who was accused of many crimes: *inter alia* of having appropriated a sum of 300,000 gold pieces belonging to the Seyids and others, of having continually tried to seduce the wives of the descendants of Ali, of having committed several murders, &c. Having been duly convicted, he was handed over with his two sons to the inhabitants of Meshed Ali, who were charged with his punishment. These Seyids accordingly took him to the borders of the Tigris, and beat him till he died. His sons shared his fate. The crowd pressed so much to take part in the execution that two or three people were seriously injured. Wassaf says that all present—Mussulman men and women, Jews, Christians, and men of all classes—filled the air with acclamation, and regarded the death of Taj ud din as assuring the triumph and the stability of religion and the empire. As Quatremere says, the fact that he was a descendant of the Prophet, and yet convicted by a court comprising the heads of religion, and that there was general joy on

his execution, certainly seems to point to Rashid having been guiltless of mere personal vengeance in this matter. Soon after these events, Jelal ud din, son of Rashid, was appointed governor of Ispahan.* On Friday, the 24th of Moharrem, 712, Wassaf was presented to Uljaitu by Rashid, who greatly praised him and his work, of which Uljaitu consented to hear him read a chapter. This was done in the presence of the two viziers and the various grandees of the Court, who duly applauded him.† The obligations Wassaf was under to the great Vizier must always, however, be remembered when he is quoted in his praise.

In August, 1312, there arrived at Sultania several Egyptian officers, who sought asylum there from Sultan Nasir. Nasir had grown weary of the condition of tutelage in which he was held by the amirs Salar and Bibars, who had acquired great renown in the Mongol wars, and who exercised authority in his name, and he had abdicated in 1309 and retired to his principality of Al Karak. Thereupon Bibars, styled the cupbearer, a Circassian by birth, became Sultan of Egypt, with the title of Malik Mozaffer. A year later Nasir, recalled by a party opposed to Bibars, mounted the throne for the third time, and had Bibars strangled in his presence. Salar died the next year.‡ Among Nasir's supporters the most powerful was probably Kara Sonkor, who had had a strangely turbulent life. A slave of Sultan Kelavun, he was a party to the murder of his son Ashraf, and afterwards, with Lachin, made an attempt to kill Ketboga. During Lachin's reign he was appointed viceroy of Egypt. He then fell into disgrace. He was governor of Aleppo during the reign of Kelavun, and of Hamath during Nasir's second reign, after which he again became governor of Aleppo, and soon, as a reward for his services, was appointed governor of Damascus. Nasir, notwithstanding this, did not trust him. At his own request he transferred him again to Aleppo, and sent an officer named Arghun el Dévatdar to invest him with the post, but bearing secret letters to the various chiefs at Damascus to arrest him. He suspected that something was wrong, and kept a close watch upon Arghun, and cleverly succeeded in getting a promise from him, in the presence of his chief supporters, that he had no sinister intentions, and had only come to invest him. Thereupon, having distributed whatever money and precious things he had among his Mamluks, so that they might carry them in their girdles, he set out, accompanied by Arghun and surrounded by 600 Mamluks. He entered Aleppo on the 8th of June, and thence sent Arghun home again after giving him 1,000 dinars, a state robe, a horse, and other gifts. Kara Sonkor was by no means reassured, and determined to secure some friends. He made overtures to Hosam ud din Mohanna, prince of the Bedouins of Syria, and his son Musa, having first persuaded the former that he had received orders to arrest him

* Quatremere, xxiv.-xxxi. † *Id.*, xxxi. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 547.

which he did not mean to carry out. Having got Nasir's permission, he set out on a pilgrimage to Mekka; but hearing that the Sultan had posted some Mamluks on the road to waylay him, he determined to return. Meanwhile the gates of Aleppo had been closed against him, and it was only when Mohanna threatened to attack the place that he was allowed to take away his property. He then went towards the desert. Kara Sonkor, after a while, went to Rahbet with Mohanna, Mogoltai, three amirs from Damascus, and a party of Mamluks, whither they were pursued by the Sultan's troops. From Rahbet he sent his wives, his son Ferej, and horses to Egypt. Akush el Afrem, the governor of Tripoli, who had joined him, also sent his son Musa. These people were ordered to prostrate themselves before the Sultan, and to assure him that it was only the fear of his displeasure that had made their masters pass into the enemy's country. Having obtained Uljaitu's permission they set out for Sultania, and were treated with great honour *en route* and supplied with every necessary, the amirs Kutlugh, Kiaf, and Uji receiving orders to go to Diarbekr to welcome them. They arrived at Sultania in August, 1312, with an escort of 1,000 horsemen, the heads of the administration, and the Muhammedan clergy having gone by the Sultan's orders to meet them. Uljaitu presented them with splendid khilats, comprising a robe, cap, and girdle, ornamented with precious stones. He also distributed appanages among them. Kara Sonkor was given Meragha; Akush el Afrem, Hamadan; Serdkesh, Nehavend; and Sonkor Afrem, Asadabad. The name of Kara Sonkor (*i.e.*, black falcon), who was an old man, was changed to Ak Sonkor (*i.e.*, white falcon), a change aptly compared by Von Hammer with the change of the name Thunichtsgut into Thugut by Maria Theresa. The Bedouin chief Hosam ud din Mohanna was presented with Arab horses and falcons, and Uljaitu gave him one of his own robes, and an assignation of 3,000 loads of corn, which were to be supplied by Irak Arab and Diarbekr. Later, when Mohanna's son, the amir Suliman, submitted to the Ilkhan, at Mosul, he was rewarded with robes, &c., and a tuman of gold. Hilleh, Kufa, Shifateh, and their revenues, which amounted to forty tumans, were also made over to Mohanna.* In 1315 Suliman, with a body of Tartars and Arabs, made an attack on the Arabs and Turkomans near Tadmor, and retired again behind the Euphrates with an immense booty.†

Uljaitu now determined to invade Syria, and preparations were made on a great scale. Timber and inflated skins, for making bridges or rafts, were brought together at Sinjar and Mardin, at a cost of 50,000 dinars; siege machinery was sent from Baghdad, 1,500 suits of armour and helmets were bought from European merchants; 260 of the most beautiful Arab horses, from Nejd, were secured as led horses for the Ilkhan's

* D'Ohsson, 547-555. Ilkhans, ii. 223-227. † Abulfeda, v. 299.

riding, and 2,400 camels as sumpter beasts; 90 catapults or mangonels, 70 grappling machines, filled with iron hooks, for attacking the towers, 100 bottles of naphtha, 100 kettle-drums, 100 banners, 360 sappers, and 15,000 hides as covers for the baggage. Uljaitu set out on the 15th of December, 1312, accompanied, *inter alios*, by the viziers and the three noyans Choban, Sevinj, and Isenkutlugh, and ten tumans (*i.e.*, 100,000 men), and also by the Georgian king with his men. At Mosul, where they arrived in the middle of December, the armour was distributed. At the end of the month they reached the Euphrates, which was crossed at Kirkesia (the ancient Kirkessium), where the Khabur (the Khaboras, or Mygdonius) falls into the main river. They then proceeded to attack Rahbet or Diar Rahbeh, a fortress situated on a hill. The place was summoned by the amirs Ali Kushdji, Jemal ud din Afrem, and Haji Dilkandi; but its commander, Bedr ud din Musa ibn Uskeshi, refused to open its gates, and trusted to the strength of its twelve bastions, the height of its walls, and its ditch, 30 ells deep and 15 wide, with its scarp lined with stone. The army was ordered to cut down wood with which to fill this ditch. The wood was carried on a kind of carts called *tewareh*, and in three days the ditch was filled up to the height of the walls. Nejm ud din, the judge of the place, now came out, with three companions, to treat. He was presented with a kaftan, and negotiations were begun for the withdrawal of the garrison and the surrender of the town; but meanwhile weapons continued to be fired from the walls, which the sappers were mining. Uljaitu having ridden round the town, and deeming it hopeless to capture the place, fearing also a want of provisions, offered to allow the garrison to go out, with its property, on the condition that seventy-one Egyptian amirs in the fortress would give a written undertaking not to take up arms against the Padishah in future, but would be friends of his friends and enemies of his enemies. He also offered to give 5,000 dinars towards the completion of the mosque there. According to Wassaf, who was a poet and had a poet's licence, the negotiations were on the point of succeeding when a Mongol applied fire to the piled-up wood, which burnt up as high as the top of the towers, whereupon the army withdrew. Von Hammer says it is more probable that Uljaitu, seeing that it was inevitable the siege must be raised, had the wood fired before his withdrawal.* Novairi, who cites the report of the commandant of Rahbet to the Sultan, says the siege was begun on the 23rd of December, and continued till the 25th of January, when the Mongols retired (as they were just going to capture the place), leaving all their siege machinery, baggage, and horses behind them,† which is no doubt an exaggeration. Abulfeda says a pestilence broke out among the besiegers, and that the machines they left behind

* Ilkhans, ii. 229-230. † D'Ohsson, iv. 555.

were dragged into the town by the citizens.* The writer of the continuation of Rashid ud din says the siege was commenced on the 4th of January, 1313. Its commander, Bedr ud din Kurd, at first wished to surrender, but the next day changed his mind and made a vigorous defence. The Mongols proceeded to batter the walls with their catapults, and at last the garrison offered to give in, and in fact capitulated on the 13th of February. Uljaitu allowed it to remain in the place.† Nasir, with his Egyptians, was already *en route* for Syria when he heard, on the 6th of January, of the retreat of the Mongols. He disbanded his men, but went on himself to Damascus, whence he sent orders to Cairo to sequester Kara Sonkor's house, and to take anything precious there to the treasury. This comprised a considerable sum in gold and silver, and other objects of great value.‡ He then went on to Mekka on a pilgrimage.§ The retreat from Rahbet was evidently not treated by the Mongols as a serious reverse. Six days after crossing the Euphrates a feast was held, at which Wassaf was openly congratulated by the Ilkhan on the sensation which his history had created, and was presented with a cup of unfermented wine by him in person.‖

In 1312, Kurmishi, son of Konghuratai, revolted in Rum. He was captured by the general Taremtaz, who was sent against him, and was put to death with his four sons. Uljaitu having heard in June, 1314, that the Karamanian prince, Mahmud bey, had captured the city of Conia, or Iconium, sent the amir Choban to Rum at the head of three tumans. The revolt of these Turkomans was attributed to the tyrannical conduct of Uljaitu's uncle, Irenchin, who governed that province, and who now repaired to the Ilkhan's Court. Choban went to invest Conia, where the rebel prince had shut himself up, and was accompanied by Georgi, the Regent of Georgia, and his troops. Rum was at this time devastated by famine, caused by a swarm of locusts, and as his provisions began to fail, Choban had recourse to negotiation. Mahmud bey offered to capitulate. He asked only for a delay of a few days, and to prepare his presents, but on the night of the last day of the truce he escaped by way of Larenda. Pursued, and unable to escape, he went with a shroud about his neck and a sword in his hand to ask Choban's pardon. He granted him his life, and after occupying Conia, returned to Persia by order of the Ilkhan.¶ The "History of Georgia" calls the rebels the sons of Phariman, or Pharwana (*i.e.*, makes them sons of the Pervaneh, whose career occupied us in the chapter on Abaka Khan), and says Choban was accompanied by the Georgians, and by Georgi (*i.e.*, probably, by Georgi V., son of Dimitri). The partisans of Pharman only resisted for a year. All the Georgians who were found there were made over to King Giorgi, who, with his people, had behaved very valiantly in the struggle.**

* Op. cit., v. 269. † *Id.*, Note 2. ‡ *Id.*, 556. § Weil, iv. 309
‖ Ilkhans, ii. 230. ¶ D'Ohsson, iv. 576-577. ** Op. cit., 642.

In 1313 Uljaitu nominated his son Abusaid, who was only nine years old, governor of Khorasan, which was a kind of Dauphiny of the empire. The young prince was accompanied by the amir Sevinj, who had brought him up, and the amir Algu, two experienced and skilful generals, who were to act as his atabegs or governors. The grandees of the Court, on Uljaitu's order, attached one of their relatives to the suite of the young prince, and Abd ul Latif, son of Rashid ud din, was appointed his vizier. The two Grand Viziers were ordered to supply him with money, precious stones, and stuffs. He was given drums and cymbals, the Além and Sanjak (*i.e.*, banners), arms, and armour, Arab horses, with harness decorated with stones, and everything necessary for his equipment. This is D'Ohsson's account, based apparently on that of the continuator of Rashid.* Wassaf reports, according to Von Hammer, that Abusaid was accompanied by Sevinj Noyan as beglerbeg, Selasun as atabeg, and Abdulla as administrator of the Divan. Sitai Kutlugh, son of Kutlugh Shah, who was killed in Ghilan, was commander of the right wing, and Nuvinsadeh Hassan of the left wing. Tokal, son of Istan Kutlugh, and Rustem, son of Melai, had charge of his administration. There were also falconers (*kushji*), cooks (*andaji*), taxing masters (*khasanji*), standard bearers (*aalemdar*), chief marshals (*yesaul*), waiting men (*odabashi*), masters of the horse (*akhtaji*), and confidential servants (*inak*). The several names are given by Wassaf. The vizier, Khoja Taj ud din Ali Shah, had charge of the general administration and the equipment of the army.† Uljaitu accompanied his son as far as Abher, where he gave him a parting feast and addressed some complimentary phrases to the amirs, especially Sevinj: "It is because I know your ancient services and I count entirely on your fidelity that I confide my son to you and the relatives of my amirs and ministers. You will treat them with paternal care, and they will be duly submissive, but beware lest you be overcome with pride at having brought up a sovereign and at being the guardian of his son, and that this thought, which is enough to excite ambition, do not lead you into enterprises which may trouble the State, and that I have to punish you severely." Sevinj bent his knees and protested his zeal and goodwill.‡ In the very beginning of his rule in Khorasan there was an invasion on the part of the Jagatai princes, which will be described under that Khanate. The Ilkhan's generals, Yesaul and Ali Kushji, who were defeated, joined Abusaid at Yulak Koshuk Murad.§ After the withdrawal of the Jagatai troops one of the princes of Jagatai, named Yassaur, having quarrelled with the Khan, appealed to Uljaitu for help. The latter sent an army to his assistance, under the command of Yassaul, which overran Mavera un Nehr. Yassaul was accompanied on this expedition by the Prince of Herat, Ghiath ud din.

* D'Ohsson, iv. 565-566. † Ilkhans, ii. 232-233. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 566.
§ Shajrat ul Atrak, 290.

We will now bring up the history of Herat to this date. We are told that in 1310 Ghiath ud din received at Herat several of the Ilkhan's officers—Yassaul, Tukal, Khajeh Alai ud din Hindu, Jemal ud din, Shah Muhammed, &c.—whose friendship he tried to secure; but Alai ud din Hindu, who was of a jealous disposition, profiting by the absence of his colleagues, wrote a letter in concert with Dildai and Bujai, sons of Danishmend, denouncing Ghiath ud din as a traitor who meditated revolt, for which he was preparing, and intended eventually to shut himself up in the fortress of Khaisar. This letter, with others written by the Hindu to his friends, was laid before Uljaitu when under the influence of drink. The latter ordered one of his chamberlains, called Eutek, to go and summon him. The Prince of Herat at once obeyed, leaving the place in charge of his uncle, Shems ud din Omar Shah Khonduri. The King left Herat in August, 1311. Uljaitu would not receive him, and deputed several of his officers to try him. He answered frankly that he had always been faithful, that in increasing his army it was only to strengthen the frontiers, and that the best proof of his innocence was his coming in person. Uljaitu was pacified, but he had Ghiath ud din put under surveillance, pending his being confronted with his accusers, and he was thus detained for a long time. Meanwhile, the sons of Danishmend, who remained at Herat, committed great disorders there. At this time the Malik's brother, Alai ud din, who was one of his greatest foes, died, and the princes of Jagatai having crossed the Oxus with 50,000 men, marched upon Fariab, and encamped at Murghab. Yassaul, with the two sons of Danishmend, marched against him with 80,000 men; but when within five parasangs of their enemy they fled. This released Ghiath ud din from his most dangerous enemies. Meanwhile, the Sheikh Nur ud din Abd ur Rahman Ezferain urged upon the two viziers, Rashid ud din and Taj ud din Ali Shah, the necessity of a reconciliation between the Sultan and Ghiath ud din, and an exposure of the misrepresentations of the latter's enemies. This led to an ordinance by which all Khorasan, from the Oxus to the borders of Afghanistan, was made over to him.* This appanage comprised the districts of Fushenj, Jezeh, Kussuyat, Aazab, Tulek, Herat Rud, Firuz kuh, Gharchestan, Ferah, Ghur, and Guermsir, most of which had their own princes, who were feudally subject to the Malik of Herat. Uljaitu presented him with one of his own robes, some Arab horses, precious tunics, mantles of gold tissue, a cap decked with precious stones, golden girdles, Egyptian arms, tents from Rum, five golden paizahs, seven banners with figures of a dragon on them, seven pairs of cymbals, and three great drums (*kurga*), with other instruments completing the royal orchestra; also a royal seal (*tamgha*) of white onyx (*i.e.*, of jade), a present which no feudatory prince of Persia had received. The Malik returned to Herat

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 489-492.

in October, 1315, where all the maliks and prefects of Khorasan went to greet him.* Before leaving he obtained the deposition of the amir Ali Mustapha, grand judge of Herat, whose incapacity was notorious, and nominated Nasr ud din of Khaisar in his place. Next year (*i.e.*, in 1316) the Malik marched against a Nigudarian chief named Avjibéla, who invaded Guermsir from Kuhistan, and easily defeated him.† We read at this time of an invasion of Khuarezm, which was subject to Uzbeg Khan of the Golden Horde, by Baba, a prince of that horde, who had sought refuge in Persia. This invasion we have already described, as also the messages that passed between Uzbeg and Uljaitu.‡

In April, 1315, the Egyptians under Seif ud din Tenker (or Tenkiz), Governor of Damascus, entered Cilicia by way of Aintab, and marched on Malattiya, whose governor surrendered it. Nevertheless a terrible massacre ensued. The town was fired, and many captives carried off; among others were a large number of woollen weavers, who were transported to Aleppo. Three days after the Egyptians left the place the Armenians and others who had escaped slavery and massacre came out of their hiding places, when the neighbouring garrisons of Kakhta and Karkar attacked them, killed 300 Armenians, captured 100, and made a considerable booty. Soon after this Choban, who had received the town of Malattiya as an appanage, arrived there, put a garrison of 1,000 men in the place, and ordered it to be rebuilt. This expedition of the Egyptians against Malattiya was followed by others, in one of which, in February, 1316, they captured the fort of Dérendeh, near Malattiya, where they slaughtered about 1,000 Armenians, who formed its garrison, and carried off the women and children.§ They also captured Arfekin, in the province of Amid. Berzali says Malattiya was captured in consequence of an understanding between the Egyptians and the Mussulmans who were inside. Makrizi has a more definite story. He says that the Sultan having dispatched some assassins to kill Kara Sonkor, a collector of taxes, a Kurd named Mendu discovered and had them arrested. Nasir was so annoyed at this that he aroused the jealousy of Bedr ud din, the Governor of Malattiya, against Mendu, whom he charged with wanting to supplant him. This began a correspondence, which ended in the surrender of the town and Mendu.‖

Prince Abusaid was continually sending to the Court for means with which to meet the expenditure of his army. Uljaitu remitted the requests to his two Viziers. Rashid ud din declared he had never had the management of the finances, and had never affixed his seal to the assignations made upon the revenue, and was not therefore responsible. "I only possess the robe that covers me, and have not a single coin, and inasmuch as we govern the empire together," replied Ali Shah, "why should we

* D'Ohsson, iv. 571. † Journ. Asiat., xvii. 492. ‡ Ante, ii. 149.
§ D'Ohsson, iv. 577-579. ‖ Weil, iv. 311. Note.

separate from one another when it is a question of paying?" "Because you have undertaken that responsibility yourself," said Rashid. "You are the guardian of the Great Seal, and are charged with the carrying out of the Sultan's orders." "Why then not affix your seal after mine?" was the reply. "I do not want to join myself with you who profess poverty when asked for money, while each of your employés has made a hundred tumans and become a Carun (*i.e.*, a Koran, the type of wealth among the Arabs, as Crœsus is with us)." When Uljaitu had heard them dispute in this fashion for some time he ordered the empire to be divided into two separate administrative districts. Rashid took Irak Ajem, Khuzistan, the two Lurs, Fars, and Kerman, and Ali Shah Azerbaijan, Irak Arab, Diarbekr, Arran, and Rum. Each of them had a deputy assigned him. Alai ud din was Rashid's and Iz ud din Kuhedi Ali Shah's. Ali Shah again insisted that they should jointly seal all assignations, but Rashid refused, saying he should constantly have to be answering for his colleague, who, whenever money was demanded from him, pretended to have none. The fact was that Ali Shah, who was a good-natured and well-meaning man, was dominated by others who were self-seeking and avaricious. He speedily quarrelled with the amir Togmak, who accused him and his creatures of having plundered the treasury even more than Said ud din and his clients. His complaints were seconded by those of Jevheri, Ali Shah's deputy, who coveted the post of Vizier for himself. Meanwhile couriers kept coming from Khorasan, asking for money, to whom Ali Shah replied that he had not a dirhem in the treasury. "What has become of the money?" said Uljaitu. "Rashid has appropriated it," was the reply. The latter was confined at home by an attack of gout, which prevented him from going out for four months. The Ilkhan ordered Choban and the two deputies above-named to examine into Ali Shah's accounts. They demanded 300 tumans (*i.e.*, three million gold pieces) from his subordinates, Dahir ud din Savaji, Fakhr ud din Ahmed, and Imad ud din Foleki, who during the three previous years had managed the finances, and who now implored Ali Shah to save them from utter destruction. He accordingly repaired to the Sultan that very night, and laid his case before him amidst tears, and with the most touching appeals, which won his master's heart as he was about to carry out the finding of the court. "This poor Ali Shah," he said to the amir Irenchin the next day, "knows neither how to write nor keep accounts. He has employed this money in the service of the State, but has forgotten how. He has promised to explain, and it will be all right." Irenchin reported this conversation to Choban, and said to him, "In the days of Khulagu and Abaka a Tajik could not speak to the sovereign except through the intervention of the amirs, and now it has come about that a Tajik has a midnight interview with the Sultan and puts an end to all our projects." Choban was in a great rage, but was appeased by a large present which

Ali Shah gave him. The latter was no longer molested with inquiries. He therefore turned his animosity against Rashid ud din. He first assailed Jelal ud din, Rashid's son, whom he accused of appropriating the revenues of the young prince, his *protégé*, Uljai Kutlugh, and this charge having been disproved, he charged Rashid himself with feigning sickness and taking a fourth of the revenue, and with monopolising the income of the princesses, and even the money devoted to pious uses. These repeated and insidious attacks began to have effect, and Ali Shah gradually superseded his rival in the Sultan's confidence. Rashid had to secure the patronage of Togmak, Uljaitu's favourite, by a large bribe. The two Viziers now received orders to make friends, which, we are told, they obeyed.*

In 1316 Homaiza, prince of Mekka, sought refuge with Uljaitu. Since the year 1202 the district of Mekka had been governed by princes of the dynasty Kattada, who were styled Sherifs. They were descended from Hassan, son of Ali. Iz ud din Homaiza and Asd ud din Rimaitha (called Remisha by Von Hammer), sons of the Sherif Abu Noma, were ruling jointly, when the complaints of the people of Mekka induced Nasir, the Egyptian Sultan, who was their suzerain, to send their brother Abulgaith with some troops to displace them. This was in January, 1314. On his approach Homaiza left Mekka. When he was established Abulgaith sent home the Egyptian troops, and was soon after driven out by Homaiza. The latter sent an envoy to Nasir, who, however, imprisoned him. Two years later (*i.e.*, in September, 1315), Rimaitha went to Cairo, submitted, and asked for aid against his brother Homaiza. The Sultan gave him some troops, with whose assistance he drove out the latter, who thereupon fled to Irak, to Uljaitu, as we have mentioned. He offered to consider himself his vassal, and was given a body of 1,000 cavalry, under Haji Dilkandi (called Darkandi by Abulfeda), who had orders to reinstate him. On passing Bassora, whence he took 100 tumans, according to orders, for the expenses of the expedition, he was attacked at night by Muhammed, son of Issa, brother of the Prince of the Bedouins of Syria (Mohanna), who had 4,000 men with him. The greater part of Homaiza's escort was killed. That prince and Haji Dilkandi managed to escape on swift horses, leaving their treasure and baggage in the hands of the Bedouins. It had been reported that the Ilkhan had given orders to Dilkandi for the exhumation of the bodies of Abubekr and Omar, who had been buried near Muhammed, and who were deemed unworthy of such a sepulture by a zealous Shia like Uljaitu.†

Towards the end of 1316 Uljaitu was attacked near Sultania, when out hunting, with violent pains in his joints, the result of sexual excesses. He

* D'Ohsson, iv. 579-583. Ilkhans, ii. 337-339. Quatremere, xxxii.-xxxiv.
† D'Ohsson, iv. 583-585.

was already convalescent, after having practised a restraint on his diet, when one day, after visiting his harem, he remained a long time in his bath, and afterwards ate some indigestible food. His doctors disagreed as to the remedy. The majority recommended a slight purgative, but an old one, who was very obstinate, insisted on plying him with numerous tonics, and the illness proved mortal. During his last illness he issued two ordinances. In one of these the names of the four Khalifs were replaced in the khutbeh or Friday prayer, whence they had been excluded in favour of that of Ali alone when he became a Shia. By the second ordinance one-half of the confiscated property of the late vizier, Said ud din, was returned to his sons.* By his will he appointed his son Abusaid his successor, and nominated the vizier, Rashid ud din, to superintend the empire. He then detached his two ear-rings, lustrous with diamonds, and his signet ring, and rolling them with the title deeds of his estates in his turban, gave them, with his will and the insignia of office, to the amir Issen Kutluk, whom he made his executor. To the amir Choban he said: "As you have supported so faithfully the empire of my father and brother, you have earned thanks and gratitude. Continue to protect the realm and the army during the reign of my son and successor." He then said the profession of faith, and died on the 16th of December, 1316. Wassaf says the 15th. The "Shajrat ul Atrak" says on the 1st Shevval (*i.e.*, the 17th of September). He was in the thirty-sixth year of his age. The Georgian history and Chamich both say Uljaitu was blind of one eye. The continuer of Rashid's history tells us he was good, liberal, and seldom accessible to calumny; but, like all the Mongol princes, he drank spirits to excess, and spent his time chiefly in pleasure. His coffin, made of pure gold and silver, garnished with stones, was placed on the throne, and there received the last homage of the officers of the palace and of the army. His subjects wore mourning for eight days. They sat on the ground, dressed in deep blue, giving forth loud lamentations. The minarets and pulpits of the mosques were robed in frieze, or crape.† This blue mourning and these lamentations have parallels elsewhere. In the Shah-nameh, blue is described as that of mourning among the ancient Persians. Violet was the colour used for mourning at the Court of Byzantium. The same colour was that appointed by the regulations of Napoleon for the mourning of the emperor and princes of the blood. The Jews still sit on the ground wailing for the dead.‡

Uljaitu, like more than one of his predecessors, had intercourse with the sovereigns of Western Europe, and an interesting proof of it is preserved in a letter contained in the French archives. This document consists of a roll of cotton paper, nine feet long and eighteen inches wide, containing forty-two lines of Mongol writing in Uighur characters, like

* Ilkhans, ii. 240. † D'Ohsson, iv. 583-587. Ilkhans, ii. ‡ Ilkhans, ii. 240-241.

those in which Arghun's letter, previously cited, were written. On it are impressed five square seals in red ink. On the reverse and on one of its sides there is an Italian translation in a very small hand. Remusat, in describing the document, says Orientals attribute importance in these letters to the size of the paper, the length of the lines, and the width of the margins and intervals. Arghun's letter contained hardly any margins or blank spaces, and was only six and a-half feet long, and was only marked with a seal three times. The more important names in these letters, including the Khan's own, are raised above the general level of the lines, while that of the prince to whom it is addressed is somewhat below the line. The tamgha or seal on Uljaitu's letter, as on that of Arghun, shows he acknowledged the supremacy of the Khakan at Peking. This seal was engraved with Chinese characters of the ancient form known as shang fang tu chuan, and the inscription may be translated, "By a supreme decree, seal of the descendant of the emperor, charged with reducing to obedience the 10,000 barbarians."* From this it would seem that the suzerainty of the Khakan, which had been repudiated, at least as far as his coins went, by Ghazan, was re-asserted by Uljaitu. The letter we are now describing is headed: "My words, Uljaitu Sultan. 'To Iridfarans (*i.e.*, Re de France) Sultan, and to the other Sultans of the Firankut peoples.'† In former times all of you Sultans of the Firankut were in alliance with our good great-grandfather, our good grandfather, our good father, and our good elder brother, and notwithstanding the distance which separated you, you regarded each other as neighbours, and interchanged messages, embassies, and presents. You cannot have forgotten it. Now that, by the power of God, we are seated on the Great Throne, we shall not depart from the commands of our predecessors—our good grandfather, our good father, and our good elder brother. We shall follow their precepts, and what these good ancestors have promised you we will keep it as if it were our own oaths. We will unite in friendship with you even more than in the past. We will send you envoys. We, older and younger brothers, have been at issue, disunited by the intrigues of wicked vassals (*karajus*). Now, however, Timur Khakan, Tuktukha, Chapar, Tugha (*i.e.*, Dua), and ourselves, who have been at issue for forty-five years, are reconciled by the inspiration and with the aid of God, so that from the land of the Nankiyas or Angkias (China) in the east, as far as the setting sun and the ulus of Kundalan on the lake of Talu (*i.e.*, the camping ground of the ulus of Khulagu on the plain of Mughan), our people are united and our roads are open. We have agreed to fall jointly upon any of us who proves aggressive.‡ Unable to forget the bonds which tied you to our good grandfather, our good father, and our good elder brother, we have sent you two envoys, Mamlakh and

* Mems. Acad. des Inscrip., &c., vii. 390-392. † *Ut* is the Mongol plural only.
‡ *Id.*, 395-396. D'Ohsson, iv. 588.

Tuman, who will explain our intentions *viva voce*." Uljaitu went on to say he had heard with pleasure of the termination of the strife among the sultans of the Firankut or Franks (*i.e.*, the war of Guienne). "Peace is a good thing," he said, adding that, thanks to their proposed alliance, they might, with the power of heaven, unite against those who would not join them, and would thus fulfil the will of heaven (in which expression the Khan probably hinted at the war with the Egyptian Sultan, upon which the envoys were, no doubt, to enlarge). "My letter (is written) in the year 704, the year of the serpent, the 8th of the first month summer (*i.e.*, the 13th or 14th of May, 1305), in our residence of Alijan."* In the Italian translation the envoy named Tuman is styled Tomaso, and is designated as an ilduchi (*i.e.*, a swordbearer). These are not the only points in which the Italian translation differs from the Mongol text.

We don't know (says Remusat) what kind of reception Uljaitu's envoys had, and this letter is the only evidence of their presence in France. No historian mentions them, nor is any answer of the French king recorded. The envoys, however, passed into England, where they arrived after the death of Edward I. (*i.e.*, after the 7th July, 1307), nearly two years after the letter was written. The answer Edward II. made to the ambassadors is still extant, and shows they must have brought a similar letter with them to the one that they took to Philippe-le-Bel. This letter of the English king is dated at Northampton, October 16th, 1307. It is headed, "To the most excellent Lord Prince Dolgieto, illustrious King of the Tartars," and addressed to the "Pacificator of the ten thousand barbarians," as he is styled on the seal. It recites that he (Edward) had admitted to audience the messengers which the Khan had sent with letters "to the lord Edward, of glorious memory, late king of England, our father, who before their arrival had ended his days. We have noted your letters, and also the message which your envoys have brought us. We thank your royal Magnificence for the goodness and friendship which you and your ancestors have shown towards our father, and that you now show towards us, for the sending of your envoys, for the hope you express of seeing union and affection grow between us, and especially for the memory which you preserve of the friendship which existed between your noble predecessors and our father, as well as other facts which you name. We rejoice in the peace wrought between you by the grace of God from the bounds of the East as far as the sea. In regard to the wish you express that on this side of the sea peace and concord should reign among us who have been disunited, we wish it to be known to your royal Excellency that we believe and hope firmly that concord and peace will shortly, by the help of God, succeed all the quarrels and divisions which have arisen among us."†

* Remusat, op. cit., 396-397. D'Ohsson, iv. 588-589.

† Rymer, Foedera, ed. 1818, vol. 2, part i. 8. Vide Remusat, op. cit., 400 and Note. D'Ohsson, iv. 591-593.

In a second letter, dated the last day of November, 1307, and written at Langley, Edward writes to the King of the Tartars to say that he would employ all his efforts to extirpate the abominable sect of Mahomet if the distance and other difficulties did not prevent him, for the time was favourable for such an enterprise. "If we are well informed," he says, "the books of this abominable sect predict its approaching destruction. Pursue then your laudable design, and may you succeed in your intention of exterminating this villainous sect. Some religious, good, and learned men are on their way to your Court with the intention of converting, by the help of God, your people to the Catholic faith, outside which no one may be saved; to instruct them in this religion, and to exhort them to make war on the detestable sect of Mahomet. These are the venerable brother William, of the order of preachers, bishop of Lidd, with his venerable suite. We commend them to you, and pray you to receive them well."* Rymer also prints two letters of the same date, commending the same missionaries to the Pope and the King of Armenia.† The letter of the English king, as D'Ohsson says, shows the Khan's envoy had not only concealed the fact that Uljaitu was a Mussulman, but had even imposed on him so far as to persuade him he would aid in extirpating the abominable sect of Mahomet.

Pope Clement V. was similarly deceived by the same envoy, as we gather from his letter addressed to Uljaitu, and dated from Poictiers, the 1st of March, 1308. "We have received in audience," he said, "with the habitual kindness of the apostolical see, your envoy, Thomas Ilduchi, and the letters he has brought from you, and we have carefully noted their contents, and have also taken note of what this your messenger has said on your behalf. We have noticed with pleasure, from these letters and communications, that appealing to our solicitude on behalf of the Holy Land, you have offered us 200,000 horses and 200,000 loads of corn, which will be in Armenia when the army of the Christians arrives there, and in addition to march in person with 100,000 horsemen to support the efforts of the Christians to expel the Saracens from that Holy Land. We have received this offer with satisfaction. It has strengthened us like spiritual food. We are assured this angel has come from the same whose angel sent Abakuk to furnish Daniel with strengthening nourishment when in the lions' den. You have indeed given us sweet nourishment in offering us the hope of such a magnificient aid. Having duly deliberated with our brothers on this offer of succour, and about the desired recovery of the Holy Land; among our most cherished wishes this is the one which exercises us continually, to see, by the grace of God, the land once trodden by the feet of the Saviour restored to the Christian faith, and we have always felt it most important to examine by what means such a pious design could be

* Rymer, *id.*, 18. † *Id*, 17-18.

accomplished. This is why I and my brothers have deliberated seriously about the matter, and hoping in the justice of the Most High, who strengthens his servants, we will execute so far as we can what God has inspired us to do, and when a favourable season for crossing the sea shall come we will advise you by letters and messengers, so that you may accomplish what your magnificence has promised. But do you in faith and works turn to Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life. To serve him is to rule. Persevere in your laudable intention in regard to this Holy Land, and secure on earth by this and other means the approbation of Christ the Redeemer, so that you may deserve to obtain from him an ample share of his delights in heaven and of glory in this present world. We and the Apostolical See shall rejoice in your success and glory.* D'Ohsson suggests that Thomas Ilduchi, who misled the Pope and the Christian princes in this fashion as to the real sympathies of Uljaitu, was probably inspired by the Eastern Christians, and especially the Armenians, who no doubt desired at all costs that another Crusade should be organised to aid them against their mortal enemy, the Egyptian Sultan. The same motive probably moved the King of Aragon, James II., to send his envoy, Peter Desportes, to Uljaitu. His letter was addressed: "Illustri et magnifico Olvecacu, Dei gratia regi dels Mogols, &c." He asked that all his subjects might have the privilege of buying and selling arms, horses, provisions, and other things which were necessary for the Aragon army when it should have passed the sea, and also that any Armenian, Greek, or other Christian who wished to visit the army might do so without hindrance. The letter, in the published copy as given by Martin Fernandez de Navaretto, is dated in 1293; but this is clearly a mistake, for Uljaitu had not then mounted the throne, and Remusat is disposed to assign it to the year 1307.†

One can see (says Remusat), in comparing the evidence, that Uljaitu had long before the defection of the Egyptian amirs, in 1312, made up his mind to attack Egypt, and had sought allies in the West. This Western assistance was no doubt especially pressed by the Christians of Cyprus and Armenia, who were closely interested in the revival of the Crusades and of the European settlements in Palestine and its borders. Haithon, the Armenian author whom we have often quoted, was directed by the Pope to draw up a memoir on the subject, and from his account we can gather what the basis of Eastern politics then was. Having defended the policy of the Crusades, and given a rapid survey of the revolutions which had occurred in Egypt and Syria, he goes on to show how opportune the time was for giving the Sultan a final blow, especially as Karbanda (*i.e.*, Uljaitu), the ruler of the Tartars, was ready to help them, and had sent envoys to say he would employ all his forces

* D'Ohsson, iv. 594-597. † Remusat, Op. cit., 402-403. Note.

to overwhelm the enemies of the Christian faith. It was necessary to meet this offer quickly, and it would be well to send him envoys to ask two things especially. First, that he would publish a prohibition to the supplying of food or other merchandise to the enemy, and, secondly, that he should be asked to send a force to devastate the district of Aleppo; while the Christians, in conjunction with their allies from Armenia and Cyprus, assailed the land of the Saracens by sea and land. Haithon enters at some length into the strategy of the campaign, and advises, *inter alia*, that an advanced expedition should first set out and try and seize on the district of Tripoli, in which they might count on the assistance of the Christians of Mount Lebanon, who could raise a contingent of 40,000 archers. Having seized on this district, they would do well to rebuild the city and to make it their base, and thus be ready when the Tartars had completed their conquest of the Holy Land to take over from them the towns there, which he was confident they would make over to the Christians for custody, because they could not endure the heat of the summer in those parts; nor did they fight with the Sultan to conquer more lands, for they were masters of all Asia, but because the Sultan was very unfriendly to them and always doing them some injury, especially when they were at war with the neighbouring Tartars (*i.e.*, those of Kipchak and Jagatai). He urged that letters should be sent to the Christian kings of Georgia and Armenia.

Haithon says there were three routes to the Holy Land. One by way of Barbary, in regard to which he left others to advise who knew it; the second by way of Constantinople, the same followed by Godfrey of Boulogne, which was safe and feasible as far as Constantinople, but beyond this, through Turkey (*i.e.*, Asia Minor) to Armenia (*i.e.*, Little Armenia, or Cilicia), it was not free from danger because of the Turks; but the Tartars would secure a safe transit across it, and also abundance of provisions, horses, and other necessaries. The third route was by sea, through Cyprus. In regard to their proceedings, if they adopted the last of these routes, he enters into considerable details. He suggests that an auxiliary army of 10,000 Tartars would be as large as would be required, since the very fear of the Tartars would prevent the Bedouins and Turks from attacking them. They would supply them with provisions and other necessaries, and act as spies for them, for which they were specially adapted from the agility of their horses. They were also well skilled in attacking fortresses. Haithon then supplies his patron with some touches of worldly wisdom. In urging that too great a body of Tartars should not be employed, he says, "If Karbanda, or some one sent by him, should invade Egypt with a very large army, it would be well to avoid him, for the Lord of the Tartars would deem it derogatory to follow the counsel of the Christians, and would insist on their following his commands. Besides which, the Tartars were all mounted and marched

rapidly, and a Christian army, much of which marched on foot, could not keep up with them. The Tartars, again, when in small numbers were humble and obsequious, but when in large numbers were overbearing and arrogant, insulting to their allies who were weaker than themselves, and would be found unbearable by the Christians." As Remusat says, it is clear Haithon understood well the advantages and drawbacks of an alliance with the Tartars, and he suggested that the campaign should be a double one—the Tartars should advance, according to their usual plan, by way of Damascus, and occupy the country there, while the Christians advanced on Jerusalem. He adds a singular phrase, in which he describes one advantage which the Egyptians had over the Tartars, in that they kept their own counsel, while their foes decided at a public gathering, in the first month of the year, what their plans for the ensuing season were, and thus gave their enemies warning.* Sanuto also speaks of the advantages of an alliance between the Christians and the Tartars. "The King of Armenia," he says, "is under the fangs of four ferocious beasts—the lion, or the Tartars, to whom he pays a heavy tribute; the leopard, or the Sultan, who daily ravages his frontiers; the wolf, or the Turks, who destroy his power; and the serpent, or the pirates of our seas, who worry the very bones of the Christians of Armenia." He attributes the war which the Tartars waged upon Egypt at the request of the most Christian King of Armenia, to the vengeance of God for the cruelties exercised upon the Christians of Acre and of Syria.†

The Western princes of Europe were not the only Christians who found it convenient to cultivate a close friendship with the Tartars. Pachymeres tells us that the Emperor Andronicus, to protect himself from the assaults of the Turkomans of Asia Minor, made an alliance with Uljaitu, whom he calls Kharmpanta, and gave him his sister Maria in marriage. She was known as "the Lady of the Muguls," and was conducted to Mecca by a suitable escort, where she seems to have taken up her residence for a while, and sent a complaint to Uljaitu of the doings of Othman (called Atman by Pachymeres). The Ilkhan thereupon dispatched an army of 30,000 men from the interior of Persia towards the eastern borders of Rum, to repress him; but it only gained the empire a temporary respite, and Othman gradually extended his borders.‡

Maria was known as Despina Khatun to the Mongols, and she was given the yurt or appanage which had belonged to the Great Despina, the wife of Abaka.§ Another foreign wife of Uljaitu was Dunya, the daughter of Malik Al Mansur Gazi, son of Kara Arslan, Lord of Mardin, whom he married at the Ordu in the year 1309. Her brother, Malik es Salih, succeeded his father as ruler of Mardin.‖ When Uljaitu was quite a boy

* Haithon, op. cit., 99-107. Remusat, Mems. de l'Academie, vii. 403-406.
† Remusat, op. cit., 406-407. ‡ Stritter, ii. 1101-1102. § D'Ohsson, iv. 536.
‖ Abulfeda, v. 227.

he was married to Kunjuskab, the daughter of Shadi Gurkan. It was through her influence that he became a Mussulman, having first, as we saw, been baptised a Christian. A year after his enthronement he married Kutlugh Shah, the daughter of Irenchin, who was given the yurt of the great Dokuz Khatun. A month later he married Bulughan, his father's widow, who, to distinguish her from the two other princesses of the same name, was called Bulughan the Khorasani.* In addition to these, Uljaitu had several other wives, as Terjughan, the daughter of Legsi Gurkan, whose mother was a daughter of Khulagu; Iltirmish, daughter of Kutlugh Timur Gurkan; Haji Khatun, daughter of Sulamish, who was the mother of his successor, Abusaid; Oljai, sister of the previous princess; Siyurghatmish, daughter of the amir Hussein; and Kutuktai.

Uljaitu had seven sons—Abusaid, Bestam, Bayezid (Abu Yezid), Taifur, Sulimanshah, Aadilshah, and a second Abusaid, who, with four of his brothers, died when young. He also had four daughters—Satibeg, who herself occupied the throne, Dulendi or Devletmendi, Fatima, and Mihrkutlugh.

The coins of Uljaitu occur in considerable variety. In the British Museum are gold coins struck by him at Basrah and Sultania; silver ones struck at Vasith, Samsun, Irbil, Mardin, Mosul, Shiraz, Tebriz, Hillah, Kashan, Kara Ghaj, and Damaghan; and copper ones struck at Baghdad, Hillah, Sultania, Saweh, Erzenjan, and Shiraz; and they occur of various dates, from the year 704 HEJ. to 714 HEJ.† The only *Mongol* words on his coins reads Ûljitu Sultan. The Arabic inscriptions on his coins present considerable variety. As he became a very devoted Shia, we accordingly find the formulæ of this sect, and find them also amplified in the most unusual fashion, but this is only on coins struck after the year 707. Before that date the names of the four khalifs, treated as usurpers by the Shias, are found on his coins, together with the Sunni symbol.‡ One of these earlier coins in the British Museum Poole calls a most remarkable piece. It bears (he says) two Koran inscriptions (ch. xlviii. 29 and ch. xxiv. 54) which are not found on any other coins, together with the formula of the four orthodox khalifs.§ On the later coins we find not only the phrase about Ali, but also the names of the twelve imaums. One of these coins is described by Fraehn. On the obverse we read: "Struck under the Lord Supreme Sultan, defender of the Faith, Ghiath ud dunya w'eddin Uljaitu Sultan Muhammed, whose reign may God perpetuate," with the date; and on the reverse: "There is no God but God. Muhammed the Apostle of God. Ali is the Vicar of God. O God, bless Muhammed and Ali and Hasan and Hussein and Ali and Muhammed and Jafar and Musa and Ali and Muhammed and Ali and Hasan and Muhammed."‖

* Ilkhans, ii. 182-183. † Poole's Catalogue, vi. 44-61.
‡ De Saulcy, Journ. Asiat., 3rd ser., xiii. 139. § Poole, op. cit., lvi.
‖ Fraehn, Resensio, 181.

Note 1.—The following notice in Ibn Batuta I overlooked when writing the previous chapter. He tells us Uljaitu had with him a jurisconsult of the sect of the Rafidhites (*i.e.*, the Shias), named Jemal ud din, son of Mothahher. He it was who persuaded Uljaitu to attach himself to the Shias, and thereupon the Ilkhan sent messengers to various towns to press the inhabitants to follow his example. The first places where this order arrived were Baghdad, Shiraz, and Ispahan. At Baghdad, the people of the Gate of the Dome (*Bab Alazaj*), who were the most notable among its garrison, who were Sunnis, and for the most part followed the doctrines of the Imaum Ahmed, son of Hanbal, refused to obey. They took up arms, and went on the Friday to the great mosque, where the Ilkhan's messenger was, and when the Khatib mounted the pulpit they, to the number of 12,000, pressed round him, all armed, and swore to the Khatib that if he altered the khutbeh in any way from what he had been wont to say it they would kill him, as well as the Khan's deputy, and would then submit to the will of God. Although Uljaitu had ordered the suppression of the names of the four khalifs, and that only Ali and his people should be named, the preacher was afraid, and the khutbeh was said as usual. The people of Shiraz and Ispahan behaved in the same way, and when the matter was reported to Uljaitu he ordered the Kadhis of the three towns to be summoned. The first to arrive was Medjd ud din, of Shiraz. The Ilkhan was staying at the time at Karabagh, where he generally spent the summer, and he ordered them to throw the Kadhi to the dogs which were about the palace. These animals were very big, and had chains about their necks, and were trained to devour men. When some one was brought in and given to the dogs, the unfortunate person was put on a wide plain, where he was set free. The dogs were then let loose upon him, and soon tore him in pieces. In this case they merely fondled him and wagged their tails. When Uljaitu learnt this he set out barefoot from the palace and prostrated himself before the Kadhi, kissed his hand, and gave him the robes which he was wearing, which was the greatest honour he could do him. He then took him by the hand and conducted him into the palace, and ordered his women to treat him with respect, and to look upon his presence as a blessing. The Sultan, we are further told, renounced the doctrines of the Rafidhites, and joined the Sunnis. He gave the Kadhi splendid presents, and sent him home again with great honours.*

Note 2.—On the 24th of July, 1305, Uljaitu began to build the famous town of Sultania, whose foundations had been already laid by his father Arghun. It was situated in the beautiful meadows of Kongoralank (or Kunkur ulong, as D'Ohsson calls them). It contained several mosques, the principal one of which, built at the Sultan's expense, was richly ornamented with marble and porcelain. He also founded a hospital, duly supplied with a dispensary and all other necessaries, and to which he attached several doctors. Also a college, on the plan of that of Mostansir at Baghdad. The grandees rivalled each other in building beautiful houses at this place. One whole quarter, containing 1,000 houses, was built at the cost of the vizier, Rashid ud din, who, in addition, put up a great building flanked by two minarets, comprising a college,

* Ibn Batuta, ii. 57-61.

a hospital, and a monastery, all richly endowed. The citadel was surrounded by a square wall, flanked with towers. Each side was 500 guez in length. It was made of dressed stone, and the wall was so thick that four horsemen could easily ride abreast upon it. Uljaitu also built himself a mausoleum in the fortress. It was of an octagonal shape, each side being 60 guez in length, and was covered with a cupola 120 guez in height. It was pierced with a large number of windows, with rich iron grilles in front of them. One of them was 30 arishes in height and 15 in breadth.* According to De Guignes, the mausoleum had three splendid doors, made of polished and damascened steel. The grille or trellis surrounding the actual tomb was made of the same metal, and so skilfully that, although the network was made of bars as thick as a man's arm, no joints could be found in it, and the Persians said it was made in one piece, which took seven years to complete, and was brought whole from India.† Near this tomb was built a hospice and a house for the Seyids, which he endowed handsomely. The royal palace consisted of a high pavilion or kiosk, surrounded at a certain distance by twelve smaller ones, having each a window looking into the court, which was paved with marble; a chancellary sufficiently large to accommodate 2,000 people, and many other buildings. During all his reign Uljaitu devoted fifty tumans every year towards the building of Sultania, which, if he had lived long enough, would have become one of the most beautiful cities in Asia. Novairi says in regard to it: "We learnt in the year 713 (*i.e.*, 1313) that it was finished and inhabited. The Ilkhan transferred thither from Tebriz a great number of merchants, weavers, and other artisans, who were forced to go there whether they liked it or no. Eventually the greater part of these artisans returned to Tebriz."‡ To the consecration of the mausoleum Seyids, sheikhs, and imaums were summoned from all parts of Persia.§ Hamdulla tells us that the walls of the city as originally planned by Arghun were twelve miles in circuit. This was enlarged by 3,000 paces by Uljaitu. Within these walls was a citadel made of dressed stones, which was two miles round, and where Uljaitu lived. There were also other buildings. The district was cold, and well watered by canals, &c., with abundant pasture and plenty of game, and people of all nations and religions were to be found there. The town contained finer buildings than any other, except Tebriz. The contribution to the taxes of the place was not more than twenty or thirty tumans. It was ravaged and virtually destroyed by Timur. Besides Sultania, Uljaitu also built the town of Jemjalabad, also called Sultania Jarmejan, at the foot of the mountain Bisutum, referred to by the Persian geographer Mestufi, and also by Rich in his first journey.‖ Speaking of Sultania, Ker Porter says in his travels: "An hour's ride brought us into the midst of the ruins, amongst whose broken arches and mouldering remains of all sorts of superb Asiatic architecture I discovered the most wretched hovels of any I had seen in Persia."¶ He says that Uljaitu built it as a sacred shrine for the remains of the Khalif Ali and the no less holy martyr Hussein, intending when it was finished to translate the bodies, with

* D'Ohsson says that the *guez* and *arish* were Persian measures, equivalent to a cubit or ell. *Id.*, 487. Note 1.
† De Guignes, iii. 279.
‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 485-487. § Ilkhans, ii. 185. ‖ *Id.*, 187. ¶ Travels, i. 276.

all religious pomp, from Meshed Ali and Kerbela to their new tomb. But the pious Sultan did not live to complete his object, and instead of the venerated relics his own ashes occupied the place, which he had hoped, when tenanted according to his intentions, would cause Sultania to be a point of future pilgrimage as revered by the faithful of his own empire as Medina had heretofore been to Mussulmans in general. Porter says of the building: "The height of the dome certainly exceeds 130 feet; the diameter of the circle below is 33 paces. The whole interior of the building presents one uninterrupted space; but to the south is a large distinct chamber, choked up with rubbish, under the floor of which, I was told, are three immense vaulted rooms. The entrance to them is now lost under the ruins above, but in one stands the tomb of the Sultan Mahomed Khodabund, raised from the earth. The inside of the whole mosque which covers these royal remains is beautifully painted, and tiled with varied porcelain. Much gilding is yet to be seen upon the upright and transverse lines of decoration, amongst which it is said the whole Koran is written in ornamented characters. It required a Mussulman's eye to find them in the varied labyrinth of arabesque patterns with which they were surrounded. Formerly, the whole building was inclosed within a square of 300 yards. Its ditch is still visible to a great depth, and at the north-west angle stands part of a large tower, and a wall 40 feet in height, built of fine large square masses of hewn stone, excellently cemented together, the thickness of the wall being 12 feet. On the top still remain a number of the pedestals, belonging to the machicolated parapet. Two Arabic inscriptions are yet distinct on the wall and the tower, but I could not find any person to translate them. The late mollah of the place, who might have been the interpreter, had recently paid the debt of nature; but one of the natives told me, from memory, that the purport of the inscription was merely to say that the mosque had been built 575 years ago. All the proportions and decorations of this vast structure are in the most splendid Asiatic taste; but the blue, green, and golden tiles with which it has been coated are rapidly disappearing; yet enough remains to give an idea of the original beauty of the whole. The ruins of other superb mosques are still conspicuous in many parts of the city, and all seem to be on so extensive a scale that we can only stand in amazement at the former magnitude of a place which at present scarcely numbers 300 families. When the Holstein ambassadors were in Persia (A.D. 1637), even then the waning city contained 6,000 people. How has it been reduced since, in little more than a century and a half! The walls of its ancient houses, and spacious gardens, cover a great stretch of the plain, and in some places we find large black mounds of earth, where I imagine the public baths stood."*

Fergusson says of Uljaitu's tomb at Sultania: "Its general plan is an octagon, with a small chapel added opposite the entrance, in which the body lies. The front has also been brought out to a square, not only to admit of two staircases in the angles, but also to serve as a backing to the porch which once adorned this side, but which has now entirely disappeared. Internally the dome is 81 feet in diameter by 150 feet in height, the octagon being worked into a circle

* i 277-280. † Fergusson's Hist. of Architecture, ii. 438-439.

by as elegant a series of brackets as were perhaps ever employed for this purpose. The form of the dome, too, is singularly graceful and elegant, and much preferable to the bulb-shaped domes subsequently common in Persian architecture. The whole is covered with glazed tiles, rivalling in richness those of the mosque at Tebriz, and with its general beauty of outline this building affords one of the best specimens of this style to be found either in Persia or any other country."† Fergusson gives pictures of the exterior and interior of the building, which quite bear out his eulogium. I may add here what I overlooked before, viz., the same author's notice of the remains of Ghazan Khan's mosque at Tebriz. "In plan it is not large," he says, "being only about 150 feet by 120, exclusive of the tomb in the rear, which as a Tartar it was impossible he could dispense with. In plan it also differs considerably from those previously illustrated, being in reality a copy of a Byzantine church, carried out with the details of the thirteenth century—a fact which confirms the belief that the Persians before this age were not a mosque-building people. In this mosque the mode of decoration is what principally deserves attention, the whole building, both externally and internally, being covered with a perfect mosaic of glazed bricks of very brilliant colours, and wrought into the most intricate patterns, with all the elegance for which the Persians were in all ages remarkable. Europe possesses no specimen of any style of architecture at all comparable with this. The painted plaster of the Alhambra is infinitely inferior, and even the mosaic painted glass of our cathedrals is a very partial and incomplete ornament, compared with the brilliancy of a design pervading the whole building, and entirely carrried out in the same style. . . . The entrance door is small, but covered by a semi-dome of considerable magnitude, giving it all the grandeur of a portal as large as the main aisle of the building. After the date of this building this mode of building portals became nearly universal in the East. The mosque was destroyed by an earthquake at the beginning of the present century, but it seems to have been deserted long before that, owing to its having belonged to the Sunnis, while the Persians for five centuries have been Shias."*

* Fergusson's Hist. of Architecture, ii. 436-437.

CHAPTER XI.

ABUSAID KHAN.

ABUSAID was the seventh of the Ilkhans, and seven being a fortunate number in the East, a prosperous reign was foretold for him. The event proved clearly enough the vanity of such predictions, for his reign virtually saw the collapse of the power of the Ilkhans in Persia. He was but twelve years old when he succeeded his father, and among the turbulent communities of the East minorities are generally periods of special trial. Troubles began early in the jealousies of the amirs Sevinj (or Sunej) and Choban, the former of whom was his governor, while the latter had acquired great influence through his fifty years' service, and through marrying Abusaid's sister Dulendi. Directly the amirs and viziers were satisfied that Uljaitu's illness was mortal, they sent a message to Abusaid to go in all haste to the Court, hoping he would go without his governor, who, they were afraid, would try to monopolise power, and use it to favour his private ends Summons after summons was sent to the young prince, who was in Mazanderan; but the officers of his household, who were devoted to Sevinj, would not set out without his permission, and sent him word to Radégan of Tus that the Sultan had sent for his son. Suspecting the motives of the amirs, he professed not to believe the bad news, and joined his charge in Mazanderan, and when he heard the Sultan had actually died he did not hasten his steps, hoping to secure a more stable authority for himself, so that he might have the amirs under control. The amirs having duly performed the funeral ceremonies for the dead Khan, each sent a relative to meet the young prince. They encountered him near Bostam. The amirs relied on Choban to counterbalance the influence of Sevinj. That general, on hearing of Uljaitu's death, set out from Bailekan in Arran with his troops, and duly reached Sultania, where the amirs gave him the title of Amir ul umera, or generalissimo. Meanwhile Sevinj dispatched an officer named Zanburi from the neighbourhood of Rai to inquire what was going on, and to sound Choban. He was well received by the latter, by the amirs and khatuns. Having received a reassuring message from his agent, Sevinj went on to the capital with the young prince. Those who were about Abusaid wished Sevinj to be Amir ul umera, but he declined the honour, saying he must devote himself to assure the tranquillity of the empire until the prince was grown up, and

that if he began to dispute about this dignity with Choban, their quarrel would end in civil war. He said he wished rather to remain near the person of the ruler, while if he became commander of the troops he must be away, and lastly that his health was too feeble to enable him to support the fatigue of war. He then went to Abusaid, and told him that though his long services might command that he should be appointed over all the other amirs, he wished to sacrifice his right for the good of the State and the young prince, and he therefore urged the confirmation of Choban in the post. This was before they reached Sultania. Choban met the *cortège* at the head of the amirs, and having dismounted, saluted Abusaid, who came out of his tent to meet him, with several genuflexions, and kissed his hand. They then all mounted on horseback and rode into the city, where the young prince went to see his father's corpse, and gave the funeral feast. After the usual days of mourning, the ceremony of enthronisation was proceeded with.* This took place on the 4th of May, 1317. The ceremony was the same as that gone through at the installation of the Grand Khan. The seven senior princes of the blood seated him on the throne, a form which, according to Von Hammer, was borrowed by the Emperor Charles IV. when in his golden bull he prescribed the ceremonial for the election of an emperor, in which the same *rôle* was assigned to the seven electors, and he suggests that the ceremony may in the latter case have been directly borrowed from the Mongols through the missionaries. Of the seven princes, four held the corners of the felt on which the Khan was lifted up, two held his arms, and the seventh offered him the cup.† Such ceremonials are generally very conservative in their surroundings. We accordingly read that the two noyans, Sevinj and Choban, conducted the Khan to his throne, while gold and precious stones were strewn over his head. This was a very early custom, and still survives in the East in marriage ceremonies, where money is sprinkled over the head of the bride. The various grandees kissed the ground in front of the throne nine times, with their girdles loosened and put about their necks, and their caps in the air to signify that their lives were at the Khan's service. Abusaid adopted the title of Alai ud dunia ved din (*i.e.*, the sublimity of the world and of the faith) Abusaid Sultan.‡

Abusaid was born at Berkui on the night of the 2nd of June, 1304, and was confided to the tutelage of the amir Sevinj and his wife Ogul Kandi. When he was five his father ordered that he should learn to ride, so the khatuns, amirs, &c., assembled before the khaneh or quarter of Sevinj to assist at the ceremony, and to pay honour to the young prince. He mounted at the time fixed by the astrologers, the horse's head was turned towards the East, and a bowl of kumiz was duly poured over its

* D'Ohsson, iv. 599-603. Ilkhans, ii. 252-255. † Ilkhans, ii. 255.
‡ *Id.*, 256. D'Ohsson, iv. 603.

neck and croup. When he was nine, as we have seen, his father nominated him governor of Khorasan. There he continued his studies. He used to go on foot from his ordu to the school, and forbade his masters to rise on his approach. After six months' lessons in writing he wrote, in the year 1314, a letter to his father in his own handwriting, which was taken round to the ordus and the houses of the various amirs and ministers. As we have seen, on his accession he confirmed Choban as generalissimo, and gave the command of the troops in Rum to his son Timurtash, who took with him to superintend the finances the Khoja Jelal ud din, eldest son of the vizier Rashid. Diarbekr he confided to the amir Irenchin, Armenia to Sunatai, while the amir Isenkutlugh was sent to Khorasan to replace Yassaul, who had been killed before Abusaid's accession, as I shall describe in giving an account of the khanate of Jagatai. Ali Shah was nominated as first Vizier, and he was given charge, not only of the grand treasury, but also of the public buildings, the palaces, royal stables, and arsenals. This meant the virtual displacement of Rashid ud din from the supreme control which he had hitherto held.*

The "History of Georgia" tells us that as soon as Giorgi, the King of Georgia, heard of Abusaid's installation he went to the Ordu, where his arrival greatly pleased Choban, who treated him with all the affection of a father for a son. He made all Georgia over to him, with all its mthawars, the sons of King David (*i.e.*, David VI.), the Meskhes, and the sons of Beka. This took place in the year 1318. The Georgi here named was George, the son of Dimitri, known as George V., and he succeeded George the son of David VI., called the Little, whose death is nowhere mentioned, and whose disappearance we only learn from this installation of his successor, George V., styled Brtsqinwalé, or the Brilliant.† The Georgian history describes how he repressed the Ossetes and attacked the tribes of the Caucasus.‡

One of the first acts of the new reign was the arrest of the amir Togmak, who was accused of an intrigue with Kutlugh Shah Khatun Uljaitu's favourite wife. He was presently liberated, however, and Choban made him his lieutenant.§ We have described the rivalry that existed between Rashid ud din and his colleague, Ali Shah. The latter, afraid of Rashid's influence with the mighty amir Choban, tried various plans to discredit him. Their quarrels made the lives of their subordinates embarrassing, since they could not serve one master without offending the other. Three of their leaders, Daial Mulk, Iz ud din Kuhedi, and Alai ud din, asked Rashid's permission to formulate an accusation against his rival, who they offered to show had been guilty of great malversation. As he would not consent, and afraid that he would inform Ali Shah against them, they went to the latter and sided with

* D'Ohsson, iv. 603-605. Ilkhans, ii. 256. † Hist. de la Géorgie, 643, and Note 3.
‡ *Id.*, 645-646. § Hamdullah, notice of Abusaid Khan.

him against Rashid. Ali Shah distributed money freely among the followers of the greater chiefs, in order that they might poison their master's minds against his rival, and one of these, Abubekr Aka, the deputy of Choban, served him so well that Rashid was actually deposed in October, 1317, and left Sultania and went to Tebriz. Sevinj, who disapproved of this, was ill, and he gave it out that when he recovered Rashid should be reinstated; but having followed the Sultan in a litter to Baghdad, he died near that town in January, 1318, lamented by his young charge Abusaid. He was taken to Sultania for burial. In the spring the Court set out for Sultania, and when it arrived near Tebriz Choban summoned Rashid, who had retired to that town, and wished to replace him at the head of affairs, saying that his talents were as indispensable to the State as salt was to meat. Rashid excused himself. "My career has been a long one," he said, "and I have been Vizier longer than anyone. I have thirteen sons in the public service. I wish to devote the few days that remain to me to my eternal salvation." Choban would not be persuaded by these excuses. He said he intended to speak to the Sultan, and that he was going to get his diploma as Vizier prepared. Pressed in this way, Rashid ud din consented to be again reinstated. Ali Shah and his creatures, the members of the Divan, no sooner heard of this than they recommenced their intrigues, and began to bribe the officers of the great amirs, and notably Abubekr aka, the confidante of Choban, who promised to work his ruin with his master. The conspirators now accused Rashid ud din of having administered a draught to Uljaitu which had caused his death, and it was further said that the cup with the potion had been administered by Rashid's son, Sultan Ibrahim, who was cupbearer. This is the story told by Mirkhavend. Sakkai gives us some details which show what foundation there was for it. He says that being summoned for trial before Choban, Jelal ud din, son of Harran, a doctor who had attended Uljaitu, was accused of poisoning the late Sultan. He said that Uljaitu suffered from a violent indigestion, accompanied by great diarrhœa and frequent vomiting. In concert with the other doctors he had prescribed an astringent medicine for this complaint. Rashid was of a different opinion, and urged that the complaint was really due to gluttony, and he prescribed a laxative, which increased the diarrhœa, and thus the Sultan died.* At this trial the accusers were Togmak and the amir Iz ud din Talib, surnamed Dilkandi, who accused both father and son. They were condemned to death by the Sultan. Juskeder, a small town near Tebriz, was fixed as the place of execution. Khoja Ibrahim, a youth of beautiful figure and an amiable disposition, was executed before his father's eyes. Rashid himself was then put to death, saying before he died: "Tell Ali Shah that he sheds the blood of a man who has never

* Quatremere, op. cit., xxxvi.-xliii.

done him any harm, but that I shall be avenged." Hardly had he spoken these words when Dilkandi cut him in two. Dilkandi, who was a relative of Ali, gladly accepted, we are told, the office of executioner, in order to avenge the death of Taj ud din. The quarter of Tebriz built by Rashid, named Raba Rashidi, including his house, was given up to pillage, and his family were seized as slaves by the first comers. All his lands and goods, and those of his sons, were confiscated, even those he had devoted to pious uses. His head was taken to Tebriz, and carried about the town for several days amidst cries of "This is the head of the Jew who has dishonoured the word of God; may God's curse be upon him." One account says that he was dismembered, and that his limbs were exposed in various places, while his body was burnt; but it would seem that he was buried at Tebriz, near the mosque which he had built there, for we are told how, a century later, Miran Shah Mirza, Timur's grandson, when governor of Tebriz, and after he had become partially demented, had his bones exhumed and buried in the Jewish cemetery.* Quatremere has examined the story of his having been a Jew, which is reported by Sakkai and others, and was evidently widely believed, and has shown that it is in all probability baseless, and due to his having, among his other researches, interested himself in Jewish history, &c. Rashid tells us himself that his father was a zealous Mussulman, while his grandfather was a friend of Nasir ud din, of Tus, which would be incredible if he had been a Jew.†

Thus, on the 17th of Jamada the First, 718, terminated, at the age of 73, the career of Fazlallah, son of Abulkhair, son of Ali, the physician, philosopher, historian, the author of Ghazan's famous code of laws (*kanun*), the greatest vizier of the Ilkhan dynasty, and one of the greatest men the East has produced, to whom the students of Eastern history are under immeasurable obligations. The famous college which he built, and which was known as the Rashidia, bore this enigmatical inscription: "It is more difficult to destroy this beautiful building than to build another." Besides his famous history, he was also the author of exegetical, geographical, and mathematical works. These he wrote, as he tells us, during the two earliest hours, from the morning prayer till sunrise—the only two hours he could spare in the morning from his exacting duties to the State.‡ A few days after Rashid's execution, the amir Isen Kutlugh arrived from Khorasan, and reproached the amirs warmly, and asked them how they hoped to benefit by putting to death an old man so near his grave. Isen Kutlugh died almost directly after, which, like the death of Sevinj, seems suspicious. The chief instruments in Rashid's downfall speedily met with retribution. Dilkandi having plotted with Zenburi and some others to assassinate the amir Choban at the gate of the palace, was seized and

* Quatremere's Rashid, xliv. † *Id.*, v.-viii.
‡ Ilkhans, ii. 259-261. D'Ohsson, iv. 608-612.

executed, and Zenburi was sent to Asia Minor to Timurtash. The vizier Ali Shah was naturally exultant, and we are told by an historian of Mekka, Taki ud din Fasi, that among the treasures of the Kaaba were two gold rings, each weighing 100 miskals, and enriched with six great pearls and six rubies. These were offered by Haji Bulavaj in the name of Ali Shah in the year 718 of the HEJ. He had vowed to suspend them at the door of the Kaaba in case he overthrew Rashid.*

News arrived at this time that Uzbeg, Khan of Kipchak, was marching towards Derbend at the head of a numerous army, and that an Egyptian army had entered Diarbekr. This action, which was doubtless concerted, was probably induced by Abusaid's youth. It was decided in a grand council that the amir Irenchin should defend the last province, that the Sultan in person should oppose Uzbeg, while the amir Hussein was sent against Yassaur, who had revolted in Khorasan. Hussein halted at Rai to await reinforcements, since Yassaur had twice as many men with him in Mazanderan. On the arrival of reinforcements, he continued his advance in spite of the snow and severe cold, but learnt at Damaghan that Yassaur had retired. The latter's forces had been exaggerated, and had caused some alarm at the Court, and Choban himself had determined to advance into Khorasan. Having reviewed his army near Bailekan, he was about to move on when he heard that Uzbeg Khan had already arrived at Derbend, and that the amir Taremtaz, who had gone to oppose him, had returned again to the Ordu. The Sultan had only a thousand men-at-arms with him, and an equal number of servants, muleteers, and cameleers. He advanced, notwithstanding, to the Kur, where he ranged all his tents in a line to make believe to the enemy encamped on the other bank that his forces were much larger. As soon as Choban heard of his master's danger he hastened with 20,000 men from Khorasan. Before his arrival Uzbeg's army had withdrawn. He pursued it and captured many prisoners. On his return he was much praised by the Sultan, but the officers who had withdrawn before the enemy was in sight were severely punished. Some were bastinadoed and others degraded by order of Choban, who afterwards, as we shall see, suffered from the effects of their revenge.†

Soon after the accession of Abusaid there was a succession of serious troubles in Khorasan, caused by the ambition of the Jagatai prince, Yassaur, above named, who had been granted an important appanage by Uljaitu, and who now aspired to a much more important position. I have postponed a notice of these matters till the next volume, when the history of the Jagatai princes at this time is related. Here it will suffice to say that Yassaur, after a protracted struggle, in which Ghiath ud din, the ruler of Herat, bore a prominent part as an ally of the Ilkhan, was compelled to

* Quatremere, op. cit., xlv.-xlvi. † D'Ohsson, iv. 613-614.

withdraw to his appanage, and eventually killed there by his relative, Kepek Khan, of Jagatai, who had an old grudge against him. On the retreat of Yassaur from the neighbourhood of Herat, Ghiath ud din sent a mollah to the Court, which was then in Arran, to report what had happened. Choban ordered 50,000 dinars to be sent to the malik as a mark of the royal munificence, and issued an edict excepting Herat from the payment of all taxes for three years, and made over to Ghiath ud din all the domains of the maliks of Khavaf, Esfizar, Tulek, and other chiefs who had sided with Yassaur; made over to him also all the free people and slaves he had captured from the son of Bujai, placed the amirs of the Nigudarians under his authority, and attached to his Court the archers (*charkh endazan*) of Khorasan.* We read in the history of Herat that the malik Kutb ud din Esfizari was on very bad terms with Ghiath ud din. He had tried to bribe the officers of Abusaid to invest him with the district of Esfizar, and not having succeeded, had obtained from Ghiath ud din the title of commissary (*mubashir*) in that country. When Yassaur occupied that district with 5,000 men he broke out into open rebellion against the ruler of Herat, shut himself, his family, and partisans in the citadel, and tried to surprise the fortress of Abkal. In this he failed. Meanwhile the amir Ali Khototai, who governed Esfizar on behalf of Ghiath ud din, besieged him in the citadel. He now appealed to Inaltekin, chief of Ferrah, who promised to send 10,000 men to his assistance. Thereupon the ruler of Herat arrived within a parasang of Esfizar with a large army, and proceeded to invest it. Inaltekin arrived about the same time, but deemed it prudent to withdraw again, leaving only 4,000 men behind. Without leaders, they were attacked by Ghiath ud din. They were dispersed; many of them fled to the mountains, and 2,000 of them, perishing with hunger and fatigue, were made prisoners. Ghiath ud din ordered them to be exposed in chains under the walls of the citadel in order to intimidate the rebels. It did in fact discourage them, disunion broke out among them, and they agreed to surrender at discretion. Kutb ud din was duly tried and condemned to the bastinado, which he underwent in the middle of the Cheharsu. Many of his accomplices were put to death with torments. The rest were amnestied at the prayer of some venerable sheikhs, and some of them were sent to the tile works in Herat. Ghiath ud din appointed his nephew Muhammed, son of Alai ud din, governor of Esfizar, making Khototai his naib, or lieutenant.† Notwithstanding his ruinous wars and other occupations, Ghiath ud din greatly beautified Herat, which had been much neglected since the reign of Muhammed, son of Sam, and had become in parts ruinous. Able architects were employed to restore it, and it soon became finer than before. A medresseh (or college) was built to the north of the

* D'Ohsson, iv. 629-630. † Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 499-501.

great mosque, which was called Ghiathiah. A hall of reception (*bargulah*) was also built north of the citadel, and some skilful painters were employed in decorating it. On its western wall they represented the victorious army of Abusaid, and on the other Yassaur fallen and in the midst of a crowd of corpses, a scene which was not long in being realised. Ghiath ud din also erected beautiful baths near the ditch of the citadel. Two caravanserais and a bazaar, which extended from the citadel, reached to the Chehar Su ; a cistern and a caravanserai not far from the mosque of Tereh Furushi. He also caused many towns and fortresses to be renovated.*

Let us now turn again to Abusaid. His youth encouraged insubordination among his officers, who showed their temper during the campaign against Uzbeg. The Ilkhan complained to his old friend and supporter, Choban, who had a grudge against one of the most important of them, viz., Kurmishi. He ordered him and others to be bastinadoed. It would seem that the amirs who had charge of this punishment contented themselves with inflicting a few light blows only. Choban, having heard of this, had him stripped, and the punishment repeated more seriously. At a feast which took place some time after, when the amirs drank to one another, Kurmishi offered the cup kneeling to Nejm ud din Abubekr, one of Choban's chief nawabs, who excused himself from kneeling in return on account of his age, which added to Kurmishi's irritation.† The latter now formed a plot with Ghazan and Buka Ilduzdi, who had also suffered corporal punishment. "He wishes to dominate over us. Our fathers never marched under the banners of his ; they were, on the contrary, their superiors in rank. Rather death than have him for our master." They accordingly determined to assassinate him. When Abusaid returned to Sultania, Choban, having dismissed his troops, went to his summer quarters in Georgia. Leaving his oghruks in command of his son Hussein, he set out for Gukché Tenguiz. (Wassaf says for his summer quarters of Akseran.) The conspirators, deeming the opportunity favourable, pursued him with a troop of picked cavalry. One of them, Kara Toghai, however, informed him of what was taking place. He was taken aback, and sent some officers to make inquiry. They were seized and put to death. He was for waiting quietly until their return, but was persuaded to leave at nightfall with two amirs. He intrusted his camp to Togmak, but scarcely had he left when his troops began to plunder it, and were joined by Togmak, who had been offended because the daughter of the amir Irenchin, whom he had courted, had been by Uljaitu's orders married to Dimashk Khoja, the son of Choban. Several of Choban's officers were killed in the *melée*. Hasan, another son of Choban, had gone to his father's rescue with 500 horsemen. They were pursued by

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., 501-502. † Ilkhans, ii. 274.

Kurmishi, Mama Khoja, Sati son of Timur, Kia, &c., with 20,000 men. A terrible struggle ensued on the Blue Lake, near Nakhchivan, in which Mama Khoja was killed, and Aghrukji and Kurmishi were wounded and had to retire. On the other hand, Choban himself was wounded, and fled, accompanied by only fifty horsemen. He was pursued by Hali Uruz (called Aras, Togmak's brother, by Hamdullah), with 300 men, but he was not overtaken.* This is Wassaf's account. The continuator of Rashid says that Choban and his small escort passed by a party of people roasting a sheep in the midst of a meadow, and were asked to partake, but they sped on. Togmak, an officer of Kurmishi, who was following the fugitives with fifty men, having arrived at the same place, accepted the invitation. This gave time to Choban to escape. When he reached Nakhchivan Choban asked help from the malik Ziai ul Mulk, who excused himself and merely gave him some provisions, conduct for which he was afterwards severely reprimanded, and he would have been put to death if he had not bought off the penalty by a payment of 100,000 dinars. The vizier, Ali Shah, who was at Tebriz superintending the building of a mosque, behaved very differently. No sooner did he hear of Choban's danger than he went to rescue him with a body of well-armed horsemen. He met him at Merend, and escorted him to Tebriz, where the people declared for him; but he did not delay there more than a day, and hastened on to Sultania. In passing Aujan he ordered Siyurghatmish and Kublai to defend this post, and to send daily intelligence of the movements of the enemy.† We read how at this time the Princess Kordojin, who held the government of Fars, sent a present of standards, drums, led horses, tents, and armour to the Sultan, who rewarded her by giving her the title of Terkhan, which exempted her from the payment of all taxes.‡

Meanwhile Kurmishi and his companions persuaded the amir Irenchin, who was a Kerait, like Kurmishi himself, to join them. He had become an enemy of Choban's since the latter had deprived him of the government of Diarbekr and given it to Sunatai. Wanting to have it believed that they were acting in the name of Abusaid, they showed everywhere a false order of that prince commanding Irenchin and Kurmishi to kill Choban and those whom they found with him. Many distinguished people, deceived by this artifice, joined them. From their camp between Nakhchivan and Tebriz, they sent word to Abusaid that Choban had revolted, and that they were obliged to march against him. Their messenger arrived at Sultania before Choban, and put up with Sheikh Ali, son of Irenchin, who was a great favourite of Abusaid. Sheikh Ali at the first impulse was for killing Dimashk Khoja, son of Choban, but postponed his purpose until he could make fresh inquiries. Ali Shah arrived the following morning, and had an interview with Abusaid, whom

* D'Ohsson, iv. 630-632. Ilkhans, ii. 274-275. † *Id.*, D'Ohsson, iv. 632-633.
‡ Ilkhans, ii. 275-276.

he informed of the falseness of the report, and praised the great services of Choban, who himself speedily arrived at Sultania and exposed the designs of his enemies. The rebel amirs had arrived near Tebriz, intending to plunder that city to satisfy their troops; but after second thoughts deemed it better not to begin by irritating the people, so they passed it by. On approaching Aujan, Siyurghatmish, feeling unable to resist them, retired upon Sultania, where he gave the alarm. Abusaid marched against them. He commanded the centre of his little army, Choban commanded the right wing, and Yassaur, with the grand amirs, Kerenj, Alghui, Satai, Sheikh Ali Behadur, and Siyurghatmish, the left, where was also Kara Sonkor with a body of Egyptians. On the side of the enemy were Kunjuk, the daughter of the Ilkhan Sultan Ahmed, with her husband Irenchin, who commanded the centre; on the right were Kurmishi and his sons, and on the left Togmak, Uruz, and other leaders. When the Sultan was a day's march from the rebel army, Kutlugh Shah Khatun, daughter of Irenchin, begged him to halt while she sent some officers to persuade her father to submit. The Sultan accordingly halted at Zenjan; but on the return of the officers with the report that they had not been able to persuade Irenchin, he continued his march. The next day the enemy was seen in the distance, near the village of Minare'dar. Wassaf says in the place called Miane, near the village of Minareh. The troops on each side passed the night on horseback. Kutlugh Shah Khatun now made another attempt to persuade her father to submit, promising that he would obtain mercy. "In that case," said Irenchin, "the Sultan has only to unfurl his white standards; this shall be the signal for peace and pardon." The princess told Abusaid, who the next day ordered the white banners to be unfurled. On seeing this, Irenchin, inflated with arrogance, thought Abusaid was afraid. Summoning Kurmishi, he told him the imperial troops could not resist their first charge, and they advanced, deeming themselves certain of victory and of empire. Thereupon Abusaid caused Sheikh Ali, Irenchin's son, a young man of very prepossessing appearance, to be beheaded, and ordered his head to be exposed on the end of a lance, crying out, "Thus perishes whoever is the Sultan's enemy." Irenchin, on seeing this head, rushed upon the foe, regardless of his great age. Several warriors fell under his blows and those of his wife Kichik (or Kunjuk, as Von Hammer calls her), who followed him, sword in hand, excelling the bravest warriors in valour. The two armies joined issue—father fought against son, brother against brother. Abusaid's men began to give way, when he charged in person, and his officers followed his example, and the enemy was routed. The amirs Uruz, Hasan, Hussein, Tamuk, Sighaneh, Seli, Begtimur, and Karauna were killed in the fight. Irenchin himself was captured in the village of Kiaghidkunan, and was put to death by the guards; so were Kurmishi and Togmak. One of Kurmishi's sons fell with his father, the

other fled to Uzbeg, the Khan of Kipchak. Wusdadar, son of Irenchin, a giant in size and courage, was put to death with the sons of Togmak and other amirs. Some were cleft in four, others placed in pans of burning naphtha. The princess Kunjuk, in accordance with the yasa of Jingis Khan, was stoned to death. Her naked body was then thrown out on the road, and was trodden under by horses and cattle.* This is apparently the account given by Wassaf. In the continuation of Rashid we are told that only four amirs escaped from the fight—Kurmishi, his son Abd ur Rahman, Buka Ilduzji, and Choban Karaunas. All the rest were either captured or killed. A tent was pitched on the field of battle, and when the Sultan had returned thanks for his victory the prisoners were brought in. Aras and his relatives were put to death at once, but Irenchin, Togmak, and Issenbuka were reserved for a more ignominious end. They were conducted to Sultania, and hung up to hooks, and wood fires were lighted below them. Their relatives, friends, and clients were also put to death, as were other people who lived far away, and were accused of being their partisans. The four amirs above-named were arrested by Sunatai, who had set out, on hearing of the outbreak, from Diarbekr for the royal ordu. He killed three of them at once, and sent Kurmishi to Sultania, where he shared the same fate.†

The Egyptian historian Novairi has another story. Under the year 719 HEJ. he reports how the vizier Taj ud din Ali Shah, having preceded Choban to the Court, vaunted his excellences, and said that his enemies were moved only by envy and ambition, and that they wanted to destroy him merely to reign in his stead, and that the amir Irenchin thought he had a claim to the throne, as he belonged to the Imperial stock. Abusaid thereupon allowed Choban to return, and he went to him in sackcloth and tears, saying, "They have killed my principal officers, men whom I have selected for your service; they have appropriated the moneys I have amassed by your bounty. I have lost the consideration which your favour had surrounded me with. If you wish for my death, I am here; I am only one of your slaves." Abusaid said he was far from wishing him any harm, and knew the motives which had impelled the rebels to rise both against himself and him. Choban then asked for troops with which to fight the rebels, and 10,000 men, commanded by the amir Taz, son of the noyan Kitubuka, who had perished at Ain Jalut, were confided to him, while the Egyptian Kara Sonkor presented himself with 300 horsemen, armed *cap-à-pie*, in the Egyptian fashion. Abusaid marched in person at the head of his military household, so that Choban might be assured that he was fighting for him and not for his enemies. Meanwhile Kurmishi, Irenchin, and Togmak had pursued Choban to Tebriz, whose gates were closed by the citizens; but its commander, El Haji, went out

* Ilkhans, ii. 276-277. † D'Ohsson, iv. 636-637.

to meet them with an offering of meat and drink, and provisions for their men. They demanded 70,000 dinars from him on account of the gates having been closed, and also of its people having, at the instance of the vizier, Ali Shah, gone out to welcome Choban. They left the same day and went towards Mianét, passed Zenjan, and met the Imperial forces near a village called Minaré. Irenchin, at the sight of the Imperial standard, was taken aback; but Kurmishi urged that they must fight, as Abusaid was really their friend. The two armies being ranged opposite one another, Kurmishi shouted out to Choban to show himself, as he wished to go and make his submission to him. Having unfurled his standard, Choban took the precaution to withdraw. Kurmishi made a terrible charge, expecting to find the general near those defending the standard. The struggle was very fierce. The amir Taz and Kara Sonkor both showed great bravery. At length Irenchin and his people took to flight, and the greater part of the rebels passed over to the other side. Irenchin, Kurmishi, Togmak, his brother, and other officers were captured and taken to Sultania. Taken before a military council (*yargu*) and interrogated about their revolt, they replied unanimously that they had acted by order of Abusaid. Kurmishi said to Choban, "Yusuf Beka and Muhammed Herzeh came to me from Abusaid to engage me to attack and kill you." Choban summoned the two men just cited, who confirmed the statement. Abusaid denied it and said that they lied, and ordered that they were to be treated as men who had calumniated their sovereign. All were condemned to death according to the yasa of Jingis Khan. Thereupon Irenchin drew a paper from his portfolio, and said to Abusaid, "See the order you gave me to kill Choban." He then cast reproaches upon him, presuming on the fact that he was uncle to the Sultan's mother. The Sultan denied the accusation, and said to Choban, "Act towards them in accordance with the yasa; they have rebelled against me and you." Choban had them accordingly executed. He began with Irenchin, whom he hung by his sides to iron hooks. While in this position he cursed Abusaid with terrible imprecations. They tried to cut out his tongue, but as they could not seize it they thrust an iron spear under his chin, which traversed his palate. His body was exposed naked for two days. Eventually his head was cut off and promenaded about Khorasan, Azerbaijan, the two Iraks, Rum, and Diarbekr. Kurmishi and Togmak were hung from hooks.

Novairi reports these facts from the history of the Sheikh Alem ud din el Berzali, who heard them from the Sheikh Muhammed, son of Abubekr el Kattan, of Irbil, who came from Damascus. He adds others from the statements of a merchant named Alai ud din Ali, who was at Sultania when the tragedy occurred. The latter said that about thirty-six amirs were put to death, and their goods appropriated by Choban, who thus recouped his losses. The body of Irenchin was, according to him, exposed for

three days, and with him were hooked Togmak and his brother Ersemeh, as well as the amir Bektut. The next day Yusuf Buka, Bektut's brother, and the amir Yumai, suffered the same fate. Two sons of Togmak, only seven years old, were put to death on the third day. On the fourth, Vefadar, son of Irenchin, who was only fifteen. Ali, another of his sons, had perished in the battle. His head was thrown to his mother, Kichik, daughter of Sultan Ahmed, son of Abaka, who took part in the fight, and was captured and trodden under horses' feet, by order of Abusaid. Kurmishi was put to death on the seventh day. His chin was first shaved, and a painted cap, called *turtu*, was put on his head. He was promenaded with nails inserted in his body through the town of Sultania, and conducted before Choban, who had him killed with volleys of arrows. Kutlugh Shah, son of Irenchin, and one of the widows of Uljaitu were condemned to death by Abusaid, on the charge of having poisoned his father. Her life was spared at the intercession of the vizier Ali Shah, who married her to Khoja Damashk, son of Choban. The amir Taz married the widow of Togmak, and succeeded Kurmishi in command of Taberistan. The bodies of those put to death were all burnt.* The report of the Egyptian historian that Abusaid had something to do with the revolt was perhaps not altogether an invention, and it may well be that, wanting to rid himself of the patronage of Choban, he incited what he was afterwards afraid to support.

Von Hammer, apparently following Wassaf, tells us how the vizier, Taj ud din Ali Shah, having been the first to break through the enemy's ranks in the late fight, was given the juldu, which in the Mongol hunters' phrase was the best portion of the quarry, viz., the back, head, fore and hind feet, and the skin, and which was given to the one who first wounded the game. In his case this was the harem of Irenchin. Kutlugh Shah, the latter's daughter, the widow of Uljaitu and stepmother of Abusaid, he made over to the amir Pulad Kia. Ilghi, the widow of Togmak, was first given to a man of middle-class station. She redeemed herself from this disgrace by a payment of 5,000 gold pieces, and then married the amir Siyurghatmish. In consequence of Abusaid's conspicuous bravery in the battle, the title of Behadur was added to his name in public documents. Wassaf, the historian, wrote a kassidet on the victory.† It would seem that the rebels had sympathisers elsewhere, and especially in Rum, where several amirs, viz., Kurbuka, the brother of Issen Kutlugh; Berbai, brother of Sai Noyan; Muhammed, son of Budin Noyan, and others, broke out in rebellion, and committed various depredations for eighteen days, until the news of the Sultan's victory arrived, when they quarrelled with one another. Those who were not killed in this struggle were put to the sword by Timurtash, son of Choban, who then governed Rum.‡

* D'Ohsson, iv. 637-642. Note. † Ilkhans, ii. 277-278. ‡ *Id.*, 277.

After the events above described Abusaid set out for his country quarters at Karabagh, in Arran, and Choban received a new proof of his favour. His wife Dulendi, sister to Abusaid, whom he had married in 1304, had died, and he begged Abusaid to give him the hand of his other sister, Sati beg, which was accorded to him, and the marriage took place on the 6th of September, 1306.* The following year Abusaid was delivered from a turbulent neighbour, the Prince Yassaur, at the hands of the Khan of Jagatai, as I shall describe in a later volume. At this period there was great suffering in the southern provinces of the empire. Diarbekr, Mesopotamia, and Kurdistan were, during the year 1318, ravaged by famine. Many of their inhabitants emigrated, and others perished of hunger and disease. Dead bodies were eaten; people sold their children, the price of boys varying from five to fifty dirhems. They were for the most part purchased by the Mongols, and as it was forbidden for Mussulmans to sell their children, the mothers declared that they were Christians. The towns of Mardin, Jeziret ul Omar, Mayafarikin, Mosul, and Irbil, were largely depopulated. Irak Arab also suffered. The first cause of the misfortune, which began in Diarbekr and Sinjar, was the passage of a flight of locusts. The drought in the spring of 1318 aggravated the evil, which went on increasing till the spring of 1319, when it was at its height. In August, 1320, there was a hailstorm at Sultania, in which the hail was of exceptional size, one piece weighing eighteen dirhems. This hailstorm killed many cattle. It was followed by a great inundation in the town. The panic was general, and the divine pity was invoked. The doctors of the law, on being consulted as to the cause of the visitation, attributed it to the oppression and tyranny that prevailed, and especially to the existence of wineshops and houses of ill fame near the mosques, colleges, and monasteries. Abusaid accordingly ordered taverns to be suppressed in the kingdom, and the tavern keepers had to take all their wine in hogsheads to the foot of the castle, and we are told more than 10,000 of these casks were collected there. Thereupon the vizier, Ali Shah, came with his employés, and the barrels were duly emptied into the ditch, which was certainly a large experiment in enforced total abstinence. The casks were burnt, and the fire lasted two days. Novairi says he took the story from the history of Alem ud din el Berzali, surnamed El Moctafi, who related it on the authority of a merchant of Mosul, who was at Sultania, and passed on to Tebriz, where he tells us the streets ran with wine, as they did at Mosul, to which he afterwards repaired. At this time Abusaid also abolished the tax on grain.† About the year 1320 a prince of the Golden Horde, named the amir Asghir Oghlan, who was brother of Uzbeg Khan, seized and fortified himself in a strong position in Karabagh, a northern province of Persia, bordering

* D'Ohsson, iv. 641-642. † *Id.*, iv. 644-646.

on the Caspian. Abusaid sent the amir Pulad Kia against him with 10,000 men, who speedily killed the intruder.*

On his accession, Abusaid informed the Egyptian Sultan of his desire to see a firm peace established with that country, and received assurances of a similar kind in reply ; but the welcome continually offered in Persia to Egyptian refugees, greatly irritated the Egyptian Court. The amir Hosam ud din Mohanna, who, on the death of his father, Sherif ud dia Yasa, in 1284, had been invested by Kelavun with the government of the Syrian Bedouins, had not dared to pay his respects to Nasir after having assisted the rebel amir, Kara Sonkor ; and, although the Sultan had shown him every consideration, and sent him letters and presents, given him new fiefs, and distributed largess to his sons and relatives, he was not more submissive. Nasir accordingly, in May, 1316, conferred the command of the Syrian Bedouins on Shuja ud din Fazl, brother of Hosam ud din, and decked him, as was customary, with a robe made of satin of Mardin, embroidered with fur. Hosam ud din then went to Irak Arab, to the ordu of Uljaitu at Baghdad, who rewarded him handsomely, granted him an appanage, and gave him permission either to settle in his dominions or to leave. He preferred to return to Syria to reconcile himself with the Sultan, who, in May, 1317, re-established him by letters patent. Nasir asked him to pay him a visit, but he feared to go. He also suspected the largess which Nasir had caused to be distributed among the Bedouins, his subjects. Abulfeda tells us that in the year 1319, Fazl, son of Mohanna, son of Isa, went with a present of Arab horses to Abusaid and his patron Choban, by whom he was invested with the fief of Bassora in addition to the fiefs he held in Syria.† We saw how Homaiza, Prince of Mekka, was frustrated in trying to recover his patrimony, and was obliged to escape to the Bedouins.‡ He remained for some time in the Hijaz. Presently the Egyptian Sultan sent two officers to summon him to his presence. He asked for money to defray the journey, which they gave him. Thereupon, however, he fled. A year later (*i.e.*, in the spring of 1318) he surprised Mekka, whence he drove his brother Abulgaith, and substituted the name of Abusaid for that of Nasir in the Friday Prayer. Homaiza was assassinated by one of his own slaves in 1320.§

When Nasir, in 1320, ordered an invasion of Cilicia, Hosam ud din thought the expedition was directed against himself, and migrated a second time. He again went to Irak Arab with his relations and their clients of the tribe Al Fazl. The Sultan thereupon ordered the sequestration of the fiefs belonging to the fugitives, and nominated the amir Shems ud din Muhammed, son of Abubekr, chief of the Bedouins, and ordered all the family of Mohanna to be driven out of Syria.‖ Nasir

* Ilkhans, ii. 284. † Op. cit., v. 323. ‡ Ante, 572. § D'Ohsson, iv. 585-586.
‖ *Id.*, iv. 646-648.

retained a violent hatred for Kara Sonkor, and tried to have him assassinated. He sent thirty Ismaelites, or "Assassins," to Tebriz in 1320 upon this errand. They were put at his service by the head of the Ismaelites of Syria, who lived at Massiat. One of them having betrayed the rest, several of them were seized and put to death. This did not prevent one of the survivors, however, from attempting Kara Sonkor's life when he was one day riding in the neighbourhood of his camp. At the news of this attempt there was a general alarm, and it was feared the Ismaelites intended killing, not only Kara Sonkor, but also the Sultan, Choban, Ali Shah, and the principal Mongol officers, and Abusaid secluded himself for eleven days. Choban summoned El Majd Ismael es Sélami, agent of the Egyptian Sultan, and said to him: "At one time and another you have brought us presents, and you hope that we shall live at peace with the ruler of Egypt. This is that he may more easily put an end to us by means of the Ismaelites." He had him seized and threatened to put him to death, but he was released by the vizier, Ali Shah. News now came that an Ismaelite had tried to poniard the governor of Baghdad, but had failed, and having been pursued had committed suicide. This had such an effect upon Choban that he determined to propose a treaty of peace with Egypt. An envoy was nominated to go and treat, and Majd es Sélami was sent in advance to announce the fact. Orders were issued to the governors of Damascus and Aleppo to go and meet this envoy, and to treat him with the honours due to his position. The conditions which he offered for a treaty of peace were that the Egyptian Government should employ no more assassins (*fidaviyet*) in the Mongol territory; that it should not demand the extradition of fugitives who had gone to settle in the dominions of Abusaid, who in return was not to ask for the extradition of his own subjects similarly placed; that the Arabs and Turkomans should not be encouraged to invade the Mongol territory; that there should be free intercourse between the two kingdoms, so that traders might pass freely from one to the other; that the pilgrim caravan should be allowed to go freely every year from Irak to Mekka, bearing a standard with the name of the Egyptian Sultan upon it, and another with that of the Sultan Abusaid; and that the extradition of Kara Sonkor was not to be asked for. Nasir having summoned his council, it was decided to agree to a peace on the terms proposed, and presents were ordered to be prepared for Abusaid. The fact of his having prohibited the use of strong drink, and ordering the drink to be poured out on the ground, and that those who evaded the order were to be put to death; that houses of ill fame were closed, and singers and dancers expelled, that the taxes levied on foreign merchants were suppressed, the churches near Tebriz destroyed, and the mosques restored, all made the Egyptians more favourable to this pact. Nasir was not to be outdone in rigour by the Mongol chief. He also forbade the sale of fermented liquors, and ordered

them to be poured away, closed taverns, and redeemed those whose lives had been devoted to prostitution.*

Abulfeda has preserved some special details of these negotiations, and names several embassies as having passed between Abusaid and the Sultan. The first was led by Maj ud din Ismal Salameti. It took splendid presents, mamluks, girls, &c.† In 1321 a second embassy went from Timurtash, son of Choban, who was then governor of Rum.‡ The next year the Sultan sent a return embassy under Atamish Nasir.§ Fresh envoys went on behalf of the Mongols in 1323.‖ In December of the same year, Abulfeda himself was in Egypt when the more famous embassy above referred to arrived there. He tells us it had two leaders—Tughan on behalf of Abusaid, and Hamza on behalf of Choban—and Tavashi Rihan, the kharendar (*i.e.*, the treasurer), was charged with the imperial gifts. They were all present at a grand feast, at which the amirs and mamluks were dressed in magnificently decorated robes and caps, among whom the Sultan was conspicuous by his simple costume. Abulfeda says he saw the presents they brought, which consisted of three noble chargers of the cross between Arab mares and Persian stallions called ikdish, whose saddles were decorated with Egyptian gold plate, inlaid with precious stones; three saddle girths made of gold tissue, inlaid with gems, and a sword with a sheath made of the same costly materials; also striped cloth, with golden threads interwoven; a splendid girdle similarly embroidered; and eleven sumpter camels bearing chests covered with Persian cloth. There were also 700 pieces of cloth with the name and titles of the Sultan interwoven. The Sultan accepted the gifts, and conferred robes and other marks of his favour on the envoys, who two days later were invited to take part in the famous feast held on the day of the great Mekka sacrifice, and which was celebrated with great pomp. The envoys were then decorated with golden girdles, and we are assured that altogether the Sultan spent upon their entertainment more than 100,000 dirhems. The envoys were then sent home again.¶

In 1322, Timurtash, the son of Choban, who was governor of Rum, revolted, coined money, had the Khutbeh recited in his own name, and gave himself out as the Mahdi, who was to appear at the end of the world. He sent envoys to inform the Egyptian Sultan that he intended to conquer Persia, and asking for his help. Choban, when he heard the news, was naturally taken aback, and asked to be allowed to march against his son, whom he promised to bring to the foot of the throne if he should freely submit, and if not, undertook to bring his head. Although it was winter, and Choban was suffering from gout, he set out. Timurtash prepared to resist his father, but was urged by the magistrates and clergy to submit. He accordingly did so. Choban had him bound, and took

* D'Ohsson, 648-652. † Op. cit., v. 345. ‡ *Id.*, 347. § *Id.*, 351.
‖ *Id.*, 355. ¶ *Id.*, 357-359. Ilkhans, ii. 285-286.

him with him to the Sultan, who pardoned him for the sake of his father, and reinstated him in his command. Several of the counsellors of Timurtash, however, were put to death.* About this time we read that Kutlugh, the daughter of Abaka Khan, made a pilgrimage to Mekka, and was treated with great honour *en route* by the Egyptian officials.† The negotiations with Egypt, above-mentioned, led to a peace, which was duly ratified in 1323 by Abusaid, and published from the pulpit at Tebriz. The Egyptian amir Itmish returned to Cairo with the treaty, which was ratified by the oath of the Sultan and of the vizier Ali Shah, while an envoy of Abusaid went to Cairo to receive Nasir's oath, and from this time frequent embassies passed between the two rulers. In making peace with Egypt, Abusaid interposed his good offices on behalf of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which had been terribly ravaged by the Egyptians.‡

We have seen how, on the murder of Leo IV. and his uncle Haithon, in 1308, Oshin, Haithon's brother, was appointed king of Little Armenia. He was duly consecrated at Tarsus, and reigned till the year 1320, and was succeeded by his son Leo V.§ As he was only ten years old he was under the tutelage of the Bailiff Oshin, who married his mother, Joan of Sicily, and who caused him to marry his daughter. The treaty with Egypt having nearly expired, the Armenian King asked for its renewal on the same terms; but Nasir insisted on the restitution by the Armenians of several places they had appropriated under their strong ruler, Lachin, and as they would only surrender one of these fortresses the Egyptians entered Cilicia under the amir Shihab ud din Karttai, governor of the province of Tripoli. After crossing the Jihan, in which about 1,000 horsemen were drowned, these troops divided themselves into several bodies, which ravaged the country for some days, and retired with their booty. This was in June, 1320. The King and the Bailiff Oshin wrote to the Pope to implore the aid of Christendom. John XXII., who was then Pope, replied that the sovereigns of Europe were at war with one another, and could not therefore help him, but that he would himself send some troops to their aid. But before their arrival Nasir, who had heard that Leo proposed to arm Europe against Egypt, took a cruel vengeance. At his instigation Timurtash entered Cilicia, when an attack from the Mongols was unexpected, took Sis, the capital, and advanced as far as the maritime stronghold of Aras, ravaged the country, killed many people, and carried off a number of prisoners. After which a Turkish amir named Omar pillaged the unfortunate land, opening the tombs to find treasure, and throwing the bones found in them into the fire. He burnt the standing corn and that in the magazines, carried off the cattle, and retired, after a raid lasting for twenty-five days, with the

* D'Ohsson, iv. 658-659. Ilkhans, ii. 288-289. Abulfeda, 355-357.
† Abulfeda, v. 355. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 659. § Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 385.

spoils of Little Armenia, which was then again invaded by the Egyptians. They captured several towns, burnt Adana, razed its citadel, captured a rich booty there, and carried off 20,000 prisoners. Meanwhile the various Armenian grandees, instead of uniting together, were engaged in mutual quarrels.

On hearing of these terrible events, the Pope addressed a general brief to the Faithful, exhorting them to aid the Armenians with men and money, ordered solemn prayers in all the churches, and collections for those who would take the cross. He sent Leo a sum of money with which to raise troops, and sent a letter to Abusaid, dated from Avignon on the 13th July, 1322, in which he told him how his ancestors, who had been friendly to the Christians, had always been the allies of the Armenian kings, and had supported them against the Turks and other enemies, and begged him to do the same and to aid the king of Armenia, whose enemies had invaded a portion of his kingdom and appropriated the rest. The Pope went on to exhort the Ilkhan to embrace Christianity, on which subject he wrote him a special letter, dated on July the 12th. In this he recalled the ancient friendly relations which had existed between Abusaid's predecessors and other Christian rulers. "We remember having been often told that your ancestors, illustrious by their magnanimity, have sent envoys at various times to show their veneration for the Roman Pontiffs and the Apostolic See, and that they were on friendly terms also with the kings of the Franks and other Christian rulers, who had received these envoys in a friendly fashion. These kings and your ancestors mutually honoured each other with gifts and presents. You will complete your meritorious qualities if you also will send envoys to us and the Holy See, and if you will renew the friendly intercourse with our dear son in Jesus Christ, the illustrious king of the Franks. We rejoice in God, and desire you may always do what shall be pleasing to the Lord." These letters are both subscribed with the name Boyssethan, a corruption of Bu Said Khan.* The Pope, by a Bull dated the 1st of May, 1318, had founded an archbishopric at Sultania, to which he appointed Francis of Perusia, a Dominican who had already preached the faith in the East. He confided to the new archbishop the charge of all the subjects of Abusaid who were Catholics, as well as those inhabiting the country ruled by Kaidu, and the Kings or Princes of *Ethiopia and India.* He appointed six Dominicans to be his suffragans, and they received orders to proceed at once to Persia. Francis of Perusia resigned his archbishopric in 1323, and was succeeded by William of Ada; but the Christians in Persia had latterly, and since the conversion of the Mongols to Muhammedanism, greatly fallen from the state of prosperity in which they were during the reigns of Khulagu, Abaka, and Arghun.†

* D'Ohsson, iv. 660-663. Abulfeda, v. 349. † D'Ohsson, iv. 663-664.

Leo, the Armenian king, had himself asked the aid of Abusaid, who sent 20,000 men to his help, and also begged Nasir to make peace with him; but before the arrival of the Mongol troops a band of plunderers entered Cilicia from Asia Minor, pillaged and burnt the town of Ayas, and committed great ravages in the country. Shortly after, Constantine, the patriarch of the Armenians, went to Egypt, and obtained from Nasir a treaty of peace for fifteen years. It had been concluded when the Mongol troops reached Cilicia.* In the year 1328-29, Leo rid himself of his patron, Oshin, who is called the Lord of Kurk by Abulfeda, and was duly installed as King of Armenia. It was certainly a sad spectacle to the eyes of Christendom when the young king was constrained to accept investiture from the Egyptian Sultan, who sent him a royal robe, a sword, and a charger. Having kissed the ground in honour of his Muhammedan protector, who sent the amir Shahib ud din Ahmed to invest him, he sent presents back by him to Egypt.†

We will now revert more immediately to the Ilkhan and his people. Choban, his famous general, who had occupied such a prominent position for so long, was now at the height of his prosperity. We read how at this time his wealth was greatly increased by a curious means. It seems that when the Mongols overran Kurdistan under Khulagu, Choban's father secured as a prize Naz Khatun, the daughter of the ruler of that country. The judge of Hamadan, in order to please Choban, now produced a number of grants of land, &c., which professed to have been made by this princess, and urged that as she had become his father's slave, this property, or the reversion in it, belonged to him. He thus secured a large property in the neighbourhood of Kazvin, Kharkan, and Hamadan; and it also came about that people who were displeased with their landlords, professed that they had formerly occupied under the Khatun Naz. This was deemed a sufficient title, and thus properties worth thousands of golden pieces were disposed of for quite a few, for fear that some claim might be set up to them on behalf of the Khatun Naz. The vizier Ali Shah tried to stop these iniquities, and claimed on behalf of the Treasury to have the real title to these reversions. To settle matters, he offered Choban 200,000 gold pieces for all his claims.‡ Meanwhile, however, the Vizier died. This was in the beginning of 1224. He was the first Vizier of the Ilkhans who had ended his life by a natural death. He was buried in the Great Mosque at Tebriz, which he had founded, and which is still the largest and finest in the city. Abulfeda says he bound together the Tartars and Mussulmans (*i.e.*, the Mongols and Egyptians) by numerous embassies. Abusaid was greatly attached to him, and went to see him when he was ill, and the ablest doctors were summoned to attend him. His authority was divided between his two

* D'Ohsson, iv. 664-665. † Abulfeda, v. 381-383. ‡ Ilkhans, ii. 289-290.

sons, Ghiath ud din Muhammed and Khalifeh, who speedily quarrelled. The officers of the Divan took sides with one or the other, and their quarrels became so violent that they were both dismissed, and only saved their heads by the sacrifice of the great fortune which their father and they had accumulated through many years. The post of Vizier was then conferred on Rokn ud din Sain (Hamdullah calls him Malik Nuzrat ud din Adil Nessavi, and says he took the title of Sain Vizier), whose grandfather had been inspector-general of the forces of Muhammed Khuarezm Shah. Rokn ud din himself was a *protégé* of the amir Choban. Having gained over the latter's officers, he persuaded them to urge on Choban that it had always been the custom for the most powerful amirs to secure the viziership for one of their clients. Thus, in the reign of Arghun, Ordukia had secured the post for Said ud devlet; under Gaikhatu, Toghachar for his *protégé*, Sadr ud din; under Ghazan, Nurin Aka for Said ud din Sanji; and under Uljaitu, Hussain Gurkan for Ali Shah. "As our master is not inferior to these amirs, it is seemly that he appoint Rokn ud din Sain." Choban accordingly nominated him, but he was not long in proving his incapacity.*

Choban had long determined to revenge the invasion which Uzbeg, the Khan of the Golden Horde, had made some time before. He accordingly in 1325 broke through the pass of Derbend, and advanced as far as the Terek, whence he returned with many captives and much booty.† He was now going to feel the usual reverse of fortune that overtakes rapid promotion in the East. His position to the outside world must have seemed almost unassailable. He had successively married two of Abusaid's sisters, was everywhere acknowledged as the head of the amirs, while his own *protégé* was Vizier; but "the night," as the Arab proverb says, "is pregnant, and brings forth many things ere dawn." Abusaid, who now was twenty years old, had conceived a great passion for his beautiful niece Baghdad Khatun, the daughter of Choban, who was the wife of one of the greatest amirs in the country, viz., Sheikh Hassan. According to the yasa of Jingis Khan, the sovereign could always claim the wife of any of his subjects if she took his fancy, and Abusaid would have been well within the law in claiming Baghdad Khatun for himself; but Choban, relying on his great power and authority, and forgetting how entirely beyond control and direction such passions are, fancied that absence and time would cure Abusaid's fancy. He professed to take no notice of what he had heard, and persuaded Abusaid to go and pass the winter at Baghdad, while Sheikh Hassan and his wife were sent to Karabagh. When the young prince reached Baghdad his passion seemed to grow upon him. He seldom left his tent, and saw hardly anyone. Choban in vain tried to distract his attention by hunting parties. Abusaid

* *Id.*, 290. D'Ohsson, iv. 665-666. Abulfeda, 359-361. † D'Ohsson, iv. 666-667.

took no pleasure in them. One day Choban took the liberty of asking him the cause of his depression. Abusaid turned his complaints upon his son Dimashk Khoja, who was very extravagant and dissolute. Choban summoned and reprimanded him for his ill behaviour. Dimashk replied that he was well aware the prince's sentiments towards himself were changed, and he attributed it to the intrigues of the Vizier. "I have learnt from an undoubted authority," he said, "that this ungrateful man, who owes his fortune to us, has urged upon the Sultan that the amir Choban and his family dispose of the kingdom as they please, and that no one else has any power." As a matter of fact, the Vizier, who had been given the title of Nuzret ud din, and who was incapable of managing his department, was jealous of the authority of the family of Choban, and seized every opportunity to vilify them to the Sultan. He told him they absorbed all the revenue, and that even what little money came to the Treasury could not be spent without their interference. That he (the Vizier) had not power to dispose of a single dinar, and that the Sultan had better put a stop to these usurpations before it was too late. These repeated attacks aroused Abusaid's jealousy, and as whenever he went out on horseback, he was followed by a crowd of suppliants demanding justice, he imputed the public distress to the ill-conduct of the Chobanians.*

It was feared that in the spring the Jagatai Mongols would renew their invasions of Khorasan, which was bare of troops. Towards the end of winter Choban set out for that province, accompanied by the Vizier and by the generals Ekrenj (or Okrunj), Issen Kutlugh (Von Hammer says Mahmud, son of Issen Kutlugh), Muhammed (brother of Ali Padishah, uncle of Abusaid), and others, leaving the control of the Court in his absence to his son Dimashk Khoja. Choban was met *en route* by the kielenters (or calendars) and the kiotvals (*i.e.*, the governors of the towns and fortresses) bearing presents, and went on to Herat, where he was met by an officer sent by the Great Khakan in China bearing a robe of honour for him and the title of Amir ul Omera of Iran and Turan, and a letter full of praise of his administration. Choban sent this envoy back again with magnificent presents for the Khakan. Termésherin, the Khan of Jagatai, now crossed the Oxus, but was defeated near Ghazni by the amir Hussein, son of Choban, as I shall describe in a later chapter. After plundering Ghazni, Hussein rejoined his father at Herat. This campaign took place in the autumn of 1326.†

Meanwhile, as we have said, Dimashk Khoja remained in charge of affairs at the Court. He allowed himself to be controlled by four dissolute favourites, and during the winter of 1326, while the Court was at Baghdad, committed all kinds of excesses, appropriating the wives and children

* D'Ohsson, 667-669. Ilkhans, ii. 292-293. † D'Ohsson, iv. 669-670. Ilkhans, ii. 293-294.

as well as the property of the citizens. In the spring of 1327 the Court returned to Sultania, where his excesses continued. The famous traveller, Ibn Batuta, who was then travelling in Persia, has preserved us an interesting account of what followed. He tells us that the Sultan was much galled at the tutelage in which he was held by Choban and his family. One day one of his father's widows, Dunia Khatun, said to him: "If we were men we would not allow Choban and his sons to occupy the positions they do." Abusaid asked what she meant to convey by these words. Upon which she replied that the assurance of Dimashk had reached the point when he even dared to have connection with the Sultan's stepmothers. The very night before, he had passed with Thaghy or Taki Khatun, and had sent word to herself, "I will spend to-morrow night with you." "Collect the amirs and troops, and when he goes up to the citadel secretly to pass the night you can have him arrested." Abusaid was much enraged, and followed this advice. The citadel was duly surrounded, and the next morning Dimashk was leaving it, accompanied by a soldier named Alhaj al Misri (*i.e.*, the Egyptian pilgrim), when he found that the door was blocked by a chain, which stopped his horse. His attendant struck the chain with his sword and broke it. The two then went out together. One of the Sultan's amirs, named Misr Khoja, and a eunuch named Aka Lulu, killed him, and took his head to the Sultan, who trampled it under the hoofs of his horse, and orders were given to pillage his house.*

Other authorities give more details. Thus we read that the intrigue which Dimashk carried on was in the harem of Taki Khatun, with Kunkutai, one of the concubines of Uljaitu, Abusaid's father. Abusaid took counsel with the amir Gunjuskat (his maternal uncle), Narin Togai, and Tash Timur. Dimashk was duly watched by spies and was seen to go to visit Kunkutai, and orders were given to kill him. Knowing this, he remained in the palace where she lived, and tried to persuade the military chiefs to side with him, but none of them would do so, and the next day siege was laid to the citadel. Meanwhile the heads of a number of highwaymen who had been caught and decapitated were brought into Sultania. The Sultan had it declared that those were the heads of Choban and his clients, who had been killed at Herat. (Von Hammer says of the murderers of Choban.) This rumour having reached Dimashk, he left the citadel with ten followers, cut his way through the troops, and fled on a swift horse he had reserved for such an occasion; but Lulu Aka, who went in pursuit of him, overtook him at the village of Virdgan. Misr Khoja, who followed him, arrived with orders to put him to death. Lulu Aka was loth to do this, as Dimashk was a person of such importance, whereupon Misr made a journey to the Sultan and speedily

* Ibn Batuta, ed. Defremery, &c., ii. 117-119. Ilkhans, ii. 295.

returned with his ring, which was accepted as ample authority. Dimashk Khoja was now decapitated, and his head exposed on one of the gates of Sultania. This was on the 25th of August, 1327. His four favourites were treated in the same fashion, and his goods were given up to pillage. Dimashk left four daughters: 1. Dilshad Khatun, who married Abusaid and afterwards Sheikh Hassan, by whom she had two sons, Kematdin Todan and Sultan Uveis. 2. Sultan bakht, who married the amir Ilkan, son of Sheikh Hassan, and afterwards Masud Shah Inju. 3. Dendi Shah, who married the Sheikh Ali Kushji, and became the mother of the amir Missir Malik. The fourth was called Alem Shah.*

Abusaid now felt the necessity of crushing Choban before he had time to take revenge. It was decided at a council that letters should be written to the amirs Ekrenj, Issenkutlugh, Nuruz, and others, on whose fidelity he could rely, to announce the punishment of Dimashk, and ordering them to put Choban to death before he heard of it, and to inform them that an army was on the march against Choban's sons, Timurtash and Sheikh Mahmud, who commanded the troops in Rum and Georgia respectively, and that orders had been issued to put the Chobanians to death wherever found. This letter was sent by a trustworthy person. On his arrival at the head-quarters in Khorasan the generals held a council. Accustomed to look upon Choban as their absolute master, and intimidated by his authority, they determined to go to Badghiz, and to inform him of what had occurred. They showed him the Sultan's order, with which they professed to be indignant, and promised to be faithful to him and to assist him in revenging himself. When they had withdrawn, Choban summoned his son Hassan and others to a consultation. "Inasmuch as Abusaid has become our enemy," said Hassan, "we have no other appeal than that to arms. But let us be on our guard against these amirs who now promise us their devotion. It would be better, in order to save our lives, that they should be executed. Khorasan is in our hands, and we dispose of the revenues of Kerman and Fars. Let us march against Abusaid. Timurtash is master of Rum, Mahmud of Georgia; we will surround him with our armies." Choban disapproved of this advice. He thought he had nothing to fear from the amirs or anyone else in the kingdom. He had taken the Vizier with him, so that he should no longer poison the mind of the Sultan against Dimashk Khoja, and remembering all at once the conduct of that minister, he had him summoned and put him to death, thus avenging his son.† When his forces were united, he found himself at the head of 70,000 men, with whom he marched upon Irak. Abusaid also assembled an army. Directly they heard of the death of Dimashk, Sunatai, governor of Diarbekr, Devlet Shah, Ali Padishah, and other frontier commanders,

* D'Ohsson, iv. 671-672. Ilkhans, ii. 294-295. † D'Ohsson, iv. 672-675.

made for the Royal Ordu with their forces. Abusaid set out from Sultania, and encamped on the plain of Kazvin. When Choban reached the holy city of Meshed he made the generals renew their oath of fidelity to himself. He advanced thence as far as Simnan, his troops committing terrible ravages on the way without his interfering. At Simnan he went to pay a visit to the Great Sheikh Alai ud devlet (the "Shajrat ul Atrak" calls him the Sheikh Rokn ud din Simnani), and again assembled his officers in the presence of that holy prelate, and bound them by a fresh oath. He took the Sheikh with him, and charged him to negotiate peace for him with the Sultan. He was to tell the Sultan that he had grown old in his service, and could not remember having committed any crime which should bring upon him the Sultan's anger. If Dimashk deserved death, the Sultan was too just to include his innocent father and brothers in his punishment; but he had been told that Dimashk had been put to death by some officers without the Sultan's consent. If it were so, he begged him to send him these officers that he might have them tried, and then treated as the Sultan should himself desire. He told the Sheikh, in addition, to see each one of the amirs and viziers, except two or three whom he regarded as the authors of his son's death, and try and gain them over. The Sheikh, having received these instructions, set out. Abusaid received him with great honour, rose at his approach, and gave him a seat beside himself. After a pious exhortation, he opened his commission, and pressed the Sultan, for the sake of peace, to hand over to Choban the authors of the recent troubles, and to pardon him. The Sultan replied, in the presence of all the officers summoned to the audience: "The arrogance of Dimashk Khoja, the ambition and power of Choban and his sons, exceed all measure. I have for a long time borne the authority which they arrogate to themselves, in the hope that they would behave differently and remember what my ancestors did for them; but the more patience I have shown, the greater has been their audacity. They have illtreated my principal servants; they have dealt with the revenue as they liked. These are the reasons that have moved me, but if Choban wishes sincerely to regain my goodwill, if he will come to me alone I will assign him a retreat where he may pass the rest of his life in works of piety. If not, the sword shall decide between us." The Sheikh renewed his exhortations in an eloquent speech, filled with citations from the Koran and Mongol aphorisms. He answered the amirs who argued against him, and tried to pacify them with the charm of his words. At length these officers said to him, "If the Sultan forgives Choban he must send us all, with our heads and beards shaven, into a country where he cannot follow us, for if he comes back here he will make an end of us." The Sheikh, seeing that argument was useless, now left.

Choban continued his march, and his troops behaved worse than an enemy's army would have done, and reached Kuhar, or Kurha. Abulfeda

calls the place Sari Kemash. Hamdullah says it was at Ibrahim Abad, on the confines of Rai. The place was only a day's march from the Sultan's camp. Several of the amirs, such as Chichek (the maternal uncle of Abusaid), Muhammed beg, Niknuruz, and others, seeing they were going to fight on behalf of a karaju, or subject, against a sovereign prince—a serious breach of all good citizenship, according to Mongol morals—abandoned Choban in the middle of the night with 30,000 men, and went over to Abusaid. In the morning, when he discovered this desertion, feeling he could not rely on his other officers, he regretted bitterly not having followed his son's counsel, and determined to retire at once towards Khorasan with his wives and relatives. He accordingly set out by way of the desert, abandoning his rich baggage, which was pillaged by his people. The amirs Ekrenj and Mahmud Issenkutlugh, who had been so much compromised, remained faithful to him, but the greater part of their troops went over to the Sultan. Truly, as De Guignes says, a man in disgrace has few friends. After a flight of three days he reached Saveh, and seeing that his wife Satibeg, the sister of Abusaid, with another of his distinguished wives, Kordojin, could not go with him, he told them to go to Abusaid. Satibeg took with her her son Shiburgan Shireh, who was named after the Sulduz who had saved the life of Jingis on one occasion, and from whom Choban claimed to be descended. Choban took with him his other son, Jelaukhan, whom he had by Dulendi Khatun, also a sister of Abusaid, and went towards Tabs with some horses and dromedaries laden with boxes filled with jewels. At each station he lost some of his following, and presently had only seventeen persons with him. He intended passing into Turkestan, but when he reached the Murghab he changed his mind, and determined to go to Herat to the Malik Ghiath ud din, with whom he had long been on friendly terms. In vain it was pointed out to him that Herat had already proved fatal to Nuruz and Danishmend Behadur, who were both similarly circumstanced to himself, and that it would be better to go to China, India, or Rum. He persisted in his resolution, and sent one of his officers, named Dulkandi, to have an interview with the malik, and followed himself. Ghiath ud din received him kindly, but presently received a letter from Abusaid, ordering him to put his guest to death, and promising to reward him with the hand of the Princess Kordjin and with the domains of the atabegs of Fars. On learning Choban's plight, Abusaid had dispatched Togai, the son of Sunatai, in pursuit of him with 2,000 men. He went as far as Saveh, when he turned back on hearing that Choban had fled into the desert. He returned with the two princesses above-named. Meanwhile the two generals, Ekrenj and Mahmud Issenkutlugh, had deemed it wise to send in their submission to the Sultan, who deprived them of their commands, but restored them to them some time later. His letter to the malik of Herat had put that

prince in a great difficulty. He, on the one hand, was unwilling to break the laws of hospitality, and, on the other, was afraid of disobeying his suzerain. After long deliberations with his counsellors, his personal interests carried the day. He sent Choban the order he had received, and had him arrested. Choban reproached him with ingratitude, and begged him to postpone his death for a while, but to send word to the Ilkhan that his order had been executed. Fearing, however, he had already done too much to escape Choban's revenge if the latter escaped, he remained firm. He also refused his request to give him an interview so that he might commit his last wishes to him, and ordered the executioners to proceed with their work. Choban now summoned his son Jelaukhan, whom he embraced closely, amid tears. He then sent his last wishes to the malik: First, that he would not have his head sundered from his body, since he had been guilty of no crime; but had, on the contrary, rendered the State great service. If proof of his death was needed, he asked that one of his fingers, the nail of which was very long, should be sent. Secondly, he asked that Jelaukhan should be conducted to the Sultan, who would, no doubt, have compassion on his youth and innocence. Lastly, he desired that his body might be laid in the tomb which he had built for himself at Medina. He then said a namaz of two rek'ats, and having repeated the profession of the Faith, gave himself up to his executioners, who strangled him. The officers of his suite were also put to death.

During these events, which had caused Abusaid great anxiety, he retained his passion for Baghdad Khatun, and now deputed the Grand Judge, Mobarek Shah, to demand her from her husband, Sheikh Hassan, who was constrained to surrender her, and having waited the time prescribed by law, which was three months, under the direction of the Kadhi, he gave a magnificent feast to his new bride. The finger of Choban was taken to him in November, 1327, when he was at Karabagh, and was suspended by his order in the market-place of the Royal Ordu. Shortly after, Ghiath ud din, the malik of Herat, set out for the Court. He learnt at Rai that Baghdad Khatun, Choban's daughter, had become the Sultan's wife, which news fell upon him like a thunderbolt. He sent word back to Herat to have Jelaukhan, who was a youth of rare beauty, put to death.* When he reached Karabagh he was admitted to prostrate himself before the Sultan. Baghdad Khatun—who was surnamed Khudavendigar in Persian (*i.e.* sovereign)—had already gained great ascendancy over Abusaid, and she would not permit him to carry out his promises to the Malik until the latter had brought the corpses of her father and of Jelaukhan from Herat. After having again washed and laid out the bodies, and said the funeral prayer for the repose of their souls, she had them sent by the caravan

* Both Ibn Batuta and the author of the Shajrat ul Atrak say his mother was Satibeg.

which went to the Hijaz. The Sultan set aside 40,000 dinars for their transport. The two bodies made the usual circuit about Mekka with the pilgrims, and accompanied them in the other prescribed processions. On the great day of sacrifice, after the divine service, all who had repaired to the Kaaba from the various countries of Islam, made a common prayer for the soul of the amir Choban, imploring God's pardon for his sins, and especially since he had made an aqueduct to convey water to Mekka; while they heaped curses on his murderer. The bodies were then conveyed to Medina, and buried near the tombs of the khalifs Osman and Hassan. This is one account. Ibn Batuta says he was not buried in the mausoleum he had built himself near the mosque of the Prophet, but in the Baki cemetery at Medina.

Choban was a pious and courageous man, and had shown great fidelity to his sovereigns, the Ilkhans. Among other monuments of his goodness are quoted the inns he had built on the route to Syria, which, we are told, surpassed everything of the kind which had ever been made by the Cæsars and the Chosroes (*i.e.*, the rulers of old Rome and Persia). Raynald quotes a brief addressed by Pope John XXII. to the noble Zoban Begilay, by which name, as D'Ohsson says, it is probable that Choban Beïlerbeg is meant. It is dated from Avignon, the 22nd of November, 1321. In it he says that he had learnt from the Minorite friars, James and Peter, who had taken him presents, that Choban had treated the Christians living in Persia well, which gave him hopes that his eyes would be opened to the light, and that he would be delivered from the error of his former life to the knowledge of God. He begged "His Prudence" to continue to protect the Christians, and recommended the two friars, who were on their way to the Khan's dominions, to work for Choban and the people subject to the Khan.*

Choban had nine sons. The eldest, Hassan, was governor of Khorasan and Mazanderan. Hassan's eldest son, Talish, had charge of the provinces of Ispahan, Kerman, and Fars. When Choban fled from Rai, Hassan and Talish went to Mazanderan, where they would have been captured by the troops but for the generosity of a friendly grandee, who supplied them with horses and provisions, a generosity which cost him his life. The two fugitives reached Khuarezm by way of Dahistan. Closely pursued, they had lost a portion of their escort every day, and were reduced to five individuals when they were overtaken by seven horsemen, of whom they wounded three with their arrows. Eventually they reached Khuarezm, and were well received there by Kutlugh Timur, who governed the province on behalf of Uzbeg, Khan of the Golden Horde. Uzbeg himself invited them to his Court, and treated them with honour, and they marched some time after with an army supplied them

* D'Ohsson, iv. 675-685. Ilkhans, ii. 295-300. Abulfeda, 369-371. Ibn Batuta, ii. 121.

by that prince against Majar and the Circassians, where they gained much renown. Hassan, however, was wounded in the campaign, and died shortly after his return to Uzbeg's Court, leaving, besides Talish, two other sons, Haji Bey and Kuch Hussein. Talish died a natural death; the other two came to violent ends. Haji Bey was poisoned by his cousin, the Little Hassan; while Kuch Hussein was killed by Suliman Khan.*

Timurtash, the second son of Choban, was governor of Rum, where he attacked the Karamanians, and pushed his conquests as far as the Mediterranean, which the Mongol arms had never previously reached, and fought by turns with the Greeks and the rebellious Turks. He had set out from Egerdür, or Egridur, on the 22nd of August, 1327, leaving his family and baggage there, while he had dispatched a body of 5,000 men under Eritai, to attack Kara Hissar. Meanwhile, a courier arrived at Egridur from Diarbekr with the news of Dimashk's death. He was sent on to Eritai, who left at once to rejoin Timurtash and to convey the news to him. He found him attacking the town of Bugurlu. Timurtash kept the news secret, but left in the course of three days, and arrived on the 13th of October at Egridur. There he disbanded his army, keeping only 5,000 men with him, with whom he went to Cæsarea, where he waited some days impatiently expecting news of his father (Von Hammer says five days, D'Ohsson says fifty); but all the routes to Persia were closed, and strange rumours were abroad. He presently left for Sivas. At Nigdur or Nigdui, situated seven parasangs from Sivas, where he spent the night, he received a message from Timurbuka, his agent, who was at the Court on business, telling him of his father's flight, which frightened him. He returned at once to Cæsarea, uncertain what he ought to do. Several of his officers suggested he should shut himself up in a strong fortress until he could appease the Sultan's anger, and regain his good opinion by promises of fidelity. Timurtash was for following this advice, and selected some rich articles to present to Abusaid. Then, reflecting that he had small hopes of reconciling a prince who had put his brother to death and driven away his father, he sent a messenger to the Egyptian Sultan to ask him if he would give him shelter. Meanwhile, he distributed his officers among the fortresses of Rum, and selected that of Kuh Larenda for himself. The Sultan Nasir received his messenger courteously, and told him his armies, treasure, and country were at the service of Timurtash. The latter, after some indecision, selected some rich presents, levied a heavy contribution from the people of Rum, and left Cæsarea on the 22nd of December, 1327, with his treasure and 700 picked young horsemen. In seven days he reached the fortress of Larenda on the Syrian frontier, where he would have delayed for further

* D'Ohsson, iv. 685-686. Ilkhans, ii. 300-301.

news, but was obliged to move on by lack of provisions and forage. When he reached Behesna, the first town in Syria, the commandant and magistrates went out to meet him, and pigeons were sent to Cairo to announce his arrival, and thenceforward he received a maintenance of 1,500 dinars daily. The governor of Aleppo went out a league from that town to welcome him, and supplied him with twenty post-horses, and told him the Sultan was so anxious to see him that he wished him to hasten on. At Damascus, the generalissimo of Syria went out to the Grand Square to meet him, and they embraced each other on horseback. The Sultan sent his cupbearer as far as Ghazzat with a mihmandar, some tents, &c., and when he neared Cairo the amirs went out to meet him. He reached that city on the 21st of January, and an amir duly conducted him to the Sultan, who was at Jizet, on the other side of the Nile. Timurtash kissed the ground three times before the Sultan, who made him seat himself beside him, addressed him some friendly words, and asked him about matters. He clothed him in a splendid state robe embroidered with gold, and gave him also five Bedouin horses, with saddles and bridles decorated with gold and silver. He then took him out hunting. They crossed the Nile together, and Timurtash was lodged in the palace of Chaoli in the fortress of Cairo. The next day he was presented with fresh robes, a turban, a golden girdle, and a sword. His establishment was maintained on a splendid footing at the expense of the Sultan. Timurtash's presents arrived three days after himself, and consisted of one hundred saddled horses, eighty Bactrian camels, five mamluks, and five parcels of beautiful robes, one of which inclosed a splendid satin dress, decorated with superb stones. The Sultan would only accept this dress, a horse, and a string of camels. He ordered his chamberlain to seat Timurtash on the right of the throne below the amir Seif ud din el Malik, and, hearing that he was discontented with this position, he told one of his officers to make his excuses, and to say that the Sultan did not know his exact rank, but he had seated him amongst his father's old friends, to whom he owed his own elevation, which satisfied him. Some days later the Sultan reviewed the suite of Timurtash, consisting of 700 horsemen, whom he distributed among his amirs, permitting ninety of them, at the request of his guest, to return again to their own country. Timurtash himself was given the command of the Mamluks, who had formerly been led by Sinjar el Chomakdar. His family had been left behind in a strong fort in Rum. Nasir wrote to his vassal, the prince of Karamania, to have them sent on to Egypt. On this message being sent to them, they replied they had no wish to go to Egypt, and the Karamanian chief's son declared that this reply had been secretly dictated by Timurtash himself, who, he added, had shed much innocent blood and put many Mussulmans to death; and that, judging from his audacious character, he could have no other motive in going to

Egypt than to seize its throne. This letter was sent to Egypt by Nejm ud din Ishak, the Rumian Lord of Antakka, a fortress which Timurtash had captured. Nejm ud din accused that amir of having killed his father, and demanded vengeance upon him. This message and these reports aroused the Sultan's suspicions. He informed Timurtash of them, and ordered both parties to clear themselves in the presence of the amirs. At this trial it was decided that the father of Nejm ud din had been killed in a fight. Nejm ud din himself was sent back with Nasir's answer to the Prince of Karamania, but the Egyptian ruler retained a suspicion that his guest had some sinister design against him.

A month after Timurtash reached Cairo, a letter arrived there from Abusaid, which contained friendly sentiments, explained how Choban had been put to death on account of the design he had formed against himself, and of his unbridled assumption of authority. The Sultan questioned the messengers who brought this note about Timurtash. They said they had not heard anything about him until they arrived at Damascus. Nasir sent them to see him, but he did not wish to see them. Nasir himself had meanwhile sent a friendly note to Abusaid, informing him of the arrival of Timurtash, and that he had given him asylum, since he thought it better for the interests of the Ilkhan that he should be a guest at a friendly Court; to which Abusaid replied that he hoped he would no longer give him shelter, that it was very inconvenient for criminals to find protection from one country in another, and that it encouraged desertion, and he begged him to surrender him. Meanwhile, Nasir had sent him two embassies, one openly, through which he asked Abusaid to send the family of Timurtash to Egypt, while the other asked for a secret interview, and explained that the other embassy was merely formal, that he had no other wish than to satisfy Abusaid, even against his own interests, and that Timurtash was at his disposal. Abusaid replied that he had already sent Abaji as his envoy to demand the extradition of the fugitive, which would alone satisfy him. Nasir accordingly summoned Timurtash to his presence on the 5th of July. On his arrival at the palace he was deprived of his sword, which had not been done before. The Sultan said to him, "You have asked us to send for your family, while you have secretly instructed them not to leave the territory of Abusaid. This proves you are not sincerely attached to us." Timurtash, seeing the Sultan meant him no good, remained silent. He was taken to prison and put in chains. His chief officers were arrested, and his mamluks distributed among the amirs. Abaji, or Ayaji, Abusaid's envoy, offered to see him conducted to Persia if he were supplied with an escort; but Nasir, thinking that Timurtash would perhaps secure pardon, through the intervention of Baghdad Khatun and the vizier, Ghiath ud din Muhammed, who was an old friend of his, and would not fail to try and revenge himself upon him for the affront he had put upon

him, said that as the Kurds infested the roads on the way to Persia it was better he should put him to death, and that Abaji should take his head with him. "The Sultan ordered me to bring him alive," was the reply. "What I wish to do is in the interest of Abusaid as it is of my own, for I have taken a careful gauge of my prisoner." He accordingly sent some of his people at night with Abaji to put Timurtash to death. Abaji presented himself respectfully before the son of Choban, and seeing he remained silent he said to him, "Amir, you are a man, and liable to human vicissitudes; resign yourself to the will of God." "I am a man," said Timurtash, "and I believe I have proved it. I know the decrees of the Eternal are irrevocable, a good reason why we should submit without grief. But why have you come? Is it to conduct me alive before my sovereign, or to see me put to death here?" Abaji replied that he had been ordered to take him to Persia. "I suffer terribly from the weight of my chains," said Timurtash, "cannot you relieve me a little? O, Abaji, I committed a grave fault in coming here. I ought to have gone to my sovereign, and if he had condemned me to death I should at least have died at the feet of his charger." Abaji then withdrew, and Nasir's men completed their work. This was on the 22nd of August, 1328. His head, stuffed with straw, was put into a box and confided to the son of Abaji, who reached Aujan on the 13th of September, and who conveyed a letter from Nasir in these terms: "Having observed the conduct of Timurtash, and having penetrated the secrets of his heart, I was convinced that his existence would prove pernicious to you and me. I have exposed myself to universal blame to prove my attachment and friendship, for they will not fail to accuse me of having neither generosity nor humanity; but when the evil doers in both countries see the perfect agreement between us our Courts will not serve as asylums for them, and they will be less disposed to foment troubles between us." Timurtash left four sons, Sheikh Hassan Kuchuk (*i.e.*, the Little), Malik Asraf, Malik Ashar, and Misser Malik.* In reference to this tragedy Hamdullah quotes the apposite lines:—

He who seeks shelter with Amr in his distress
Is like one who seeks shelter from the fire in the burning sands.

Nasir, in promising to surrender Timurtash, had asked in return for the extradition of Kara Sonkor, which Abusaid refused, notwithstanding the counsel of his advisers; but he was relieved from embarrassment by the death of that turbulent Egyptian at Meragha a few days before the arrival of the head of Timurtash, whereupon he thanked heaven that he had abstained from the ungenerous action which had been pressed upon him. On hearing of the death of Kara Sonkor, Nasir said, "I had hoped that he would have fallen by my own sword." During the rest of his reign, Abusaid remained on good terms with Nasir. They styled each

* D'Ohsson, iv. 686-697. Abulfeda, v. 379-380.

other brother, and frequent embassies passed between them. Those of Nasir's traversed the country of Abusaid with their escorts, and with music playing and banners flying. One of these envoys named Timurbuka went to Cairo in 1328 to ask for one of the Sultan's daughters for his master, Abusaid. The envoy took with him a large sum of money to pay for the usual feasts given at betrothals, so sure was he of the success of his plans; but the Sultan excused himself on the ground of his daughter's youth, and said when she was grown up the request should be granted. The envoy did not return home by the way he went, but passed through Hamath. Abulfeda was then prince of Hamath, and this account forms the penultimate paragraph of his famous annals.*

As a proof that this friendship was genuine on the part of the Sultan, may be quoted a truculent act committed by him in the year 734 HEJ. Yasaur, a Mongol chief, of whom Abusaid was jealous, went on a pilgrimage to Mekka, and the Ilkhan urged Nasir to put him to death, as he might drive him from the throne, and thus put an end to the good understanding between Persia and Egypt. Nasir hoped, in the first instance, to persuade the sherif Rumeitha to put him away; but, as he would not, he urged Bursbogha, the leader of the Egyptian caravans, to carry out this purpose. He bribed a Bedouin to do the deed, which was duly carried out on the second feast day, outside Mekka, during the ceremony of the casting of the stone. To remove suspicion from himself when the murderer fled to the mountains, he had him pursued by his mamluks and cut in pieces.†

When Dimashk Khoja, Choban's third son, was killed, Abusaid sent an army against another of his sons, Sheikh Mahmud, who was the governor of Armenia and Georgia. He was seized and put to death at Tebriz, and left four sons—Pir Hussein and Shirun, who were poisoned by Sheikh Hassan Kuchuk; and Chamargan and Dua Khan, who were killed by the amir Ilkan, son of Sheikh Hassan Buzurg. The amir Hassan, Timurtash, Dimashk Khoja, and Sheikh Mahmud, were all own brothers of Baghdad Khatun, the favourite wife of Abusaid, by the same mother. Jelaukhan, killed at Herat, and Shiburgan were sons of Choban by Dulendi Khatun and Satibeg respectively, who were both daughters of Uljaitu. Besides these, Choban had three sons, whose mother is unknown, viz., Siukshah, Yaghibasty, and Nuruz.‡

After the death of Dimashk Khoja, who had been intrusted with the vizierate in the absence of Nusret ud din, who had gone to Khorasan with Choban, as we have mentioned, his post as Vizier was jointly held by the Khoja Ghiath ud din Muhammed, son of the great vizier Rashid ud din, and a grandee of Khorasan, named Alai ud din Muhammed; but the latter was displaced in the course of eight months, in May, 1328, and

* Vide op. cit., v. 383-385. † Weil, iv. 379-380. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 699-700.

appointed controller-general of the finances. Ghiath ud din, who was a man of great ability and a zealous Mussulman, devoted himself to his duties with zeal, put the finances, which since his father's death had been in great disorder, straight again, and greatly encouraged agriculture. We are told he made himself loved even by the enemies of Rashid ud din, who, instead of being punished as they expected, received only kindnesses from him; and several learned men dedicated their works to him.* Hamdullah, who praises him in hyperbolic terms, says he refrains from giving his titles—

For of what use is moonshine on the night of the Epiphany.

Among the works dedicated to the Vizier just named in the reign of Abusaid, which was marked as a flourishing literary period, was the "Mevakif," of Adhad ud din Iji, which is one of the most important metaphysical works that has been reprinted at Constantinople in recent times. Ibnol Hajib similarly dedicated his compendium, and Kutb ud din Razi his commentary on the logical treatise, "Shemsiyet." The "Fevaidi Ghiathideh" embodied his name in its title. Ewhadi, one of the greatest mystical poets of the East, dedicated to the same Vizier his poem, "Jems," while the Khoja Kermani Muhammed Ibn Ali Morshidi, surnamed the Palm Branch, similarly dedicated to him his romantic poem, "Humayi and Humayun" (*i.e.*, Augustus and Augusta), which in later days was translated or imitated by the Ottoman poets Shemali and Moeiyed.† To these we must add the "Tarikhi Guzideh" of Hamdullah, and the "Kusideh" of Suliman.

News kept coming to the Court that the Khan of Jagatai was meditating an attack upon Khorasan, and towards the end of May it was said that he was on the march, and prompt reinforcements were asked for; but while measures were being taken in regard to this invasion, Narin Togai, who commanded in Khorasan, quarrelled with Ghiath ud din, the malik of Herat, over whose province he endeavoured to extend his jurisdiction, which had hitherto been independent of the governor of Khorasan. Ghiath ud din, who happened to be at the Court, reporting the services he had recently rendered the Sultan, obtained an order forbidding Narin Togai to exercise any jurisdiction in the principality of Herat; but Narin paid no heed to this order, which only exasperated him against the malik. The latter, who was afraid of him, dared not return to his own country; and as Abusaid and his council desired to do him a favour, as they considered him the bulwark of their Eastern dominions, who had always been zealous and faithful, it was decided to send an officer to Khorasan with a military rank superior to that of Narin Togai, and that the malik should return with him. The choice fell on Ali Padishah, the maternal uncle of the Sultan, who left the environs of Irbil on the 10th of June

* D'Ohsson, iv. 699-701. Ilkhans, ii. 295-296. † Ilkhans, ii. 296.

with Muhammed Bey and Tash Timur, each one at the head of some troops. On hearing of their approach, Narin Togai, who felt he was about to be superseded, sent courier after courier to say that he had been misled, and that there was no real danger of an invasion of Khorasan. At this news the generals halted at Sultania, intending to return; but Abusaid sent Turjan to order them to continue their march. Ali Padishah evidently did not care to go, and sent some excuses, urging that after Narin Togai's message their presence in Khorasan would probably only lead to trouble. Abusaid told Turjan to return with peremptory orders, and reproached the generals for their disobedience; but Ali Shah, fancying that it was the policy of the courtiers to get him and others as far away as possible from the Court in order to push themselves, conspired with the other generals, and marched with them towards Aujan, whither Abusaid had transferred his residence. The Ilkhan, irritated at this, sent Sheikh Ali to order them to retrace their steps, while Haji Khatun, mother of the Sultan, sent to tell Ali Padishah he had better not advance if he wished to avoid the Sultan's anger Sheikh Ali met the generals at Heshtrud, and showed them the royal command. They said that as they were so near the Court, they desired once more to kiss the Sultan's feet, and to explain their purpose to him, after which they were ready to go wherever he ordered them. Khoja Lulu was now sent with 5,000 men to bar the route to the rebel generals; but meanwhile several of their subordinates, afraid of being implicated with them, went over to the Sultan, and disclosed their plans to him. He said, "Inasmuch as they are unwilling to go to Khorasan and to supersede its governor, and are oblivious of the fate of Choban, who was the most powerful amir there has been since the foundation of our dynasty, I deprive them of the command of all their tumans, and they shall go and serve in Khorasan under the orders of Narin Togai." Haji Khatun interceded for her brother, who, she urged, had been led astray by evil counsels, and begged the Sultan to content himself with exiling him to his own yurt. Abusaid conceded this. "Ali Padishah," he said, "is still young and without experience—I told him, when I first appointed him to the command of a tuman, 'I raise you to a higher rank, but do not presume on our relationship, for it counts for nothing when the interests of the State are at stake.' If he had listened to this advice he would not have incurred this disgrace. Muhammed Bey is also a frank, hasty-tempered man. I expected more from Tashtimur, who has a sounder judgment, and has experience, and lived a long time at my father's Court. I told him when he left, 'Although several of you are charged with this commission, it is you to whom I look; I rely on your zeal and fidelity.' And it is he who has led the others astray. I consent, out of regard for my mother, that Ali Padishah shall go and pass the winter at his yurt, near Baghdad. Muhammed Bey must go to Khorasan, while Tashtimur must

come here to be punished." The two former chiefs went as they were commanded. Tashtimur was examined by a commission composed of the great amirs and the Vizier. He denied having made a pact with his colleagues, and was then brought face to face with the young officers who had denounced him. He still persisted in his denial. The amirs did not wish to push matters to extremity, being of opinion that the catastrophe that had overwhelmed the family of Choban had already cost too much blood, while the Vizier, who felt the conspiracy was really directed against himself, faithful to his policy of doing good to his enemies, obtained from the Sultan a pardon for Tashtimur, who received orders to go to Khorasan. Other officers implicated in the conspiracy, as Ibrahim Shah, grandson of the amir Sunatai, who was a great favourite of the Sultan, and Haji Togai, son of Sunatai, were pardoned in consideration of the long services devoted by that general to the empire; but they were ordered to go to Diarbekr, and to reside there with their father, who was governor of that province.*

Tashtimur, *en route* for his place of exile, met, near Ebher, Narin Togai, who was on his way to Sultania without leave. They were both discontented, and exchanged views and discussed plans for overthrowing their enemies, especially the vizier, Ghiath ud din. Narin Togai was the son of Guchbuka, and grandson of the great noyan Kitubuka, who had been killed in Syria, as we described, and had been attached to Abusaid's household when the latter was a child and living in Khorasan. His ambitious and restless character had given umbrage to Dimashk Khoja, who had accordingly sent him to live away, and forbidden him to stay in the ordu. He turned to Choban, who patronised him and reproved his son. Under Choban's ægis he secured a ready access, as before, to the young prince. He soon found how the latter disliked Dimashk, and proposed a plan by which he might rid himself of the favourite, which he was prepared himself to carry out; and notwithstanding the obligations he was under to Choban, he was one of the chief instruments in overthrowing his family, and shared in the plunder of their property. He thus acquired great wealth and became very powerful. His arrogance was correspondingly augmented, and the Sultan, feeling this, got rid of him by appointing him governor of Khorasan. Foiled in his purpose, which was to secure the post of Amir ul Umera, he found vent for his ambition in trying to enlarge the limits of his government, and thus fell out, as we have seen, with the Malik of Herat. When he heard how the Malik had complained against him, he summoned his son, Shems ud din, and when he refused to go sent troops to Herat to seize him. The young prince fought bravely, and after some sharp combats Narin's troops were obliged to withdraw, and when he marched in person he was not more successful. He revenged himself on

* D'Ohsson, iv. 701-706. Ilkhans, ii. 307-308.

his retreat by plundering the baggage of the Malik, which was *en route* from the ordu, and learning that that chief, when he heard of this, had set out in all haste from Sultania, he posted troops to waylay him, but the Malik gave them the slip by passing through the desert of Tabs.

Meanwhile, Narin Togai was ruining Khorasan by his exactions and tyrannical conduct, and aroused the anger of the Sultan and his council, and it was to try and calm the storm which his conduct had created that he was on the way to the Court, after levying a heavy contribution on the unfortunate province, when he was met by Tashtimur. After consulting with the latter, he sent a secret embassy to Ali Padishah, who was also discontented with his exile and joined in their scheme, as did some other officers. It was decided that Narin Togai should try and seduce the Ilkhan into putting away his present courtiers, and if he failed his supporters were to collect together and seize the reins of authority by main force, after which they could easily obtain Abusaid's sanction. Having formed this plan, the conspirators separated. Tashtimur continued his journey leisurely, awaiting the course of events, and delayed at Kazvin under some pretence. But Narin, when he arrived at Sultania, could not obtain an audience. The Sultan was too irritated at his acts of violence and injustice in Khorasan, while Baghdad Khatun inflamed him further against one whom she deemed the author of the deaths of her father and brothers. Narin then tried to win over some of the officers of the Court, and addressed himself specially to one of his relatives, named Turt, who informed the Vizier. The latter would not credit it. Seeing he made no way, Narin determined to attempt a more daring policy. He went to Ghiath ud din's palace, under pretence of paying him a visit, and accompanied by a number of men-at-arms, whom he planted at the gate of a medresseh or college, past which he expected the Vizier would have to walk. The latter gave him a private audience, but his brother, the amir Ahmed, arrived just at the moment when Narin appeared, followed by some of his people, and told him he had orders to admit no one armed. Having taken Narin's arms off, he passed him in, and stood himself at the door to prevent his suite from following. Narin, seeing that his plan had failed, began to flatter the Vizier, and begged him to speak to the Sultan on his behalf. Ghiath ud din promised to do this, and said further he would go at once and see his master. Narin then posted himself at the gate of the medresseh to await the passage of his enemy, but the Vizier left his palace by another door, and went to the Sultan, to whom he reported that Narin desired to do obeisance to him, and went on to speak on his behalf with his usual kindness. Abusaid, who had already been warned by his confidential people of the designs of the general, demanded from the Vizier with surprise if he was aware what Narin's real intentions were towards him, and at the same time gave orders for his arrest. One of his people having overheard this order, duly warned

him, whereupon he returned to his lodgings by a tortuous road, took a horse, arms, and some servants, and withdrew with haste. Khoja Lulu was sent in pursuit on the Khorasan road, but Narin changed his direction, and went towards the mountains, and passing by Ebher reached Rai in four-and-twenty hours, whence he again reached the road to Khorasan, and went to join his military household and his troops. Khoja Lulu having lost trace of him, returned again. Couriers were thereupon dispatched in various directions with orders to arrest Narin.* With his horses worn out, and himself exhausted with hunger and fatigue, he hid away in a little valley near Rai, and sent one of his followers to a neighbouring village for provisions. A Uighur officer, named Haji Uyunmas, who had his yurt in this district, noticing the terrified look of the man, had him arrested and interrogated. He was confused in his answers, and was bastinadoed until he confessed. Thereupon the Uighur chief went with a party of horsemen, using him as his guide, and arrested Narin, who was presently sent in chains to Sultania.

The very day of his flight, Abusaid had sent orders to Tashtimur, who was at Kazvin, to return at once. He was constrained to go, and was also put in chains. Both he and Narin were condemned to death through the influence of Baghdad Khatun, in revenge for the death of her father and brothers. They were executed on the 5th of October, 1327, on the holy day of Kurban Bairam, before the palace of the generalissimo, Sheikh Hassan. Their heads were hung from the walls of Sultania, whence that of Dimashk Khoja was removed. Their houses were pillaged, and commissaries were sent into the provinces to appropriate their property there. Alai ud din Muhammed, who had been implicated in their treachery, was pardoned through the Vizier's influence. Ali Padishah, out of regard for his sister, the Sultan's mother, was merely disgraced. Sheikh Ali, son of Ali Kushji, was appointed governor of Khorasan, with the Khoja Alai ud din Muhammed as vizier; and they were forbidden to exact from its inhabitants more than the ordinary taxes, for it had been ruined, first by the exactions of Choban, then by those of Narin Togai, and the inhabitants, driven by desperation, had begun to emigrate.†

Ghiath ud din, the Malik of Herat, died there in October, 1329, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Shems ud din, who was handsome, brave, and intelligent, but addicted to wine; and after the death of his father, who had kept him in restraint, it was said he was only sober for ten days during ten months. He died in 1330, and was succeeded by his brother Hafiz, a timid young man, handsome, and skilled in caligraphy, who was in the hands of some of the grandees. Notwithstanding which, they assassinated him in 1332, and proclaimed Moiz ud din Hussein, who

* D'Ohsson, iv. 701-712. Ilkhans, ii. 307-309. † D'Ohsson, iv. 712-713.

was still an infant. His nomination was approved by Abusaid, who sent the young prince a robe and a diploma.*

In 1332, Sheikh Hassan was accused of carrying on a secret correspondence with his former wife, Baghdad Khatun, and with having arranged with her a plot to murder the Sultan. Abusaid had him arrested and condemned to death, but he pardoned him at the request of his aunt, who was Sheikh Hassan's mother, but issued orders that he was never again to come into his presence. He was sent to the strong fort of Kémakh, where his mother was also sent. These rumours weakened Abusaid's regard for Baghdad Khatun, but having learnt that the accusation was false, he had those who reported it put to death, and restored her to favour. The following year the government of Rum became vacant by the death of Devlet Shah. It was given to Sheikh Hassan; and about the same time the Sultan married Dilshad Khatun, daughter of Dimashk Khoja, for whom he conceived a great attachment, and promoted her above his other wives. In 1333-4, Abusaid conferred the government of Fars upon the amir Muzaffer Inak, thus supplanting Mahmud Shah Inju, who had held this post for a long time. The latter was very rich, and his domains in Fars produced him a revenue of 100 tumans. He conceived a violent hatred for his supplanter, and formed a league with other amirs, such as Mahmud Issenkutlugh, Sultan Shah (son of Nikruz), Muhammed Bey, Muhammed Pelten, and Muhammed Kushji, who were all jealous of Muzaffer. They went with a party of followers, and made an attack on his palace. Muzaffer got on to the roof, and jumping from one house to another, eventually reached the royal palace, where they followed him as far even as the Sultan's vestibule, whose walls were presently studded with their arrows. They demanded that Muzaffer should be given up to them, and the Sultan, alarmed for his own safety, was about to comply, when Shiburgan, son of Choban (called Siyurgan by Von Hammer), and Khoja Lulu arrived with some troops and drove the rebels away. They were condemned to death, but this sentence was commuted to imprisonment at the request of the benevolent vizier, Ghiath ud din. They were, except Muhammed Shah, imprisoned in various fortresses: Issenkutlugh in Khorasan, Sultan Shah (son of Nikruz) in the castle of Sirjan, Muhammed Pelten at Bum, Muhammed Kushji in the castle of Nasir; Mahmud Shah Inju at Taberek, a fortress of Ispahan; while Masud Shah, son of Mahmud (D'Ohsson says it was Mahmud himself), was sent to Rum. Except the last-named, they were all confined until Abusaid's death.

In August, 1334, Uzbeg, the Khan of the Golden Horde, was meditating another invasion by way of Derbend. Abusaid made preparations to meet him, but was attacked with illness, and died at Karabagh, in Arran,

* *Id.*, 713-714. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 505.

on the 30th of November, 1334. There are strong grounds for believing he died by poison. The Persian writers, such as Mirkhond, suggest it; but it is expressly stated by the traveller, Ibn Batuta, who tells us he was the victim of Baghdad Khatun, who was jealous of the promotion of the beautiful Dilshad, the daughter of Dimashk Khoja, for whom he had conceived a great passion. She also naturally did not forgive the murder of her father and brothers, and is said to have put some poison into his bath towel. The same author goes on to say that when the amirs were assured of his death, the Greek eunuch Khoja Lulu went and found Baghdad Khatun in her bath, and killed her with a blow of his mace, and her body was exposed for several days with a mere rag over it.* It must be remembered that she had many enemies, since she had caused several grandees to be put to death. The author of the "Shajrat ul Atrak" says that, having stayed at Shirvan for nearly three months, Abusaid was attacked by a fatal disease, due to the heat of the weather and the noxious air there. On the fifteenth day after the attack he went to his bath, and grew so much worse that he died. He adds that it was reported that Baghdad Khatun had poisoned him from jealousy of Dilshad Khatun.†

The same work tells us Abusaid was fond of the society of men of learning, and that he wrote a good hand, for which accomplishment he was indebted to his tutor, Khoja Abdulla Syrufi.‡ Ibn Tagri Birdi describes him as an illustrious and brave prince, with an imposing aspect, generous and gay. He says he wrote well, played the lute, and composed songs. He had amiable manners, suppressed several taxes, proscribed strong drinks, demolished churches, and belonged to the Hanéfi sect.§ Ibn Batuta describes him as an excellent and generous ruler, and as good-looking, without any down on his cheeks. Our traveller says he once saw him in a boat (*harrâkah*) on the Tigris, with Dimashk Khoja. On either side were two other boats filled with musicians and singers. He also tells us that he was witness of an act of generosity on his part when he presented a number of old men with a robe each, and also appointed each of them a guide.‖ He left Baghdad with Abusaid's suite, and was thus a witness of the mode in which he marched and encamped. He tells us the Mongols were in the habit of starting early in the morning and of halting an hour before the sun reached his greatest altitude. Each amir arrived with his soldiers, his kettledrums, and standards, and halted in a certain place which had been previously assigned him. When all had arrived, and the ranks were made up, the Sultan mounted his horse, the drums, trumpets, &c., sounded, the amirs advanced and saluted their sovereign, and then returned to their posts. The chamberlains and nakibs then presented

* Op. cit., 122-123. † Op. cit., 309. ‡ *Id.*, 308. § D'Ohsson, iv. 717.
‖ Op. cit., ii. 116-117.

themselves. They were followed by the musicians, to the number of about a hundred, dressed in splendid robes, and mounted. In front of the musicians went ten horsemen carrying kettledrums hanging from their necks, and five horsemen bearing flutes. They played the drums and flutes and then stopped, and were followed by ten musicians singing. The music having played again, another set of musicians sang, and this was repeated ten times, the ceremony preceding the pitching of the camp. While on the march, the chief amirs, to the number of about fifty, rode on the Sultan's right and left. The standard bearers, kettledrum beaters the trumpeters, &c., followed the prince; then came the Sultan's slaves, then the other amirs according to their rank. Each amir had his own kettledrums and standards. The amir jandar was intrusted with these arrangements, and was accompanied by a numerous detachment. If any man lagged behind, his shoe was taken off, filled with sand, and hung from his neck, and he had to walk to the next station, where he was taken before the amir, made to lie down on the ground, and had twenty-five blows of the bastinado on his back, whatever his rank might be. In the camp the Sultan and his mamluks, or slaves, had a separate quarter. Each one of the Sultan's khatuns, or wives, also lodged apart, and she had her special imaum and mueddhins, her Koran readers, and a special place to do the marketing. The viziers, the kâtibs, and employés also encamped apart, as did each amir. They attended the Sultan's audience after "the *Asr*," and returned after the last evening prayer, lanterns being carried in front of them. When the march began the great kettle was first sounded, then that of the principal khatun, then that of the Vizier, and lastly those of the amirs altogether. Thereupon the amir commanding the advance guard mounted with his men, and was followed by the khatuns; then the Sultan's baggage and that of the khatuns; then came another amir, with his men, to prevent intruders from approaching the khatuns or the baggage; then came the rest of the army. Ibn Batuta says he accompanied the royal cortège for ten days, and then set out for Tebriz with the amir Alai ud din Muhammed. He tells us he stayed outside the town, in a place called Sham, where was Ghazan's tomb, and near it a fine medresseh or college and a hermitage, where travellers received refreshments, consisting of bread, meat, rice and butter, and sweetmeats. He stayed there himself. The next day he entered the city, and describes the market-place, called after Ghazan, as very fine, each trade having its own quarter. The jewels were sold by beautiful slaves, dressed in splendid costumes, and wearing silken handkerchiefs for girdles. They sat in front of their masters, the merchants, and sold the jewels to the wives of the Turks (*i.e.*, of the Mongols), who rivalled each other in extravagance. He also visited the quarter where ambergris and musk were sold, and then visited the Jami mosque, built by the vizier, Ali Shah, and known as Jilan. He tells us

its court was paved with marble, and its walls covered with tiles. It was traversed by a river, and there grew on its banks trees, such as jasmines, vines, &c. In the court of this mosque it was customary to read daily, after the prayer of *Asr*, the *surat yā sin* (*i.e.*, the 36th chapter of the Koran), that named *Victory* (*i.e.*, the 48th), and that called *al-nabā* (*i.e.*, the 78th). Our traveller spent only a night at Tebriz, and then returned with Alai ud din to Abusaid, to whom he was presented. The Sultan asked him about his country, and gave him a robe. Hearing that he intended going to the Hijaz, he assigned him a camel, a litter, and provisions, and had letters written for him to the amir of Baghdad.*

Ibn Batuta tells an anecdote of Abusaid. He says that the atabeg Ahmed, of Luristan, went to pay him a visit. Some of his courtiers said to him, "The atabeg came into your presence dressed in a cuirass" (for they fancied the horsehair shirt that Ahmed wore was a cuirass). Abusaid told his courtiers to get to know the fact, whereupon, when the atabeg presented himself one day, Choban, Sunatai, and Sheikh Hassan approached him and felt him with their hands, as if playing with him, and in this way found that he was wearing a horsehair shirt. Thereupon Abusaid bade him sit close by him, and said to him in Turkish, *Sen alayim* (*i.e.*, "Thou art my father"), gave him a present much more valuable than the one he had received, and also a yarligh or diploma exempting him and his family in future from having to give presents to himself or his successors.† The "Yuan shi" records an embassy sent in 1332 by Busai yin, Prince of the Si yu (*i.e.*, western regions), to the Emperor Wen tsung (Tob Timur). The name of the ambassador is given as Ho dji k'ie ma ding, and he took as tribute seven precious stones and other articles. By Busai yin was no doubt meant Abusaid Khan‡.

Abusaid's reign was a very active period of literary culture. Two famous historians flourished at this time, viz., Binaketi and Hamdullah. Ibn Suliman Daud, styled Fakhr Binaketi (*i.e.*, the Glory of Binaket, the place now called Shash, or Tashkend), had already been nominated king of the poets by Ghazan Khan. He composed a poem on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Bestam with Oljai Kutlugh. He also wrote a compendium of universal history, ending in the third year of Abusaid, and which is largely founded on that of Rashid. Hamdullah Mustaufi, of Kazvin, was the author both of a history of the world, entitled "Tarikhi Guzideh," and also of a geographical work, entitled "Nuzhetol Kolub." The former is a famous repository of facts. In the part dealing with the Mongols it is also largely founded on Rashid ud din's great work, but it becomes an independent authority as it nears its own time. I am indebted to Mr. Guy L'Estrange for a MS. translation of the work, which has been of great service to me. Besides these two

* Ibn Batuta, ii. 125-131. † Op. cit., ii. 33-34. ‡ Bretschneider, Notices, &c., 104.

historians, there also lived at Abusaid's Court the famous jurist, Nisam ud din, of Herat, and the two sheikhs, Rokn ud din, of Semnan, and Abderrezak, of Kiash, the dervish poet Nasir, of Bukhara, and two other poets, named Khoju Kermani and Mir Kermani, the former the author of the romantic poem "Huma and Humayun."* I may add here some other writers who lived in the previous reigns, and whom I overlooked naming. The great mystical poet of Uljaitu's reign was Iraki ibn Shehriar, of Hamadan, a disciple of the famous mystic Sheikh Shihab ud din Suhrwerdi, who died in 1309, at the age of 84. Two other mystical poets of the time, also scholars of the same master, were Awhad ud din, of Meragha, and Hussein. The former wrote the poem called "Jami Jem," and died at Ispahan in the time of Ghazan. Hussein, of Herat, was the author of over thirty mystical works in prose and verse. These three Sofi poets met together, after travelling in many lands, in the monastery of Ewhadi, and after a quarantine of forty days of fasting and contemplation, reported to their master their experiences in their several journeys. Their tombs at Damascus, Ispahan, and Herat are still the goal of pilgrimage to the professors of Sofiism. The so-called king of the poets (which does not mean, any more than Laureate with us necessarily means, the best poet) in the earlier part of Abusaid's reign was Ibn Nesuh, the author of the "Deh nameh," which was dedicated to Ghiath ud din, the son of the vizier Rashid ud din. After him Seraj ud din Kumri occupied this post. He is less famous in the history of Persian poetry (says Von Hammer) for his emulation with Obeid Zakyani and Selman Saveji, than for the box on the ears he received for a bad joke from Konkurat, the wife of Abusaid. The pious female hermit Safiyeh, of Abher, who was much esteemed by Abusaid and the ladies of his Court, was one day having a meal with Konkurat when Kumri was also present. Konkurat said, "Give me what is left of what the holy woman has eaten, that I may take it with me into the house." "All that I have eaten, most noble lady, is at your service," said the saucy poet. She thereupon struck him several blows, which made him black and blue, in which state he presented himself before Abusaid, and on his asking the cause, replied, "Formerly a king of the poets was rewarded with a thousand gold pieces. Your wife Konkurat has rewarded me with ten boxes on the ear," at which Abusaid was greatly amused. The most famous poets of this time were Zakyani, Selman, and Hafiz, who, however, flourished somewhat later, and I shall speak of them further on. To revert to Abusaid's own reign, we read of some other poets, as Said Behai Jami, Iz ud din Hamadani, who, like Julahi Abheri, wrote in Pehlevi; two poets named from the town of Feryumed, in Khorasan, where they were born; and Yamin ud din

* Ilkhans, ii. 267-270.

Toghrayi, whose letters, written from Rum to his son Mahmud in Khorasan, are good examples of condensed style in Persian. More famous are the ethical and philosophical verses of the son just named (*i.e.*, of Mahmud ibn Yamin), and known as "Makataati Yamin," and Osman Moti, of Kazvin, who dedicated a collection of satires, under the title of "Razi nameh," to the judge Kazi ud din Razi, who, either from fear of his satirical power, or from regard for his fame, rewarded him with an honorarium of from thirty to forty thousand dinars, which he spent as quickly as he acquired it.*

Coins of Abusaid occur in the British Museum collection representing every year from 717 to 734 HEJ., except the year 718, and one, doubtless a posthumous coin, in the year 737. On one of his gold and fifteen of his silver coins the date, instead of being given in the year of the Hejira, is given in "the Khanian era" (*i.e.*, the era established by Ghazan). These are all of the year 33 (*i.e.*, 733 HEJ.—1332-3). The coins of Abusaid occur in gold, silver, and copper, and the mints on the fine series in the British Museum comprise Jorjan, Erzenjan, Jajerm, Sultania, Kerman, Kazerun, Sivas, Tebriz, Saweh, Shuster, Shiraz, Kashan, Mosul, Tokat, Yezd, Basrah, Baghdad, Hamadan, Baran, Wasith, Baiburt, Sinjar, Irbil, Arivend (*i.e.*, Elvend), Akhlatt, Kaisaryah, Bekkar, Gulistan, Samsun, Meragha, Berdaa, Ispahan, Erivan, Sebzevar, Hisn-Kaifa, Bekbek, Karmin, Hillah, Abusaidin, Mardin, Walashjerd, and Khelat. In the museum are also two coins of Abusaid struck at Halab, or Aleppo, in 732 and 733. Fræhn, in his memoir on the coinage of the Ilkhans, adds a number of other mints—Sheristan Rashidi, Keliber (in Azerbaijan), Arran (*i.e.*, another name for Berdaa), Nakhchivan, Erzerum, Tiflis, Terjan (a town near Erzerum), El Bazar, Aujan, Selivas, Tesui (a town north of Lake Urmia), and a name doubtfully read Hausem. He also says that the style of Alai ud din, given to Abusaid by Khuandemir, nowhere occurs on his coins.† In his supplement Fræhn gives the additional mints of Abiverd and Arran (*i.e.*, Berdaa). De Saulcy publishes a coin struck at Irbil, and another apparently struck at Khotan.‡ On the coins bearing a bilingual inscription the Khan's name is written Bu Said, in Mongol characters.§ Abusaid having made a public profession of the Sunni faith, the names of the orthodox khalifs occur on his coins; yet, strangely enough, two coins at least are extant in which the imaums venerated by the Shias are specially named.‖

Note 1.—It was during the reign of Abusaid that Friar Odoric of Pordenone traversed Persia, passing on from one Franciscan house to another until he reached India and China. His travels apparently began between 1316 and

* Ilkhans, ii. 262-267. † Op. cit., 518-532. ‡ Journ. Asiat., 3rd ser., xiv. 142 and 145.
§ Fræhn, op. cit., 631. ‖ De Saulcy, op. cit., J. A., 3rd ser., xiv. 149.

1318, and he died in 1331.* He went by way of Trebizond to Erzerum, which he calls Arzeron, and which he says in time long past had been a fine and most wealthy city, "and it would have been so unto this day but for the Tartars and Saracens, who have done it much damage. It aboundeth greatly in bread and flesh, and many other kinds of victual, but not in wine or fruits. For the city is mighty cold, and folk say that it is the highest city that is at this day inhabited on the whole face of the earth, but it hath most excellent water."† Tebriz, where the Franciscans had two convents, Odoric describes as "a nobler city, and better for merchandise than any other which at this day existeth in the world," containing great store of all kinds of provisions and goods, well situated, and very rich, the whole world having dealings there. The Christians there declared the Emperor (*i.e.*, Abusaid) had more revenue from it than the King of France from all his kingdom. Near the city was a great mountain of salt, whence anyone might take what he wanted. There were many Christians there.‡ Thence Odoric went to Sultania, which, he tells us, was the Emperor's summer residence, a great and cool city, with good water, and well supplied with costly wares. Dominicans and Franciscans each had a house there. Our traveller passed thence to Kashan, a royal city of great repute which the Tartars had greatly destroyed. It abounded in bread and wine and many other good things.§ Then he went to Yezd, rich in victuals, but especially in figs and green raisins. It was the third city, he tells us, in the realm of the Emperor of the Persians, and the Saracens said no Christian was ever able to live there more than a year.‖ He then went to Comerum (the Camara of Barbaro, and probably the Kinara of Rich), on the site of the ancient Persepolis. He speaks of its walls as fifty miles in circuit; that it contained palaces yet entire, but without inhabitants. Thence he went to Huz, which Colonel Yule identifies with the Hazah of Eastern writers, said by Assemanni to be the same as Adiabena. He speaks of it as beautifully situated and abounding in victuals, with fine mountain pastures all round. Manna was common there, and four partridges could be bought for a Venetian groat. Men were accustomed to knit and spin there, and not women.¶ He then went to Baghdad, which he calls Chaldœa, where the men were comely but the women ill-favoured, the former having rich robes on, and golden fillets with beads on their heads; while the women had only a miserable shift, reaching to the knees, and with sleeves so long and wide that they swept the ground. They had drawers reaching to their feet, which were bare, and their hair was neither plaited nor braided, but dishevelled. It was the custom for women to go first, and not men, as in Europe. He describes seeing a young man who was taking a beautiful woman to be married. She was accompanied by a number of young women, wailing, while he, dressed in handsome clothes, hung his head down. By and bye, the young man mounted his ass, and the bride followed him, barefoot and wretchedly clad, and holding by the ass, and her father went behind, blessing them, until they reached the husband's house. From Baghdad, Odoric went to the district on the Persian Gulf which he calls inland India, and which he

* Cathay, and the Way Thither, 6. † *Id.*, 46. ‡ *Id.*, 48-49. § *Id.*, 50-51.
‖ *Id.*, 51-52. ¶ *Id.*, 52-53.

says the Tartars had greatly wasted. The people there lived mainly on dates, forty-two pounds of which you could buy for a groat. He then went on to Hormuz, a well-fenced city, abounding in costly wares. It was situated on a barren island, without tree or fresh water, but with plenty of fish, flesh, and bread. It was unhealthy, and incredibly hot. The people were tall. When he passed one was just dead, and they got together all the players in the place, and set the dead man on his bed in the middle of the house, while two women danced round him, and the players played on their cymbals and other instruments of music. Then two of the women took hold of the dead man, embraced him, and chanted his praises, and the other women stood up one after another, and took a pipe and piped on it awhile, and when one had done piping she sat down; and so they went on all night, and in the morning they carried him to the tomb.* Thence Odoric set sail for India.

In a tract written about 1330 by the Archbishop of Sultania (probably John of Cora), setting out the estate of the Great Khan, Abusaid is called Boussay, and we are told that, like the ruler of Armalech (*i.e.*, of the Jagatai Khanate) and Uzbeg Khan, he sent yearly live leopards, camels, and gerfalcons, and great store of precious jewels to the Great Khan of Cathay, whom they acknowledged as their lord and suzerain; and to show the power of these chiefs he says that when Uzbeg was at war with Boussaye he brought 707,000 horsemen into the field, without pressing hard on his empire.†

Pegollotti, in his "Notices of the Land Route to Cathay," calls Abusaid Bousaet. His list of the payments exacted upon merchandise from the frontiers of Armenia to Tebriz, shows what a gauntlet of black mail merchants had to traverse. I will quote it here from Colonel Yule's edition.

	Aspers.
At Gandon, where you enter upon the lands of Bousaet, on every load	20
At the same place, for watching	3
At Casena	7
At the Caravanserai of the Admiral (? Karavansarai ul amir)	3
At Gadue	3
At the Caravanserai of Casa Jacomi	3
At the entrance to Salvastro (Sebasti or Sivas) from Aiazzo	1
Inside the city	7
Leaving the city for Tauris	1
At Dudriaga (? Divrik)	3
At Greboco	4
At Mughisar	2½
At ditto as tantaullagio for the watch (*i.e.*, for the Tangauls)	½
At Arzinga (Erzingan), at the entrance to the town	5
Ditto inside the city	9
Ditto for the watchmen, on leaving	3
At the Caravanserai on the Hill	3

* Cathay and the Way Thither, 54-57. † *Id.*, 238.

	Aspers.
At Ligurti	2
At ditto, at the bridge, for tantaullagio	½
At the Caravanserai outside Arzerone (Erzerum)	2
At Arzerone, at the baths	1
Ditto inside the city	9
Ditto as a present to the lord	2
Ditto at the baths towards Tauris	1
At Polorbech	3
At ditto	½
At Sermessacalo (? Hassan Kala), for tantaullagio	½
At Aggia, for the whole journey	½
At the middle of the plain of Aggia, for duty	3
At ditto, for tant	½
At Calacresti (Karakalisa)	½
At the Three Churches (Uchkilesi), for tant	½
Under Noah's Ark (probably Bayezid), for duty	3
Ditto for tant	½
At Scaracanti, ditto	½
At Locche ditto	½
At the plain of the Falconers, for tant (twice altogether)	1
Ditto ditto for a ticket or permit from the lord	½
At the Camuzoni, for tant	½
At the plains of the Red River (? the Aras), for tant	½
At Condro, for tant	½
At Sandoddi ditto	½
At Tauris ditto	½

And you may reckon that the exactions of the Moccols, or Tartar troopers, along the road, will amount to something like 50 aspers a load. So that the cost on account of a load of merchandise going from Aiazzo of Armenia to Tauris, in Cataria (? Tartaria), will be, as appears by the above details, 209 aspers* a load, and the same back again.†

Note 2.—Heyd has described some traces of the intercourse between the Venetians and the Mongols. The first evidence of dealings between the Republic and the Ilkhans is a document which once existed both in a Tartar original and a Latin translation, but the former recension is lost. This is dated in the beginning of November, 1306 (a mistake for 1305), and begins with the words, "Verbum Zuci Soldani duci Venetiarum," which Heyd has ingeniously explained as the order of the Sultan's yulduchi (or sword bearer) to the Doge of Venice. The Sultan was Uljaitu; the yulduchi was Tomazo Ugi, of Sienna, whose mission to the Pope, &c., we described in a former chapter. The document conferred certain privileges on Venetian traders, and stated that the traders who had frequented the Persian realm for a long time past had had no reason to complain of ill usage.‡ Tomazo also took with him

* Really 203 (*i.e.*, about £2. 8s.) † *Id.*, 299-301. ‡ Op. cit., ii. 123-125.

a letter from a certain Khoja Abdallah, in which he assured a Venetian named Pietro Rudolfo that he would not exact any further satisfaction for some injury he had done him, nor revenge himself for it upon any other Venetian. This promise he confirmed by the signature of two witnesses, viz., Tomazo himself and Balduccio Buffeto (? Buffero). A few years later we find the Venetian Senate sending an embassy to Persia, to Abusaïd Khan, who is called "Imperator Monsait" in the record of the event. The leader of the embassy was Michele Dolfino, and it went in 1320. He received *en route* a sum of money from the Venetian bailo at Trebizond, Giovanni Sanuto. *Inter alia*, he asked for the restoration of the goods of a Venetian called Francesco de Canale, who had died at Erzenjan, and which had been seized by a certain Badradin Lulu. This embassy secured a diploma from Abusaid, allowing the Venetians free ingress to Persia, and to stay where they liked, and to be allowed to feed their horses for three days at the post stations. No tribute was to be taken from them, except the ordinary dues and the payment for the guards. Nor were these dues to be enlarged or to be charged at other than the recognised stations, The guards were to convoy them when requested, and if anyone refused he was to be imprisoned for any damage that followed. If a Venetian was robbed, the plundered goods were to be made good by the magistrates, watchmen, and inhabitants of the district. The head man in a district was, on the requisition of the Venetian consul, to afford assistance to the Venetians or their caravans. Neither their couriers nor sumpter cattle were to be delayed on any pretence. No Venetian was to be imprisoned on account of the crime or default of a countryman; each was to be responsible for his own faults only. The magistrates were to be helpful to Venetians in disposing of their wares, and to aid them in recovering their debts. No one was to touch the goods of dead Venetians except their consul. If a Venetian invoked the aid of a Court, the highest judge was to pass sentence on him. If disputes arose between Franks (*i.e.*, Venetians) their consul should decide matters. Lastly, the Latin monks, who had the cure of souls of the Venetian mercantile community, were given the valuable privilege of founding places of devotion in any part of the empire, at their pleasure.*

The Venetians had a consul, probably in several of the larger towns of the empire. He was styled Maçor. The first of their consuls at Tebriz whose name is known was Marco de Molino, who, on the 6th of June, 1324, wrote to the Doge a letter which does not put the Venetian mercantile body in a very favourable light. He had forbidden the Venetians, in their own interest, having dealings with a certain Saracen. Notwithstanding this, Francesco Quirini, with two other Venetians, went to him to buy some spices. This having been noised abroad in the caravanserai known as Delle Telle, Quirini was set upon by four other Venetians and badly beaten. He complained to the Khan's mother, and succeeded in having his assailants seized and imprisoned, and the consul had to pay 270 bezants to have them released. The commonwealth was at the same time threatened with a penalty of 5,000 bezants, in consequence of the ill behaviour of another Venetian, named Marco Davanzo. All this filled

* Op. cit., 127-128.

the consul with forebodings for the future. He described Tebriz as a dangerous station, which they would have to give up if the Doge did not see his way to some course by which these occurrences could be prevented in future. It was probably in answer to this letter that, in 1329, Marco Cornaro was sent to Tebriz. We are not told what the result of his mission was. In 1332 we have a further notice of the Venetian colony at Tebriz, when we read of a heavy burden being put upon it. Haji Suliman Taibi, of that city, asserted a claim of indemnity for 4,000 bezants, and he was allowed to impose upon all Venetians who went to Tebriz, or left it, a sum of four bezants for each load, until his claim was discharged. The Tebriz merchants had, in addition, to pay three aspers to two Venetians of the house of Sanuto, without any apparent reason. About the same time, the Venetian Senate empowered the bailo of Trebizond to exact an asper for each load of Venetian merchandise, which was to be paid to a dragoman, called Avachi, who was to see after the interests of Venice in that district.*

Note 3.—The author of the work entitled "Divan Alinsha" gives us some curious information about the common form used in writing letters to the Mongol sovereigns of Persia by the Egyptian rulers. He says: "In the letters addressed to the great Khans of the Mongols in the land of Iran, it is customary, according to the author of the 'Tarif,' to write on Baghdad paper after the formula in the name of God and a line of the khutbeh (introduction). Then follows the togra, which is drawn in embossed gold, and which, like all the togras, contains the titles of our sultan. The introduction is then completed; then follows the titles of the prince to whom the letter is addressed, viz.: 'His noble, lofty majesty, the august Sultan, the king of kings, unique brother like a kân.' The term 'royal' is excluded, since it is not valued among the Mongols. Then follow some pompous phrases invoking glory for the Sultan and victory for his allies. Good wishes are expressed for the prince, such as length of days, a free display of his banners, a strong army, numerous subjects, &c. Then follow phrases expressing very strongly a constant friendship and sincere veneration, &c., and the motives which have led to the letter being written. The conclusion contains several good wishes in pompous terms, and the good intentions of the sender. In such a letter the introduction, the togra, and the title are written in raised gold. The same kind of material is used in writing important names, such as that of God, of the Prophet, or of other prophets or angels, the name of Islam, those of the Sultans who send and receive the letter, and pronouns referring to either. The rest is written in black ink. Minute instructions on small points are given by the author of the 'Tarif,' and duly set out in Quatremere's translation." *Inter alia*, we are told that the style of the Ilkhan was Abusaid Behadur Khan, and he adds that when peace was made between Sultan Kelavun and Abusaid, the Kadhi Alai ud din Ibn Alathir reflected for a month on the form which the correspondence should take. The titles of "brother" and of "the Mamluk" were both discarded, and it was eventually determined to use the same style as was used in speaking of the Sultan himself.†

* *Id.*, 128-129. † Makrizi, ii. (part 2), 307-315.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LATER ILKHANS AND THE JELAIRIDS.

ARPAGAUN KHAN.

ABUSAID was virtually the last of the Ilkhans. After his death the dynasty collapsed with almost incredible rapidity, and the empire so carefully got together by Khulagu and his successors broke into fragments, which eventually became the prey of the great Timur. It is a curious fact that the year of Abusaid's death was the birth-year of Timur himself, and the Arabs have formed a chronogram from the numerical value represented by the letters corresponding to the figures in this fateful year, 736 HEJ., which well represents its character. The letters so read form the word *Laudh*, meaning refuge, and it was said that men had need of an asylum under such great calamities.* Ghazan had decimated the royal family so persistently that when Abusaid died without male issue nearly all the princes directly descended from Khulagu were living in greater or less obscurity. The turbulence of the great amirs during Abusaid's minority had also loosened the bonds of authority all over the empire, and on his sudden death, to prevent immediate anarchy from supervening, it was necessary to select some one to fill the throne at once—some one, too, who had not aroused jealousies, and was not too vigorous to frighten the late Khan's immediate friends. The vizier, Ghiath ud din Muhammed, accordingly assembled the khatuns, the amirs, and other grandees, and their suffrages fell upon Arpagaun, sometimes corrupted into Arpa Khan, the son of Susu, son of Sinkian, son of Malik Timur, son of Arikbuka, who was the brother of Khulagu, and who had been pointed out by Abusaid as the fittest person to succeed him. He was proclaimed before Abusaid's funeral, after which the body of the latter was duly conveyed to Sultania for burial. We are told that at his inauguration Arpagaun addressed the assembled notables, and said, "I do not, like other Padishahs, need pomp and luxury. Instead of golden girdles woollen ones will suffice for me, and instead of a jewelled crown a cap of felt. From the army I expect obedience, and promise to treat it with kindness." In the Friday prayer he took the title of Muiz ud dunia ved din. Baghdad Khatun did not approve of his election, and was speedily charged, as we have seen, with having poisoned Abusaid,

* De Guignes, iii. 285.

and with having secret communications with Uzbeg Khan of the Golden Horde, who was then threatening an invasion, and was put to death. Her niece, and partially her rival, Dilshad Khatun, who was *enceinte*, deemed it prudent to fly, and went and sought refuge with Abusaid's maternal uncle, Ali Padishah, the governor of Irak Arab. Arpagaun strengthened his position by marrying Satibeg, the widow of Choban and sister of Abusaid, by which he hoped to secure the allegiance of those devoted to Khulagu's family. He then marched against Uzbeg, the Khan of the Golden Horde, who had invaded his borders. This was in the middle of winter. He cleverly planted a force behind the enemy's camp, so as to place him between two fires, a manœuvre which led to Uzbeg's retreat, and also gained for Arpagaun the confidence of his troops. On his return from this expedition he put several chiefs, dangerous from their high birth, rank, or fortune, to death—among others, Sherif ud din Mahmud Shah Inju, the Crœsus of his time, who had administered the finances of Fars, as we have mentioned. He was killed on the pretext that he had secretly nominated a boy of the family of Khulagu to occupy the throne. Inju's sons fled from Tebriz; Masud Shah went to Asia Minor, to Amir Sheikh Hassan, known afterwards as Sheikh Hassan the Greater, the first husband of Baghdad Khatun, who was then governor of Rum. Prince Tukel Kutlugh, of the house of Ogotai, who had sought refuge in Persia, was put to death with his two sons, on the plea that he wished to interfere in the administration of the State. Arpagaun would also have put to death Mahmud Issen Kutlugh, Sultanshah, son of Nikruz, and Muhammed Pilten, who had been imprisoned in various castles by Abusaid, as we have seen, and had been released on his death. Their lives were spared at the solicitation of the vizier, Ghiath ud din.

The Amir Ali Padishah, who was the maternal uncle of Abusaid, and was descended from Tengiz Gurkan, the Uirad, who had been sent by Khubilai against his rebel brother Arikbuka, disapproved of the election of Arpagaun. We are told he assembled the Uirads, and told them Arpagaun had always been the enemy of their tribe. He had been lately joined, as we have seen, by Abusaid's widow, Dilshad. Having assembled the amirs of the Uirads and Arabs, they proceeded to elect a rival Khan, in the person of Musa, the son of Ali, son of Baidu Khan, son of Tarakai, son of Khulagu, and then marched against Arpagaun, after sending seductive messages to his generals whom he knew to be unfavourably disposed towards him and to his vizier, Ghiath ud din. Arpagaun collected forces from various quarters to surround the army of Ali Padishah, but their commanders loitered in the hope that some accommodation would be arrived at. Ali Padishah offered to submit if he were appointed Amir ul Umera. Ghiath ud din advised that this should not be conceded, and also persuaded Arpagaun not to put to death several officers of whose loyalty he was

suspicious. A struggle now ensued between the two chiefs at Bagatu (the "Shajrat ul Atrak" says at Chagatu, otherwise Yughtu), not far from Meragha. This was on the 29th of April, 1336. In the midst of the action, the amirs Issen Kutlugh and Sultanshah, who had a violent dislike for the Vizier, deserted, and Arpagaun, notwithstanding his superior force, was obliged to fly. The Vizier and his brother, Pir Sultan, who stood firm for some time, were caught near Meragha and taken before the victor. Ali Padishah wished to spare Ghiath ud din, who was so distinguished for his learning, wit, and generosity, but the other generals insisted on his death, which took place on the 11th Ramazan, 736, and was followed shortly after by that of his brother. His goods and those of his clients at Tebriz were plundered, and the people went so far as to pillage the quarter of the town known by the name of Raba Rashidi, and to carry off an immense booty in coin, objects decorated with precious stones, gold and silver bowls, and precious books. The houses of many people unconnected with the Vizier were plundered at the same time.*

The poets and other learned men, whom the Vizier had liberally patronised, naturally felt his death keenly, and one of the former commemorated it in plaintive verses. An example of his munificence is given by Khuandemir. One day, Sheikh Abu Ishak, who was then Governor of Shiraz, was having a controversy with the Kadhi Alai ud din, and put him the question, whether in the time of Abusaid merit was more rewarded than it was during his own reign. The Kadhi replied, laughing, "See what happened to myself. One day I was seated with Ghiath ud din, who beckoned me to him three times with his hand, and followed this up by a gift of money and lands so extensive that the tithes annually made upon their revenue amounted to 30,000 dinars." Abu Ishak having asked how this came about, Alai ud din replied that every Friday Ghiath ud din used to gather round him a number of doctors and wise men to discuss science and literature. All seated themselves according to their rank. When anyone made a remarkable observation the Vizier used to beckon with his hand for him to approach him. Alai ud din then explained how he had been fortunate enough to signalise himself three times successively at one of these meetings, whereupon Ghiath ud din made him rich presents, as did the Vizier's friends. On hearing this, Abu Ishak released Alai ud din from the annual payment of 30,000 dinars which he had to make to the Treasury.† Alai ud din lived habitually with Ghiath ud din, and the prefaces to his works are filled with the Vizier's praise. He gave one the title of Favaid ghiathiah (*i.e.*, useful observations dedicated to Ghiath ud din). A poet named Ibn Nasuh composed ten pieces addressed to him; and Devlet Shah has preserved a long poem, in which Selman Savaji sang his praises. The famous author of

* D'Ohsson, iv. 719-723. Ilkhans, ii. 312-315. Shajrat ul Atrak, 310-311.
† Quatremere, Rashid ud din, lii. liii.

the "Tarikhi Guzideh" was secretary to Rashid ud din and Ghiath ud din, and that work was dedicated to the latter.* In tracing the end of the Vizier, we had almost overlooked his master Arpagaun. He was speedily captured in the district of Sijas after his defeat, and was taken to Aujan, and handed over to the heirs of Sherif ud din Mahmud Shah Inju, by whom he was put to death.†

Frœhn, in his memoir on the coins of the Ilkhans, describes one of Arpagaun struck at Tiflis in 736 (*i.e.*, 1335-6). Another of his coins has been recently added to the British Museum collection. It was struck in the same year at Shirvan.

MUSA KHAN.

Ali Padishah was now the virtual ruler of the kingdom, the Khan Musa, who mounted the throne at Aujan, being his *protégé* and nominee. He appointed Jemal ud din, the son of Taj ud din Ali, of Shirvan, as Vizier, who exerted himself to fulfil its duties with vigilance. But the calm was of very short duration. The fact was, the empire was breaking asunder, and the amirs in the various districts were becoming more and more independent. Among these, the most important in the West were Sheikh Hassan, the Jelair, the son of Amir Hussein Gurkan by a daughter of Arghun Khan, who had control of Rum; and Haji Toghai, who was the son of the powerful Amir Sunatai, or Suntai. Sunatai had been appointed governor of Armenia, and also of Diarbekr, at the accession of Abusaid. In this he was apparently succeeded by his son, Haji Toghai, in the year 732 HEJ. The latter was at enmity with Ali Padishah and his people, the Uirads, and he accordingly sent to his neighbour Sheikh Hassan, urging him to seize the reins of power. Sheikh Hassan thereupon nominated a Khan of his own, viz., Muhammed Shah, son of Yul Kutlugh, son of Kuiji, or Kushji (called Ans Timur in the "Shajrat ul Atrak"), son of Anbarji (called Itiarchi in the "Shajrat ul Atrak"), son of Mangu Timur, son of Khulagu. So that there were now two rivals for the throne, both descended from Khulagu—one supported by Ali Padishah, the other by Sheikh Hassan. The latter nominated Shems ud din Muhammed Zakaria, son of Rashid's daughter, as Vizier.‡ Sheikh Hassan left the Amir Irshad, or Yeshed, in charge of Rum, and marched against Ali Padishah, who was at Tebriz with an army composed of the troops of Rum (*i.e.*, of the Turkomans and Georgians). Before coming to arms he proposed to Ali Padishah that they should agree upon some candidate worthy of the throne, and should then withdraw each to his own province. Ali Padishah was willing to do this, but his generals would not consent to abandon the provinces they had so lately won. He accordingly sent word to Sheikh Hassan that they must fight it out, and

* Quatremere, liii.-liv. † D'Ohsson, iv. 723.
‡ Quatremere, lv. Ilkhans, ii. 315. D'Ohsson, iv. 723.

that the fight should take place at Alatagh. The "Shajrat ul Atrak" says the two amirs came together near the town of Naushehr. Before the fight Ali Padishah sent his opponent a message to this effect: "We are both Mussulmans. The princes are about to fight for empire. What need have we to take part in the struggle, and to answer in the next world for the blood about to be shed?" Sheikh Hassan accepted the proposition, and each one of them planted himself on a neighbouring height, Sheikh Hassan having 2,000 men with him. The struggle took place on the 24th of July, 1336, and a plentiful harvest of infidels was reaped, says the "Shajrat ul Atrak." Musa won the battle, and went in pursuit of the fugitives. Meanwhile Ali Padishah descended from his vantage in high glee, and went down towards a fountain to bathe, before returning thanks for the victory in a namaz of two re'kats; but he was suddenly attacked, when he and his men had discarded their armour, by Sheikh Hassan, who killed him and slaughtered his people. Musa upon this withdrew towards Baghdad. Sheikh Hassan sent Kara Hussein, his naib, and the Amir Akurpukh, the Uighur, in pursuit. After killing many people, he returned to Tebriz with his nominee, Sultan Muhammed, who took up his residence there, and married Dilshad Khatun, the widow of Abusaid. He treated the family of the vizier, Ghiath ud din Muhammed, with great consideration, and divided the vizierate between Masud Shah, son of Mahmud Shah Inju, and Shems ud din Zakaria, nephew of Ghiath ud din, above named. Sultanshah, son of Nikruz, was executed for having caused the death of Baghdad Khatun. He also sent Satibeg, the widow of Choban and of Arpagaun, with her son Siurgan, or Shiburgan, to Mughan.

Amir Akurpukh Uighur, who was sent in pursuit of Musa Khan, quarrelled with Kara Hussein, and went to Sultania to Amir Pir Hussein, the grandson of Choban, who had married his niece, Oghlan Khatun. When he arrived there and related what had happened, they together marched to Khorasan, and in concert with the amirs of that country, and by the united exertions of Amir Sheikh Ali, son of Ali Kushji (who was governor of some cities in Khorasan), Amir Ali Jaafer, Amir Arghun Shah (son of Amir Nuruz, son of the famous Amir Arghun Aka), and the amirs who had fled from Amir Sheikh Hassan, brought Toghai Timur from Mazanderan and installed him as Khan in Khorasan, and read the khutbeh and struck money in his name. The "Shajrat ul Atrak" tell us the grandfather of Toghai Timur Khan, Baba Behadur, had migrated in the year 705 HEJ. with 10,000 families, dependants of Kaidu Khan, into Khorasan, where he entered the service of Uljaitu Khan, and was afterwards put to death. His descendants lived in the district of Jorjan, where Toghai Timur was also brought up. This authority calls Baba Behadur the son of Abukan, son of Alkan, son of Turi, son of Juchi, son of Kibad, son of Yissougai (*i.e.*, it makes him descend from Juchi Khazar,

the brother of Jingis Khan). The father of Toghai Timur was called Surikuri. He himself lived, according to the same author, in Mazanderan (doubtless Jorjan is meant). Toghai Timur having been proclaimed Khan, marched towards Tebriz, and on reaching the borders of Azerbaijan, was joined by the fugitive Musa Khan, who was living with the Uirads. An agreement was made that if successful Toghai Timur should retain Khorasan, while Musa should take Irak and Azerbaijan. They met Sheikh Hassan, his nominee, the Khan Muhammed, and his army at Meragha. The "Shajrat ul Atrak" says at Germrud. This was in June, 1337. Toghai Timur Khan fled. Musa Khan held his ground with his Uirads and a body of Khorasan troops, but they were eventually defeated. Musa was captured during the fight and taken to Sheikh Hassan, who had him put to death on the 10th of July, 1337.*

Frœhn mentions a copper coin of Musa Khan, with the names of the four orthodox khalifs on it as struck at Tebriz in 736.† There are also two copper coins of his in the British Museum, but apparently without the names of mints on them.

We will now make a short digression to bring up the story of the intercourse of the Persian Mongols with Egypt. In the year 732 Darenda, a town situated some distance west of Malattiya, was surrendered by its Persian governor to the Egyptians, and the traitor was thereupon made an amir by the Sultan Nasir. Abusaid, who had been on friendly terms with the Sultan as we saw, asked for its restitution, as it lay in the midst of his territory. Nasir granted the request, and it again became part of the government of Rum.‡ We must always remember that the Mongol domination over the greater part of Asia Minor was rather in the form of suzerainty than of direct control. It had been so in the days of the Seljuks, and it was still more so now. The greater part of the country west of the salt steppes that stretch from Conia to Angora, was occupied by several Turkoman principalities, which no doubt owed only a slight allegiance to the Mongol governor of Rum. That official held court at Sivas, and, in addition, according to Ibn Batuta, controlled directly the towns of Ak Serai, Nigdeh (or Nicdeh), Cæsarea, Sivas, Amasia, Sunisa, and Kumish Khana. His government bordered immediately on the territory of Armenia, controlled by Haji Toghai. At that time the Mongol governor of Rum was called Alai ud din Artena, who had married Taghy Khatun, a royal princess. She was styled Agha (*i.e.*, great), by which name the relatives of the Ilkhan were known. Ibn Batuta tells us he paid her a visit at Cæsarea. She rose on his arrival, saluted him graciously, and gave him refreshments, and afterwards sent him a horse saddled and bridled, a robe of honour, and money. At Sivas

* D'Ohsson, iv. 723-726. Ilkhans, ii. 315-317. Shajrat ul Atrak, 311-317.
† Frœhn, de Ilchanorum, &c., numis 534. ‡ Weil, iv. 347. Note.

our traveller visited Artena himself, who came out to meet him to the door of his palace. The amir spoke Arabic well, and questioned his visitor about the two Iraks, Ispahan, Shiraz, Kerman, the atabeg of Lur, Syria, Egypt, and the Turcoman chiefs.*

To revert to Egypt. During the recent troubled times, Nasir, the Egyptian Sultan, was naturally courted by the various aspirants to the throne. Thus in June, 1336, directly after the death of Arpagaun, envoys went to Cairo from Musa and Ali Padishah, conveying their good wishes, which were reciprocated.† Makrizi seems to say that Arpagaun himself sought Nasir's help, and promised him in return possession of Baghdad.‡ In the beginning of 1337 envoys went to Egypt from Sheikh Hassan and his *protégé*, who were received equally heartily with those of Musa. The Sultan had promised the latter his help, and had sent a contingent of troops to the frontier. At the same time he informed Sheikh Hassan the Great that these troops were ready to help him. When the Sheikh defeated his rival he sent Nasir his thanks for this proffered aid, and although he had been in allegiance with Musa, the Sultan did not hesitate to send the victor his congratulations on his victory, with costly gifts. Soon after, Nasir courted an alliance with Artena, the Mongol governor of Asia Minor, already named, who was threatened on one side by Sheikh Hassan, and on another by Karaja Ibn Abi Dulkadr, who had appropriated certain districts near Ablestan. Artena promised to acknowledge Nasir as his suzerain, and to strike coin and have the Friday prayer said in his name. The Sultan was highly pleased at this, and instructed the Sheikh Shihab ud din to draw up a formal diploma, investing Artena as his deputy in Rum. On neither side, however, was there any intention to keep these easy promises any longer than was necessary for self-interest. Karaja surprised the fortress of Darenda, in Asia Minor, which belonged to Artena's government, and asked the governor of Aleppo to send an Egyptian governor and a Mussulman garrison there. The treacherous Sultan thereupon, disregarding his alliance with Artena, at once rewarded his more useful friend. Artena, on his side, when he no longer feared Sheikh Hassan the Great, refused to have the coin struck and the prayers said in Nasir's name. He renewed his promise, however, when troops from Syria, in alliance with the Turkomans of Karaja, invaded his district.§

MUHAMMED KHAN.

The death of Musa still left two contending Khans, viz., Toghai Timur, who, after the battle above-mentioned, withdrew to Bostam, and continued to be obeyed in Khorasan and Jorjan; and Muhammed, the *protégé* of Sheikh Hassan. I described how Timurtash, the son of Choban, who had been governor of Rum, fled to Egypt, and was there killed. One of

* Op. cit., ii. 284-295. † Weil, iv. 345-346. ‡ *Id.*, 346. § *Id.*, 346-347.

his sons was also called Sheikh Hassan, and to distinguish him from the chieftain of the same name, whom we have so often named, was called Kuchuk, or the Little, the other being known as Buzurg, or the Great. After the proscription of his family, he hid away. He now reappeared, and began to collect his father's partisans, and produced a Turkish slave named Karajar (perhaps the Karaja already named), who had been in the service of Haji Hamza, an officer of Timurtash, whom he tried to pass off as his father.* He pretended that Timurtash, having escaped from the prisons of Cairo, had been wandering for some years in distant countries. He married the slave to his own mother, treated him publicly with respect, walking beside his horse; and many people, misled by this conduct, ranged themselves under the banners of the pretender. His patron, Sheikh Hassan the Little, now sent to announce to his namesake the return of his father. Haji Hamza, who was there with the latter, went to verify the fact, and having been gained over, attested that the impostor was really Timurtash. The partisans of the family of Choban and the Uirads, who did not willingly obey him, now abandoned Sheikh Hassan the Great and went over to the camp of the false Timurtash, to whom they remained faithful, even after his imposture was discovered.

When Nasir, the Egyptian Sultan, heard of the outbreak of the Lesser Hassan and of the reappearance of Timurtash, he was greatly embarrassed, for those who had been commissioned to put the latter to death were all dead, and he was afraid they might have deceived him, and that if Timurtash succeeded in reinstating himself he would become his bitterest enemy. He therefore sent Ahmed Assahbi, one of his most trusted amirs, to Haji Toghai, the Prince of Diarbekr, to form a close alliance with him, which was to be strengthened by the marriage of a son of Toghai with one of his own daughters. Toghai received this envoy well, and sent word back that he did not believe in the pretender, and that he had allied himself with Hassan the Greater against him. The same night, however, the troops of the Lesser Hassan drew near, and Toghai fled to Baghdad. Ahmed, the Sultan's envoy, was plundered, and escaped with difficulty to Aleppo, where he informed his master of what had occurred. Soon after, news came from the Prince of Mardin that the Lesser Hassan had won a victory over his enemy, and that he felt it necessary to submit to him. Nasir again sent Ahmed to Toghai, and renewed his former proposals. Toghai replied that this was not the time to think of marriage. He hoped to be more successful in a second encounter with their enemy, and he begged him to send a few thousand men to Aleppo, who might assist him in case of necessity, and would in any case be a

* Shirgai does not call him a Turk, but says that Choban, having married a daughter of the King of Georgia, had a son by her. When he subsequently married Abusaid's sister, he sent the Georgian princess and her son back to her father. Shirgai says the pretender was this son. Weil, iv. 343. Note 1.

moral support to him. We don't know what was Nasir's answer to this, but we know he exerted himself to oppose the Chobanians, and he also succeeded in winning over Hafiz, a brother of Ali Padishah, who was inclined towards them, to join the Greater Hassan, while he, on the other hand, strengthened the alliance between the latter and Toghai, the chief of Diarbekr.

The two Hassans, with their respective armies, at length encountered each other on the 10th July, 1338, at Nakhchivan. Hassan the Great suspected some of his generals, one of whom, Pir Hussein, went over to the other side, while the two armies were ranged opposite to one another. He thereupon fled hastily, and went to Tebriz, where he remained hid for some days, but his *protégé*, the Khan Muhammed, who was still a youth under age, fought bravely with the troops of Khorasan. He, however, fell into the hands of Sheikh Hassan the Little, who put him to death immediately. This was in July, 1338.* The "Shajrat ul Atrak" says the poet Awhad ud din, of Ispahan, flourished during Muhammed's reign. It also says Muhammed was buried at Meragha. In the British Museum there are several coins of Muhammed Khan, both in silver and copper, struck in the years 737-738 of the HEJ. Three of his mint-towns were Tebriz, Shiraz, and Hamadan. Mr. Stanley Poole also reads doubtfully the names of Kebir-Sheikh, and Shakan.† Frœhn adds the mint town of Kara Aghach.‡

SATIBEG KHAN.

After the battle, one portion of the army of the victor went to Tebriz and the other to Sultania, and both towns were plundered. The false Timurtash now tried to rid himself of his probably too exacting patron, the Lesser Hassan. He made an ineffectual attempt to assassinate him, and stabbed him with a knife, but the wound was not mortal, and the wounded Sheikh went to Georgia. The false Timurtash having made an attempt to secure Tebriz, and been beaten by the elder Hassan, was joined by the amirs of the Uirads, who had been driven from Irak Ajem, and marched towards Baghdad. Hassan the Little denounced his *protégé*, and went and joined the Princess Satibeg, called Saki Begum in the "Shajrat ul Atrak," the sister of Abusaid, and the widow of his grandfather Choban, who, with her son, Shiburgah Shireh, whom she had had by Choban, had refused to join Hassan the Great. With her he returned to Tebriz, and we read that sixteen of the family of Choban (*i.e.*, of his own relatives) assembled before him and demanded a ruler of the race of Khulagu Khan. The amirs of the Hazaras said that Satibeg, the daughter of Uljaitu Sultan, and sister of Abusaid Khan, was entitled to the throne, since no male of the family of Khulagu remained. She was thereupon

* D'Ohsson, iv. 726-728. Ilkhans, ii. 317. Weil, iv. 343. Shajrat ul Atrak, 315-318.
† Catalogue, &c., 94-97. ‡ De Ilk, &c., numis 534-536.

seated on the throne. This was in 639 HEJ. Her name was inserted in the khutbeh or public prayer, and also on the coins. Having assembled an army, the Lesser Hassan marched with her to Sultania. The Greater Hassan, on hearing of this, went to Kazvin, but presently again advanced to oppose his rival. Some negotiations took place between them, and eventually the latter paid a visit to the Princess Satibeg, acknowledged her right to the throne, and the two Hassans embraced each other. It was arranged that that winter the elder Hassan should remain at Sultania and the Princess Satibeg at Karabagh, and that in the spring a kuriltai should be called together to make arrangements for the future. The princess, with the Lesser Hassan, thereupon went to Irak and Azerbaijan, while the elder Hassan went to Sultania. The former put to death the pretender, Timurtash, at Aujan. He had been seized and handed over by the Uirads.

Although the Greater Hassan had outwardly made peace with Satibeg and her patron, the Lesser Hassan, he apparently did not really mean all he said, and invited Toghai Timur Khan to come from Khorasan. This was in the year 739 HEJ. The Khan was accompanied by the Amir Arghun Shah, and by his vizier, Khoja Alai ud din Muhammed. But Hassan speedily repented his complacency, for Toghai Timur and the amirs of Khorasan followed in everything the advice of the Vizier, who adopted a parsimonious *régime*, and cut down the salaries, &c., while he augmented the taxes. Meanwhile, negotiations were furtively opened with the Lesser Hassan, to whom Toghai Timur sent Akurpukh, the Uighur, who had been the atabeg of Abusaid Khan, to say that friendship had existed between his father and Choban, Hassan's grandfather, and when an order had been issued to put his father, Surikuri, to death, the Amir Choban had resisted it, and that he could not forget such an act, nor could he in consequence permit any injury to be done to any of the Chobanians, and that it would be well to do away with all cause of enmity that existed. Sheikh Hassan the Little was pleased with this message, and readily said that whatever the Padishah proposed was undoubtedly for the good of religion, the kingdom, and the people; and having made rich presents to Akurpukh and his companions, he begged him in private to convey his assurance of devotion to Toghai Timur, to urge upon him that he himself had no real authority in the kingdom, and that he was suspicious of the motives of Sheikh Hassan the Great, who was his father-in-law, whom it would be prudent to put aside, after whose death he would give Dilshad Khatun and Satibeg to Toghai Timur, and all his family would unite in his service. When Akurpukh returned with this message, Toghai Timur, captivated by the hope of securing Satibeg as his wife, returned a favourable answer, and suggested that some agreement should be drawn up on these terms Sheikh Hassan the Little said he was quite firm in his purpose, and that

the best solution would be for Toghai Timur himself to sign a document embodying the agreement, and calling upon the Chobanians to put to death Sheikh Hassan the Great and all his dependants, and to make over the viceroyalty of the kingdom and the tribes to the Chobanians. Toghai Timur unwittingly fell into the trap which the astute Hassan planted for him, and duly signed a document embodying the provisions above-mentioned, which he sent to the deceitful Sheikh. The latter, with his diabolical craft, at once set off, with Pir Hussein and Amir Ali Tulpin, to the camp of Sheikh Hassan the Great. He summoned one of his servants to tell him his namesake was waiting outside, and sent the following message by him: Although Sheikh Hassan the Great had separated from him, and introduced a stranger to rule the country who had no claim to the succession, and who was besides the enemy of the house of Khulagu; although he had expended treasures on armies to support that stranger and had hazarded his life and fortune in his defence, notwithstanding that same stranger had written the agreement he now sent him, in his (Sheikh Hassan's) absence indulging himself in visionary projects, while professing in public to be his friend. He went on to say that although he, Sheikh Hassan the Great, deemed him (Sheikh Hassan the Little) his enemy, yet he could not permit such treachery to be concerted against him, nor that any hurt should befall him, and he therefore warned him to take care of himself. Having delivered this artful message he returned laughing to his camp and again prepared for war, although he told his officers that all necessity for war was at an end, and that Toghai Timur's sedition had been quelled, which they would shortly see. When Sheikh Hassan the Great received the incriminating document, "awaking from the slumber of negligence," he ordered his men to get under arms, and then summoned Arghun Shah, who was Toghai Khan's deputy, before whom he threw the paper, and asked him if it was in the Padishah's handwriting. On his saying yes, he asked, "What evil have I done to him, that he should have such treacherous intentions towards me and my family?" Arghun, being ignorant of the whole matter, fell on his knees, and after praising the kindness and goodwill of Sheikh Hassan, said he knew nothing of the agreement, but thought it might be traced to the wiles and fraud of the Lesser Sheikh Hassan, for that Toghai Timur, although a king, was yet a simple, plain Mongol, and not able to cope with the insidious arts of the Chobanian; that if he, Sheikh Hassan, would grant permission, he and all the troops of Khorasan would either devote themselves to death before him or root out the family of Choban. When Sheikh Hassan heard these manly words he said, "May God forgive the sins of your predecessors," and having embraced him said, "You are the grandson of the Great Arghun, who by the authority of Mangu Khakan was chief of all the tribes of Khulagu Khan. It is also written in the regulations of Khulagu that he was always guided by the

advice of Amir Arghun, and as you also are faithful and trustworthy, carry this writing to the traitor Toghai Timur, and ask why, without any cause of enmity, he entertains such villainous designs against me." He accordingly went to his master, who, "putting the finger of astonishment between the teeth of thought," at last said, "I did not believe the Chobanians capable of such exceeding fraud and villainy, but as it is, having fallen to the ground between two horses, it is not wise to remain here." He was, in fact, so ashamed of having been tricked in this way, that he left the same night for Khorasan, and the various troops who had collected under his banner dispersed. His ready credulity thus lost him the empire.

Hassan the Great now again repaired to Satibeg. He kissed her hand and made excuses for his conduct, dismissed his troops, and left with her for Aujan. They rode side by side, while the Lesser Hassan went on the flank or in front of the cavalcade to preserve order. When they reached Aujan, Hassan the Great encamped two parasangs away, while some of the amirs went to Tebriz. His namesake and rival now became suspicious that he was going to be superseded, and rebelled. He left the camp of Satibeg, which he plundered; and professing that it was indecent for the kingdom to be ruled by a woman, he caused several of her officers and those of her son Shiburgan to be put to death, and set up Suliman as Khan.*

Several of Satibeg's coins are extant. In the British Museum there are eighteen in silver, struck during the years 739-741 at Khelat, Arbuk, Hisn, Baghdad, and doubtfully at Arzen and Turkan.† Frähn only names two in his monograph on the coins of the dynasty, one struck at Berdaa and the other at Tebriz, the former in 739.

SHAH JIHAN TIMUR KHAN.

When Hassan the Great heard how his rival had set up Suliman, he also raised a puppet of his own to the throne in the person of Shah Jihan Timur, surnamed Iz ud din, who was the son of Alafrenk, son of Gaikhatu, son of Abaka, and appointed Shems ud din Zakaria as his vizier. At the approach of winter he went to Baghdad, the capital of Irak Arab, of which province he had control, as well as of Khuzistan and Diarbekr. In 1340 he determined to attack his rival and namesake, and advanced from Baghdad with his nominee, Shah Jihan Khan, as far as the river Baghatu (called Chagatu or Yughtu in the "Shajrat ul Atrak"), near which they fought a battle, which he lost. On returning to Baghdad after this reverse he deposed the Khan whom he had created, as an ignorant man, unfit to reign.‡

* Shajrat ul Atrak, 319-327. D'Ohsson, iv. 729-732. Ilkhans, ii. 318-319.
† Poole's Catalogue, 103-106. ‡ Shajrat ul Atrak, 327-329. D'Ohsson, iv. 732-733.

There are two silver coins of Jihan Timur in the British Museum, both struck in the year 740 HEJ., one at Arzenjan and the other at Khelat.*

SULIMAN KHAN.

Hassan the Less, as we have seen, had nominated Suliman as ruler of the Khanate. He was the son of Muhammed (Abulghazi leaves out Muhammed, and makes him son of Sanga), son of Sanga, son of Yashmut, son of Khulagu. He married Satibeg,† and acquired authority over Irak Ajem, Azerbaijan, Arran, Mughan, and Georgia. The rest of the empire had been appropriated by different chiefs, who were virtually independent, although all of them did not exercise, so far as we know, the right of coinage. There were Satibeg and the Chobanians in Arran, and Haji Toghai in Diarbekr. Rum, in so far as it was subject to the Mongols, was shared between Artena and Ashraf, son of Timurtash. The sons of Mahmud Shah Inju held Fars. The province of Ispahan obeyed the Seyid Jelal ud din Mirmiran and A'mad ud din Lenbani. Mubariz ud din Muhammed Mozaffer remained master of Yezd; Malik Kutb ud din Ghuri, of Kerman; Malik Shuja ud din, of the district of Kum (called Bam by D'Ohsson); and Malik Moiz ud din Hussein, of Herat. Toghai Timur Khan reigned in Mazanderan and part of Khorasan. Arghun Shah, son of Nuruz, held the district of Tus, and the Amir Abdullah Mulai, Kuhistan.‡

When, in 740, an embassy came from Sheikh Hassan the Great asking Nasir, the Egyptian Sultan, to send one of his sons with some troops to Irak, and offering to acknowledge him as his suzerain, he replied that his sons were too young, but that he would himself march to Irak with his men if Sheikh Hassan, Hafiz, and Toghai would first swear allegiance to him. In the following year the Chobanians again invaded Irak. Hassan sent once more to Egypt to ask that an army might be sent to him under a competent general, and offering to strike money and have the Friday prayer said in the Sultan's name. The suspicious Sultan asked that these two conditions should first be fulfilled, and then he would send an army. The amir Ahmed was again sent, and Toghai at Diarbekr, and Sheikh Hassan at Baghdad, swore allegiance to the Sultan; while the latter, in the presence of the envoy, in March and April, 1341, had both money struck and the Friday prayer said in his suzerain's name. Ahmed took some of this money with him back to Egypt, and also Ibrahim Shah, a nephew of Sheikh Hassan, and Berheshin, a son of Toghai, as hostages, together with several kadhis, who carried the documents in which the two chiefs

* Poole, op. cit., 102.
† The "Shajrat ul Atrak" says it was Hassan the Less who married the princess by force.
‡ D'Ohsson, 729-730. Ilkhans, ii. 318.

declared themselves Nasir's vassals. They reached Cairo on the 23rd of May, 1341, whereupon the Sultan set about the equipment and provisioning of the army. A few days before it was to march, however, messengers came from the Prince of Mardin to say that the Lesser Hassan, angry at the alliance of his rivals with the Egyptians, had sent envoys to his namesake and rival, and that the latter had made peace with him. Nasir now countermanded his orders to the army, and sent messengers to make some fresh inquiries, but before their return he had died.* This was in the summer of 1341. The same year Hassan the Little defeated Toghai Timur Khan, who had made another attack upon Irak, and drove him away.† He now marched against Haji Toghai, the friend and ally of the Elder Hassan. Toghai sent his nephew and the mollah Suti to take him a proposition for an accommodation, but he himself fled in all haste to Mush in Armenia. He was killed by Ibrahim, brother of Ali Padishah, in 743 or 744.‡ Hassan paid no heed to the communications he had received, but ravaged the district of Mush with fire and sword. The ruler of Mardin went to do homage to him and his nominee Suliman, and was well received and given presents. From Mardin Hassan marched with a large army against his rival of many years' standing, Hassan the Great, who sent an army against him under the amirs Ali Jaafer and Kara Hussein, who defeated him. He thereupon turned his steps towards Rum, plundering the properties of the grandees on the way. Erzerum was laid under contribution, while the mihrab and minbar (*i.e.*, the altar and pulpit) in the mosque in that town, which had been recently rebuilt by Haji Toghai, were burnt, and the grave of Toghai's son was opened and despoiled. In the autumn he went to Tebriz, where Suliman, his nominee, had taken up his residence. In the summer he sent the vizier, Ghiath ud din Muhammed Ali Shahi, to Sultania, for his uncle Shiburgan (called Siyurgan by Von Hammer). After detaining him some time at Tebriz he sent him to Kara Hissar, in Asia Minor. He himself went to Alatagh and Bulak to lay waste the yurt of Haji Toghai and the possessions of the family of Sunatai, and having returned to Tebriz, built a monastery, a medresseh or college, and a mosque surpassing all others there in elegance. Meanwhile, his brother Ashraf had gone to Shiraz to drive out Abu Ishak, who had set up authority there, but returned unsuccessful. Ashraf then allied himself with his uncle Yaghi Basti, the son of Choban, against his brother Hassan the Little, and they went over to his rival, the Great Hassan, while several amirs of the Uirads, who had quarrelled with the latter, followed their example. Hassan Kuchuk thereupon killed the remaining amirs of the Uirads who had not been lucky enough to escape. With his usual crafty power of

* Weil, op. cit., 348-349.
† D'Ohsson, iv. 732-734. Shajrat ul Atrak, 329-330.
‡ Weil, iv. 344. Note.

aspersion, he succeeded in arousing his rival's suspicions against Yaghi Basti and Shiburgan, who both fled. The Great Hassan now went to Baghdad, while the Little Hassan repaired again to Tebriz. Yaghi Basti and his nephew Ashraf having plundered the camp of Issen Kutlugh, near Rai, marched against Fars, which was then the great *entrepôt* of Persian trade, and, naturally, well worth plundering. On the way they were joined by Pir Hussein, son of Mahmud, son of Choban, and, therefore, Ashraf's cousin; and they carried off from Ispahan what they could in the shape of banners, drums, trumpets, standards, horses, and camels. Ebrkiuh was burnt, and two thousand of its inhabitants, who had sought shelter in a cave, were suffocated with smoke. The Sheikh Abu Ishak Inju, the ruler of Shiraz, prepared once more to resist them; but when they were within a day's journey of the place, Ashraf heard that his brother Hassan had been assassinated, and accordingly returned.*

The "Shajrat ul Atrak" tells us that in the beginning of the year 744 HEJ. Hassan dispatched his *protégé* Suliman Khan, with Yakub Shah and other amirs, to Rum, but they were defeated and obliged to return. He thereupon imprisoned Yakub for having misbehaved in the battle. One of Yakub's friends, named Arab Mulk, afraid that he might be executed, associated two or three women with him, and on the night of the 27th Rajab of the same year got access to him and killed him, by violently twisting his generative parts, as related in the lines of the poet Khoja Selman Saveji. The next day they secretly left the palace, and the murder was not discovered till the third day, whereupon a search was made for Arab Mulk, who, with his confederates, was seized and put to death.† Another account tells the story differently, viz., that Hassan's wife, Izzet Malik, who had an intrigue with the Amir Hassan Yakub Shah, whom Sheikh Hassan had imprisoned for some grave offence, fancying that her intercourse with that chief was discovered, took advantage of an occasion when Sheikh Hassan was very drunk, and killed him (*lui ôter la vie, en lui pressant les testicules*). This was in 1343. Inasmuch as the strictness and severity of Sheikh Hassan were so well known, no one dared go near the harem, and two days elapsed before his death was known. Izzet Malik, with the women who were her accomplices, had gone out under the pretence of bathing, and had hidden herself. On the third day, the amirs, who had become nervous, sent a woman into the harem, where she found only the corpse of the dead chief, who had expiated a life of violence and chicanery by a corresponding end. Izzet Malik was punished for her crime by a most ignominious death. Her body was cut in pieces and given to the swine to be eaten, and there were people who cut off portions of her flesh and ate them. Among others,

* Ilkhans, ii. 330-331. † Op. cit., 331-332.

the poet Selman, as I have said, the contemporary and rival of Hafiz, wrote an epigram on this tragedy. Suliman Khan, having distributed the considerable treasures of his dead patron among his generals, returned to Karabagh, where he presently imprisoned Kadhi Hussein, the son of the Amir Hassan, and released from prison the Amir Yakub Shah, who had put the murderers of his late patron to death, and nominated him, as the bravest and most prudent of all his amirs, to the post of Amir ul Umera. He was so troubled by the ambitious pretensions of the amirs that he summoned Ashraf and his uncle Yaghi Basti, who accordingly went to Tebriz.

Meanwhile, Shiburgan, who as we have seen had been imprisoned at Kara Hissar, in Asia Minor, killed the commander of that place, seized the treasures which Sheikh Hassan had deposited there, and went and joined Ashraf and Yaghi Basti at Maamurieh, whence they went to Alatagh and the Blue Lake (*i.e.*, that of Erivan), where Choban's head-quarters had formerly been. Their forces rapidly augmented, while those of the titular ruler, Suliman Shah, melted away, and he thought it prudent to fly to Diarbekr. Several of his amirs, such as Haji Hamza, Mulai and his son Muhammed Ali Shah, the vizier, and Bestal the Georgian, joined the three Chobanian chiefs. His vizier, Amad ud din Zeravi, tried to sow discord among the triumvirate, and reported to Ashraf on the one side, and to Yaghi Basti and Shiburgan on the other, that the other side meant that very night to strike a blow. Both parties remained under arms during the night. In the morning messengers passed between them, and the matter having been explained, Amad ud din was put to death. The three Chobanian chiefs now repaired together to Tebriz; but as the citizens paid greater honour to Yaghi Basti and Shiburgan than to Ashraf, the latter became jealous, and under pretence that it was contrary to the yasa of Jingis Khan that Mongols should live in towns, he pointed out to the two amirs that there was good pasturage at the foot of the mountain Sehend. Meanwhile, he heard from the Amir Jelal ud din Amir Kutlugh Shah Ghazani that they intended falling upon him in the morning. Taking his brother, Malik Misr, with him, he repaired to Tebriz, where he learnt that his two associates had gone in the night to Khui. He followed them on foot, and overtook them at Maamurieh. There a struggle took place, in which he won the day. This was apparently in the year 745 HEJ. The "Shajrat ul Atrak" calls the battlefield the field of Aghbabad, and says that after it Ashraf encamped at the town of Babul. Von Hammer calls it Totil.* I do not know what became of Suliman.

There are numerous silver coins of Suliman Khan in the British Museum, struck in the years 740, 741, 742, 743, and 745, and one, possibly

* D'Ohsson, iv. 734-735. Ilkhans, ii. 319-320 & 329-333. Shajrat ul Atrak, 333.

a posthumous coin, struck in 751, at Sivas.* The other mints on coins in the Museum are Kashan, Baiburt, Hisn, Nakhchivan, Bar'an, Keek (?), Erzenjan, Shirvan, Sivas, Kebir Sheikh, Tebriz, Yezd, Tus, Saveh, Sinjar, and Nubenjan (?) General Houtum-Schindler has published the additional mints of Kerman and Sirjan.† Frœhn also mentions Sultania, Erzerum, and Kazvin as mints on his coins.

ANUSHIRVAN KHAN.

Suliman, shadow that he was, was not the last of the Ilkhans. We must add a notice of another puppet who was set up by Ashraf. After his victory over his relatives at Maamurieh, we are told by Mirkhavend that he raised to the throne a Persian of an ancient stock claiming descent from the famous smith, Giave or Gavian, who lived in the heroic age of Persian history. Khuandemir and Jennaby call him a Kipchak, while Abulghazi makes him descend from Khulagu.‡ Ashraf ordered him to be styled Aadil (*i.e.*, The Just), as his namesake, the Sassanian ruler, had been.

After this, Ashraf went to Kuntsak, in Arran, where Mohai ud din also arrived with propositions of peace from Yaghi Basti and Shiburgan. Ashraf was willing to agree to this, but Shiburgan could not trust him, and went to Diarbekr, where he was at first well received by Ilkan, the son of Sheikh Hassan the Great, who governed there. It was not long, however, before he lost confidence in him and killed him. Yaghi Basti joined Ashraf, his nephew, with whom he went to Tebriz. When they arrived there the Malik made away with his uncle in a way that no one ever became acquainted with. After this he oppressed the people so much that all who could fled from Iran and Azerbaijan to other countries for safety. At Karabagh he received the allegiance of Kaus or Kavus, the son of Kaikobad, the ruler of Shirvan, to whom he presented a golden cap and jewelled girdle; but the prince of Shirvan was so affected by his truculence (he cut off an amir's head in his presence) that he fled at night, and when Ashraf sent an apologetic embassy with a request for the hand of Kaikobad's daughter in marriage, Kaikobad refused, as he foresaw that this connection would speedily bring him with an army to Shirvan. Having returned to Tebriz, Ashraf shut his brother, Malik Misr, up in prison, and put several begs to death. He imprisoned Ortok, son of the Khoja Jelal ud din, in the Rashidian citadel at Tebriz, and when he left the city in the next winter he intrusted it to the care of a Greek slave, named Muhammed, with a guard of 2,000 men. This slave revolted in his master's absence, and set the two State prisoners free. Ashraf set out in the middle of winter from Karabagh to Tebriz, to put down the revolt. Famine and pestilence

* See Poole's Catalogue, p. 4. † Num. Chron., N.S., xx. 320-321.
‡ Frœhn de Ilchanorum, &c., numis 541. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, ii. 333.

meanwhile prevailed, and the tyrant having returned to Karabagh, marched with an army against Shirvan; but while both armies faced one another on each side of the frontier river, in full panoply, Ashraf and Kavus, the Shirvan prince, were reconciled. He then, in the year 748 HEJ., turned his arms against Sheikh Hassan the Great, at Baghdad, which he laid siege to. Hassan wished to retire to Kumakh, but his wife, Dilshad, begged him to stay, and presently Ashraf was constrained to retire by the bold front of the besieged. Returning to Tebriz, he distributed among his amirs the various commands of troops in Azerbaijan, Arran, Mughan, Gurjistan (*i.e.*, Georgia), and Kurdistan, and piled up immense treasures. His right hand man was his vizier, the Khoja Abdulhaji, whom, however, notwithstanding his great services, he shut up the next year (*i.e.*, 1349) in the fortress, with his son-in-law, Masud Dameghani, a famous caligraphist. They were afterwards sent to Alamut, and intrusted to its guardian, Kia Irmail, who received the Vizier with great honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Abdulhaji kept up a correspondence with the ruler of Ghilan, and Ashraf soon repented of having confided his custody to the governor of Alamut. To make sure of the Vizier, he loaded his relatives with gifts, and urged him with most flattering messages to return. He accordingly did so, and his confidence was characteristically rewarded by his being imprisoned in the castle of Alinju. His son-in-law, Masud, of Dameghan, was made Vizier in his place. The next year (*i.e.*, in 1350) the latter, together with the Khoja Muin the Serbedar, were seized and immured in the castle of Ruyin. Ashraf now set out to attack Ispahan. Although his army was 50,000 strong, he could only blockade it on two sides. The siege was protracted for fifty days, and the struggle was very fierce. At length the citizens sent him word that they were prepared to resist to the last breath, if necessary, to defend the town; but that if all he wanted was an acknowledgment of his supremacy, they were willing to have the khutbeh said and the coin struck in his name. Ashraf consented, and thereupon sent the mollah Sherif ud din, of Nakhchivan, into the place, to see these terms carried out, and the Friday prayer was duly said in the name of Anushirvan, the titular ruler and *protégé* of Ashraf, while 2,000 dinars were also struck with his name. The town also paid 100,000 dinars in value of linen and staple.*

Ashraf now raised the siege, and returned to Tebriz. Anushirvan was, of course, a mere shadow, like the puppets set up by Timur, the real authority being in the hands of Ashraf. He was of a very avaricious disposition, and put to death wealthy men, and the governors whom he himself appointed, in order to secure their wealth. At Aujan he put to death the judge Shems ud din, the khoja Ghiath ud din Shekerleb (*i.e.*, Sugar Lips), and Sultan Shah Zeravi. The deposed vizier, Abdulhaji,

* Ilkhans, ii. 336-338. D'Ohsson, iv. 736-737. Shajrat ul Atrak, 334.

he sent to a fortress in Kurdistan and placed him under the supervision of the *kiotval* (*i.e.*, castle governor) Musa, and as he treated him humanely Ashraf sent him a sharp message to alter this. He was accordingly immured in a dungeon, and fed on bread and water until he died. Feeling that the people of Tebriz hated him, he summoned the mollah Nisam ud din Ghafiri to use him as a tool in securing their goodwill. The latter came to the neighbourhood of Tebriz, and Ashraf went out to meet him. The mollah told him to his face that no one any longer believed his word, and Ashraf now went to Karabagh. When he had crossed the Araxes he heard at Eskeshehr that Dali Bayezid, whom he had sent away from Aujan with Abdulhaji, had revolted. In order to allay this outbreak he delayed some five days near Mughan, and then returned to Tebriz, where he distributed largess among the soldiers to make sure of them. In the fight which followed, one of the bravest of the enemy's amirs, Toka Timur, unhorsed Ashraf with a blow from a club, and dragged him along for some time. He was only rescued with difficulty, while his army was beaten. He now sent Alpi bey against Dali Bayezid, but soon learnt he had made common cause with the rebel. Once more did Ashraf open his treasures and distribute largess, and, in order to save the trouble of counting, had it measured out in sacks. Luckily for him, Alpi bey and Dali Bayezid disagreed; the latter committed suicide by running a sword into his own breast, while the former fled, but was apparently overtaken and killed, for we read that their two heads were sent to Ashraf, who set them up by the side of his throne, and afterwards had them perambulated about the country. After this revenge on two very dangerous enemies, he chiefly devoted himself to fortifying Tebriz. He lived in the Rashidian quarter, around and through which he cut ditches, in order to parcel it out into sections. He ordered all who were able, to build themselves houses to live in. Those who could not afford this were to find shelter in the mosques, medresshi, monasteries, or hospitals. He himself (says Von Hammer) was like a bat in a dark room, afraid of everybody. The birds and sheep which were dressed for his meals were throttled and cooked in his presence. He saw the water which he drank taken from the stream; so greatly did he fear assassination, and naturally, for there was no one about him who had not lost some relative through his tyranny. Outside the door of his palace was hung a chain, which those who had petitions to present rattled, and then hung their requests, whence it was known as the Chain of Justice. It was an imitation of a similar chain which Anushirvan the Just had similarly used, truly a parody of justice at the very gate of tyranny. Ashraf was engaged to be married to the daughter of the ruler of Mardin, and a year later (in 1252) the wedding took place at Tebriz amidst great rejoicings. To escape his tyranny many notable people migrated, among whom was Mohai ud din, already named, who went to Janibeg, Khan of

the Golden Horde, whom he urged to march against the tyrant. "The emperor," he said, "has it in his power to deliver the people from this tyranny. If he will not do so he will answer for it in the next world." He accordingly entered Azerbâijan, and speedily dispersed the few troops which Ashraf sent against him. Ashraf himself fled, but was captured between Merend and Khui. The "Habib Alsiar" says he sent his harem and treasures to the mountain of Muzid, situated where the fountain of Rashid ud din springs. Janibeg wanted to take him with him to Serai, but Kaus, the prince of Shirvan, and the Kadhi Mohai ud din urged that so long as he remained alive, his old subjects would not remain quiet. He was accordingly put to death, and his head was suspended from the door of a mosque; one account says at Meragha, another at Tebriz. Janibeg took possession of Tebriz, and the Friday after attended the public prayer at the mosque of Ali Shah, after which he subdued Azerbaijan. As Janibeg ruled with justice, and was the patron of literature, Molna Said ud din Tuftazani, in the year 756 HEJ., dedicated the abridgment of the Tulkhiz to him. Having completed the subjugation of the country, Janibeg withdrew again to his own dominions, taking with him Timurtash, the son, and Sultan bakht, the daughter of Ashraf, and leaving his own son Berdibeg as his deputy there. Janibeg died shortly after, and was succeeded as Khan by Berdibeg, who, on leaving Tebriz for the Kipchak, left his vizier Akhijuk there in charge, who followed the oppressive policy of Ashraf.*

I do not know when Anushirvan died. His coins in the Museum are dated in 747, 752, and 754, and doubtfully in 756, and were struck at Berdaa, Nishapur, and Tebriz, and apparently at Shirvan.† One curiously enough has a Chinese inscription in the seal character. Frœhn describes coins of his struck in 743, 746, 747, and 749, and adds the mints of Ani, Van (?), Bazar, Bailekan, and Kazvin.

The last Roman Emperor of the West was called Romulus Augustulus, uniting in his own name those of the founders of the power and of the empire of Rome. The commander of the Persians, in the fatal battle by which the Arabs overthrew the Sassanian empire, bore the famous name of Rustem. The Turkish dynasty of the Seljuks in Persia began and ended with a Tughrul. The Byzantine empire was virtually founded by one Constantine and perished under another. So did the last wearer of the crown of the Ilkhans bear the great name of Anushirvan. Soon after, strangely enough, the famous palace of the Sassanians, called Taki Kezra, whose dome had cracked during the night when Muhammed was born, fell into complete ruin.‡

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* Ilkhans, ii. 337-340. Shajrat ul Atrak, 233-234 & 333-335. D'Ohsson, iv. 735-737 & 740-742. Howorth's Hist. of the Mongols (part ii.), 178-179.

† Poole, Catalogue, 115-117. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 735-736. Ilkhans, ii. 333-334.

THE ILKANIANS OR JELAIRIDS.

HASSAN BUZURG KHAN.

The most important of the various fragments into which the empire of the Ilkhans broke in pieces, and the only one which the author of the "Shajrat ul Atrak" deems worthy of recording the story of, was the line of princes sprung from Hassan, who, to distinguish him from his rival of the same name, is generally referred to as Hassan Buzurg, or the Great. They were also known as the Jelairs, from the fact that they were derived from the Jelair tribe; and Ilkanians from Ilka Noyan, who came into Persia with Khulagu, and held a prominent position in his army. He left ten sons, of whom Akbuka was the ninth. He filled a famous *rôle* in the history of Gaikhatu Khan, having, *inter alia*, been the cause of the introduction of the famous paper money which distinguished it, and was put to death in 1295, as we have seen. His eldest son was Hussein Gurkan.* Hussein was styled Gurkan from the fact that he married the daughter of Arghun Khan. He was an important personage during the reign of Abusaid Khan, and was governor of Khorasan. He was the father of the Amir Hassan, styled Hassan the Great, whose life has occupied us so much already, and who as a grandson of the Ilkhan Arghun had the blood of Jingis Khan in his veins. We have seen how, when the various local commanders set up authority in various parts of the empire, he, the son of an Imperial princess, and who married Dilshad Khatun, the widow of Abusaid, got possession of the Arabian Irak, with his capital at Baghdad, and set up one puppet after another. The last of these apparently was Jihan Timur, whom he deposed in 1341, and then put himself on the throne. We have traced his turbulent career in the previous pages. He died at Baghdad in 757 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1356).† In the British Museum is a silver coin struck by Hassan at Baghdad, in the year 755 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1354).

SULTAN OWEIS KHAN.

By his wife Dilshad Khatun, the daughter of Dimashk Khoja and grand-daughter of the Amir Choban, Hassan had a son Oweis, who succeeded him at Baghdad. In 759 HEJ. (*i.e.*, in 1358) he marched upon Tebriz, which was then in the hands of Akhijuk, who had been left in charge of Azerbaijan by Berdibeg, the Khan of the Golden Horde, when he withdrew from it as we have described. Akhijuk went to meet him as far as the mountains Sanatai (called Meenai in the "Shajrat ul Atrak").

* Erdmann, Voll. Ueb., &c., 26-27. † D'Ohsson, iv. 742.

The battle was indecisive, and the two armies spent the night in presence of one another. The following morning Akhijuk fled. Oweis pursued him to Tebriz, into which he made a stately entry, while his enemy again fled to Nakhchivan. Oweis, we are told, took possession of the Raba-Rashidi, where he took up his residence, and in the month Ramazan of the same year he put to death forty-seven rebellious chiefs (D'Herbelot says forty) of the party of Malik Ashraf, and in consequence many other amirs and chiefs went and joined Akhijuk at Karabagh. Oweis Sultan sent the Amir Ali Tulpin to attack him, but the latter, on account of some feud he had with the Sultan, allowed himself to be beaten, or rather disgracefully fled to Akhijuk, and his army being dispersed, Oweis returned to Baghdad in the depth of winter, causing much suffering to his men.* The next year Amir Muhammed Muzaffer† advanced from Fars upon Tebriz, which he captured, but in the course of two months, having heard that Sultan Oweis was on the march again from Baghdad, he retired to his capital. When he arrived at Tebriz, the Sultan summoned Akhijuk and treated him kindly, but presently the latter was accused of some treachery, and was duly beheaded. Azerbaijan and Arran were thereby added to the dominions of Sultan Oweis.‡ In the year 765 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1363) Khoja Merjian, or Murjan, who was governor of Baghdad, rebelled, and the Sultan marched against him. The Khoja was defeated in a battle fought near the city, which was obliged to open its gates. The rebel was pardoned. Having spent eleven months enjoying himself at Baghdad, he went by way of Diarbekr to Mosul, which he captured. He then marched upon Mardin, which he also secured, and thence by way of the desert of Mush and Kara Kalisa to Tebriz, where he spent the winter. He now paid another visit to Baghdad, after which he again returned to Tebriz.§

In 767 an envoy went to Cairo from Murjan, stating that his master had thrown off his allegiance to Oweis, and had acknowledged the Sultan as his suzerain, had had the prayer said and the money coined at Baghdad in his name, had induced the people there to swear allegiance to him, and was ready to march against Oweis. If he won, then he would deem himself as governing Baghdad on behalf of the Sultan, while if he were defeated he would escape to Egypt. This embassy was well received and richly rewarded, but instead of sending troops to help the rebel the astute Egyptian ruler contented himself with providing him merely with two banners, one with the Khalif's arms upon it and the other with that of the Sultan, and sending him a diploma. Meanwhile, another embassy arrived from Sultan Oweis to report Murjan's rebellion, that he was preparing to repress him, and asking that no shelter should be offered to him in Egypt or Syria. The Egyptians were relieved from this

* D'Ohsson, iv. 742-743. Shajrat ul Atrak, 335-336.
† Vide next chapter.
‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 745. Shajrat ul Atrak, 336.
§ Shajrat ul Atrak, 336-337.

embarrassing position by the fact that the rebel was duly defeated, blinded, and imprisoned, and Baghdad again acknowledged the supremacy of Sultan Oweis.*

Oweis Khan now marched upon Mosul, then governed by the Turkoman chief Bairam Khoja, and having secured it compelled the Prince of Mardin to submit.† He also fought against the Prince of Shirvan.‡ In the year 772 (*i.e.*, 1370) he marched against Vali, the ruler of Jorjan and Kumuz.§ He defeated him near Rai, and pursued him to Simnan. This was apparently the last expedition of Sultan Oweis, who ended his career in the year 776 (*i.e.*, 1374), at Tebriz. Quatremere tells us that Nejib ud din, brother of Shems ud din Zakaria, and grandson of Rashid ud din, was his Vizier.|| In 775 the amir Wajih ud din Ismael, son of the Vizier Zakaria, was nominated governor of Irak Arab. When Oweis was dying, we are told, his amirs and Kazi Sheikh Ali Kumkhani gathered round him, and asked him to declare his last will, and to nominate his successor, as he had four sons, viz., Hassan, Hussein, Ahmed, and Bayezid. He replied, "Let the sovereignty remain with Hussein, and the government of Baghdad with Sheikh Hassan." The amirs said, "Sheikh Hassan is the elder brother, and will not submit to this arrangement." The Sultan replied, "You know best," and the amirs accepted this as a commission to do as they pleased. They accordingly put Sheikh Hassan in confinement. After this the Sultan lost the power of speech, and died on the night of Jumadi il avul, 776. The same night the amirs put Sheikh Hassan to death in the Dimashk palace, and the body of Oweis Sultan was taken to Shirvan (?) for burial.¶

In the narrative of Clavigo's embassy we read that on the left-hand side of Tebriz is a high hill, "which they say was once bought by the Genoese from a ruler named Sultan Oweis, for the purpose of building a castle upon it. After it was sold he changed his mind, and when the Genoese wished to build the castle he sent for them and told them that it was not the custom for merchants to build castles in his country. He said they might take their merchandise away, and that if they wanted to build a castle they might move the hill out of his territory. When they answered him, he ordered their heads to be cut off." We read in the same work** that Sultan Oweis had a great house at Tebriz, surrounded by a wall, very beautiful and rich, in which were 20,000 chambers and apartments. This he built with the treasure paid him as tribute by the Sultan of Babylon (*i.e.*, by the Egyptian Sultan, who was generally so styled by Western writers at this time). He called this house Tolbatgana (? Daulat Khana), which means "the House of Fortune."†† There are two letters extant, without date, one sent by Vayscham (*i.e.*, Oweis Khan), the other

* Weil, iv. 526-527. † *Id.*, 527. ‡ *Id.*, v. 15. § See next chapter. || Op. cit., lvi.
¶ Shajrat ul Atrak, 337-338. D'Herbelot, quoting Khuandemir, 139. D'Ohsson (who is here much confused), iv. 746.
** Op. cit., ed. Hackluyt, 88-89. †† *Id.*, 89.

by Sichuarscam, which Heyd treats as a corruption of Sich vais cam (*i.e.*, Shah Oweis Khan), and sent to the Bailo at Trebizond, and the Venetians there. They contain a pressing invitation for the Venetians to repair to Tebriz, as they had done in the days of Abusaid Khan; stating that the roads were safe, that it would be well to take advantage of them, and that the merchants would meet with a good reception in Persia, and would not have to pay higher dues than heretofore. In the reply to the first of these letters it is stated that only two years before a large fleet of merchants arrived, intending to open up trade again with Tebriz, but would not undertake the risk until the large customary caravan had arrived from Tebriz with the assurance that the road was safe, when they proposed to return with it. Their fears were justified, for several Venetian merchants who tried to traverse the old route were robbed, and although the Khan punished the robbers and promised to indemnify the merchants, it proved too clearly that the roads were unsafe, and that the strong hand of the Ilkhanid rulers of Persia had become palsied.* The chief poet at the Court of Oweis was Selman Saveji.† The British Museum contains several coins of Sheikh Oweis Khan, struck at Tebriz, Sultania, Baghdad, Irbil, and Shiraz, the dates on which are all partially obliterated.‡ A late acquisition was struck at Halab (Aleppo); another one, undated, at Ispahan. Frœhn, in his supplement, gives one struck at Hamadan, in 762 HEJ. He styled himself on his coins Sheikh Oweis Behadur Khan.§

SULTAN HUSSEIN KHAN.

At this time the Turkomans of Armenia were beginning to consolidate a considerable power south of Lake Van. Their leaders were Bairam Khoja and Kara Muhammed.‖ Three years after his accession, viz., in the year 779 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1377), Sultan Hussein marched with an army against the fortress of Akhus, which was in the hands of Kara Muhammed. A peace was arranged between them, and the Turkoman chief visited Hussein, and was well received by him. Weil says he became tributary. Next year some of his amirs, viz., Ismael, Abdul Kadir, Rehman Shah, &c., were driven to rebellion by the tyranny of Adil Agha, and advanced upon Baghdad. Adil Agha, by the Sultan's order, marched from Sultania against them, and came up with them at Aub i Gurkan, and most of the rebels were killed. The same year several amirs of Amir Israel (Quatremere says Ismael), the son of Amir Zakaria, who was governor of Baghdad on behalf of the Sultan, were put to death. Thereupon his nephew, Sheikh Ali, the son of Sheikh Hassan,¶ was raised to the throne there. Ismael had incurred the hatred of Sheikh Ali, who was then ruler of Baghdad, and he induced a number of low people, who

* Heyd, op cit., ii. 130-131. † Ilkhans, ii. 265. ‡ Poole, Catalogue, 207-211.
§ Fraehn, Recensio, 647. ‖ Weil, v. 16. ¶ Weil, v. 17, calls him his brother.

had received many benefits from Ismael, to ill use their benefactor, and one Friday, in the year 780, one of them, named Mobarek Shah, struck Ismael on the face with his sword, and cut him down. The Amir Masud, brother of Zakaria, rushed to his nephew's succour, but he too was killed. Sheikh Ali asked to see his enemy's head. The assassins accordingly returned and cut it off, and it was hung from a house he was building. It was reported that a few days before, Ismael was watching the workmen busy upon this house, and a carpenter wishing to cut off a projecting beam, Ismael told him he had better let it remain, as it would do to hang a head from; and, as fortune had it, his own head was the very one with which the experiment was tried.*

Sultan Hussein did not fear any danger from the young pretender at Baghdad. He wrote him a friendly letter, and consented to his being considered as the governor of the city; but the young prince sent for one of his father's retainers, Pir Ali Baduk, who had transferred his services to Shah Shuja, the ruler of Fars, and was then governing Shuster, and who had apparently begun to encroach upon the Imperial authority, to try and secure Irak Arab for himself. Thereupon Sultan Hussein, with his general, Adil Agha, marched against them with a large army, and not being strong enough to oppose them, Pir Ali returned to Shuster, taking the young prince Sheikh Ali with him. Sultan Hussein then entered Baghdad, and gave himself up to pleasure, and sent Adil Agha in pursuit of Sheikh Ali. He besieged the latter at Shuster, and having got a promise from him not to interfere with Baghdad, but to content himself with his position at Shuster, he retired again to Baghdad, and thence went to Sultania. The young prince and his patron were presently invited to return by some of the Baghdad people, who were probably growing weary of the debaucheries of the Sultan. The latter sent Mahmud Uka and Omar Kipchak against them, but these officers were captured and their army destroyed. Sultan Hussein thereupon fled to Tebriz, which he reached with difficulty.† We also read that Shah Shuja, the ruler of Fars, marched against him from Ispahan with 12,000 picked horsemen, captured *en route* the town of Kazvin, and defeated the Sultan, who had 30,000 men, near Jerbadekan. He compelled him to take shelter in his southern dominions, and occupied Tebriz for some months, after which he retired.‡ This was probably a part of the same campaign. Meanwhile Hussein ordered Adil Agha to attack Rai, and sent all his troops with him. This opportunity was seized by his brother, Sultan Ahmed, who is described as a most bloodthirsty person. He withdrew from Tebriz and went to Irbil, and refused to return again when summoned, but proceeded to collect an army, with which, on the 11th Suffur, 784 (Ibn Arabshah says in Jumadi-l-akhir, 783, *i.e.*, August-September, 1381§), he fell upon

* Quatremere, lvi. and lvii. † Shajrat ul Atrak, 338-340. ‡ Weil, v. 16. § *Id.*, 18.

Tebriz, "and like a sudden calamity entered the city." Sultan Hussein tried to hide away, but was discovered and put to death. The author of the "Shajrat ul Atrak" says it was reported he was a very handsome man, but much given to debauchery.* Shems ud din Zakaria, grandson of the great Rashid ud din, was his vizier.†

In the British Museum there are silver coins of Hussein, struck at Basrah, Baghdad, Wasith, Halab, Tebriz, Shamakhi, Hamadan, and Van.‡ Fræhn, in his "Recensio," gives the additional mints of Meragha, Bakuya, and Asterabad.§ On his coins he styles himself Jelal ud din Hussein Khan.

SULTAN AHMED KHAN.

Sultan Ahmed now had himself proclaimed. His brother Bayazid, fearing he might have the same fate as Hussein, fled to Adil Agha, who raised him to the throne. They marched against Ahmed, who fled to Marvand (the "Shajrat ul Atrak" says to Muzid). Adil Agha proceeded to Tebriz, but meanwhile several of his officers mutinied, and he was obliged to return to Sultania. Ahmed now once more returned to Tebriz, but was almost immediately attacked by his nephew, Sheikh Ali, and his patron, Pir Ali Baduk. They met at Heft rud (*i.e.*, the Seven Rivers). Omar Kipchak, who commanded Sultan Ahmed's left wing, deserted, which decided the battle, and the Sultan had to flee by way of Khui to Nakhchivan, where he joined the Turkoman chief, Kara Muhammed, who supplied him with 5,000 troops. In the battle which followed, both Sheikh Ali and Pir Ali Baduk were killed, and the Turkomans returned home with a great spoil. Sultan Ahmed now returned to Tebriz, but Adil Agha, with Bayazid, retained possession of Sultania.‖ D'Ohsson says it was agreed that Ahmed should retain Azerbaijan, and Bayazid Irak Ajem, while Adil Agha should control Baghdad conjointly with an officer of Ahmed.¶

Sultan Ahmed, as we shall see, invited Shah Shuja, the Muzaffarian, to suppress Agha Adil. He marched against him, and relieved Sultania for a while, when his officers were again driven out, and it presently fell into Sultan Ahmed's hands.

But these arrangements were only transitory, for we have reached the time when the great Timur, with his heavy foot, was marching upon Iran, and scattering the various small chiefs who had divided the Empire of the Ilkhans. He had overrun Kumuz in the autumn of 1384, and ordered the amirs Akbuka and Uchara Behadur to winter at Asterabad with the heavy baggage, and having selected three men out of every ten he marched upon Rai. Sultan Ahmed was then at Sultania, which was

* Op. cit., 340-341. D'Ohsson, iv. 746-747. † Quatremere, lvi. ‡ Poole, Catalogue, 213-216
§ Op. cit., 185-186. ‖ Shajrat ul Atrak, 341-342. D'Herbelot, 139. ¶ Op. cit., iv. 747.

put in a state of defence by his orders, while its garrison was intrusted to his son Akbuka and the Amir Sebtani. Sultan Ahmed himself withdrew to Tebriz. Thereupon Omar Abbas marched, amidst deep snow, with 60,000 men upon Sultania. The garrison, intimidated by the approach of this force, determined to abandon the city, and withdrew with the young prince Akbuka. Omar Abbas, having occupied the place, sent word by Irmakshi to Timur, who was at Rai.* Timur himself arrived at Sultania in the spring of 1385, and summoned Adil Agha (also called Sarik Adil), who had gone to live in the dominions of the rulers of Fars. He set out at once from Shiraz, and was very well received by Timur, who confided to him the government of the province of Sultania, with its dependent districts, after having ordered Muhammed, son of Sultan Khan, to secure them.† Sultan Ahmed, we are told, was so angry with Sebtani, who had commanded at Sultania, that he had him ignominiously paraded about Baghdad.‡ After overrunning Mazanderan, Timur returned once more to Samarkand. Meanwhile, during the winter of 1385, Toktamish advanced from Kipchak, with an army of 90,000 men, upon Tebriz, which he captured and sacked, as we have described.§ Thomas of Medzoph says that Toktamish, whom he calls chief of the Uluz and Azakh, and who dwelt at Serai, near the Krim, sent an envoy to Ahmed, to propose an alliance. This envoy was treated with indignity, and returning to his master, tore his collar in his presence, meaning that he had been insulted, and that the insult called for vengeance. Toktamish thereupon dispatched one of his officers, named Janibeg, with an army, by way of Derbend. Ahmed, at its approach, fled to Osdan, and thence to Baghdad. Toktamish captured Tebriz, after an attack of seven days, killed and plundered many people, and laid waste the whole province. Thence the invaders passed towards Nakhchivan and the district of Siunia, where they committed similar ravages and devastated twelve cantons. It was then winter, and a heavy snow having fallen, many of the prisoners captured by the northern invaders escaped.‖

The disaster which thus befell Tebriz and its neighbourhood seems to have affected Timur, and to have induced him to once more march westwards. His tavachis were duly sent out to summon the troops from various directions, and having nominated the Amir Suliman Shah, son of Daud, and the Amir Abbas with two others to rule Transoxiana in his absence, he crossed the Oxus and arrived at Firuz Kuh, a fortress east of Rai. This was in 1386. On his march he was joined by Seyid Kayas ud din, son of Seyid Kemal ud din, Prince of Sari, who enrolled himself among his officers.¶ On the way Timur, detaching a flying column, marched at its head against the Lurs, whose turbulence and various robberies had recently culminated in the plunder of a pilgrim caravan on

* Sherif ud din, i. 397-398. † *Id.*, i. 399-400. ‡ De Guignes, iii. 291.
§ Ante, ii. 235-236. ‖ Op. cit., 30-31. ¶ Sherif ud din, i. 405-406.

its way to Mekka. The line of the Atabegs of Little Lur had survived through the Mongol supremacy in Persia, and the present Atabeg was the Malik Iz ud din. Timur captured Urudgurd, and also the famous stronghold and seat of the robber tribe Kurramabad, and having captured many of the Lurs and thrown them down from the rocks, he returned and joined his army again at Nehavend.* Having heard that Sultan Ahmed had hastily gone to Tebriz from Baghdad with his troops, Timur determined to make a forced march, and to attack him at once, but on hearing of his approach, Ahmed retired again to Baghdad. Thomas of Medzoph says he withdrew by way of Osdan, a town in the district of Reshduni, in the canton of Vasburgan, south of Lake Van, whence he was conducted by the Kurdish chieftain Iz ud din to Baghdad. Seif ud din was sent in pursuit of him, but Ahmed did not wait to meet him, and fled, abandoning his baggage, horses, &c.; and, says Sherif ud din, "when our troops had pillaged his baggage, they raised the great cry, 'Surun,' and returned."† Meanwhile, Elias Khoja, son of Sheikh Ali Behadur, having passed Nakhchivan with a small body of cavalry, found himself in the salt marshes of Nemekzar, in the presence of Ahmed, who had retired thither, and who had a larger force than his own. A struggle ensued, in which Elias Khoja was wounded and doubtless defeated. Amidst these events great disturbances broke out at Nakhchivan, and, *inter alia*, we are told that Komari Inak, having a grudge against its governor, set fire to the grand dome of the palace of Ziael mulk, and fifteen persons were suffocated by the burning straw which he placed in it.

Having subdued Azerbaijan, Timur encamped at Shenob Gazani, where Seyid Razi Khoja, Haji Muhammed Bendghir Kattat, Kadhi Kayas ud din, Kadhi Abdul latif, and other grandees of the country, went and offered their submission. A sum of money was also exacted from Tebriz, as a ransom for its not being pillaged. Timur spent the summer at Tebriz, and while there he had Adil Agha executed, and his house pillaged. The most skilled artisans in various arts were now transported to Samarkand.‡ Timur now proceeded to overrun and lay waste the mountain districts of Armenia, where the Turkomans and Kurds had become practically independent, but he reserved his most cruel attacks for the Christians of Georgia and the mountaineers of the Caucasus. These campaigns form no part of our present subject, nor do his dealings with Shirvan and Kipchak. They will be dealt with in the next volume.

At this time the Turkomans, as we have said, dominated over the mountainous country of Armenia, as far as the Tigris, and began to exercise considerable influence on the fortunes of Western Asia. They were nominally subject to Ahmed Khan, and their redoubted chief Kara Muhammed, who bore on his standards a black sheep, whence his

* *Id.*, i., 405-407. † *Id.*, 408-409. Thomas of Medzoph, 29. ‡ Sherif ud din, i. 408-411.

followers were known as the Kara Koinlu, or Black Sheep Turkomans, was, according to D'Herbelot, appointed the commander of Ahmed's troops. Timur now turned his arms against these Turkomans, who were charged with continually assailing the pilgrims on their way to Mekka. This struggle will come more naturally in the next volume. The only other incident, in fact, of the protracted campaign which is immediately interesting to us, is the capture of the fort of Alenjik, which, we are told, was held by one of Sultan Ahmed's lieutenants. This was apparently a great stronghold. The lower citadel was captured, but the garrison withdrew to the upper one. Want of water at length compelled it to offer to surrender, and the besiegers accordingly retired a short distance. Meanwhile a big cloud appeared, and the cisterns were speedily filled again, whereupon the garrison refused to surrender. Timur ordered the siege to re-commence.* At length, in the year 1387, he returned once more to Samarkand. It was not for some years, nor till after he had crushed almost every opponent within the old dominions of the Ilkhans, that, in 1393, he again had intercourse with Sultan Ahmed. We read that, having passed the sacred season of Bairam at Akbulak, Timur two days after received the Grand Mufti, Nur ud din Abderrahman Esferaini, who was much renowned for his knowledge, and who went to him from Baghdad as an envoy from Ahmed. He received him with the honours he generally paid to learned men and famous doctors. The Mufti reported that his master was willing to submit himself, but that he was much disturbed at the vast armament which Timur had with him, and which he knew he was powerless to resist, but that he was not willing to go in person to him. The envoy presented the customary gift of nine kinds of each object offered. Among the presents were murkens (a large kind of deer), leopards, and Arab horses with golden saddles. These presents were not what Timur wanted; this was that the Friday prayer should be made and the coin struck there in his name. He therefore did not receive them cordially, although he treated the Mufti himself with distinction, gave him a rich robe, a costly horse, and some silver plate, and sent him back to his master without a definite answer.† This is Sherif ud din's report. Ibn Arabshah says he sent him the head of Shah Mansur, and demanded his submission. Makrizi says the same, adding that to deceive Ahmed he sent him a robe of honour. He also says that Timur expressly promised not to attack Baghdad.‡

Timur had, however, made up his mind to conquer Irak Arab, and having sent his heavy baggage and harems back to Sultania, in charge of Mirza Pir Muhammed Jehanghir, he ordered each soldier to furnish himself with two skins of water, and set out on the 1st of October, 1403, for Baghdad. By forced marches he reached Yanbulak, near Irbil, and

* Sherif ud din, i. 430-431. † *Id.*, ii. 219-221. ‡ Weil, v. 41.

Kura Kurgan, near Shehrezur, in Kurdistan, and defeated the Turkomans under Kara Muhammed near the latter place, where he halted. Selecting a number of picked men, he advanced by broken paths and defiles. He was carried in a litter himself, while torches lighted the path, which was traversed in all haste, and the main army had difficulty in following him. Having reached Ibrahim Lik, a sacred site some 27 leagues north-east from Baghdad, and asked the inhabitants if they had not informed the people there by pigeon post of his approach, they could not deny that on seeing the dust raised by his troops some pigeons, with notes tied to their wings with silk, were sent to inform the citizens. Timur thereupon obtained another pigeon, and caused the same people to write another letter, stating that the dust was not due to his army, but to a body of Turkomans, who had been mistaken for Timur's people. On the arrival of this note Sultan Ahmed was reassured, but he had already taken the precaution to place his more valuable property in safety on the other side of the Tigris. Having paid his devotions and distributed alms at the tomb of the saint at Ibrahim Lik, Timur set off again, and covered without dismounting the twenty-seven leagues, each of 3,000 paces, separating it from Baghdad, where he arrived on the morning of the 30th of August, 1393.* The citizens, fearing a repetition of the horrors of Khulagu's campaign, opened the gates of the town. Meanwhile Ahmed had withdrawn across the Tigris. He had broken the bridge and sunk the boats there, or conveyed them to the other side, where he intended to remain till Timur's withdrawal, or till he was discovered. Finding his whereabouts was known, he retired towards Hillah. Timur's men, who extended for two leagues on each side of the town, plunged into the river. Ahmed's royal galley, which he had named Shams, or The Sun, was captured, and Timur crossed the Tigris in it. Mirza Miranshah, with his men, swam over opposite Kariatula Kab (*i.e.*, the village of the eagle), situated below the town. "They spread over the land," says Sherif ud din, "like ants or locusts, and the people of Baghdad were as much surprised to see these Jagataians swarming over the river, as their ancestors, the citizens of Babylon, had been with the confusion of tongues, and bit their fingers in wonder." Timur wished to go himself in pursuit of Ahmed, and having passed Serser, three leagues from Baghdad, the first stage made by the pilgrims *en route* thence to Mekka, went as far as Karbaru, where he was entreated by Aibaj Oghlan and the noyans and other chiefs to return to Baghdad and rest himself while they went in pursuit of his enemy, whom they promised to bring back bound hand and foot. He did so, and put up in Sultan Ahmed's palace, many of whose rare treasures had fallen into his hands. His officers marched day and night, and the day but one following reached the Euphrates, and learnt that Ahmed

* Sherif ud din, ii, 222-224. Weil, v. 41.

had already crossed it the night before, after breaking the bridge and sinking the boats, and had gone on towards Damascus by way of Kerbela. Osman Behadur was for crossing the river there and then in pursuit, but the other chiefs advised that they should march along the bank until they found a ford, where there would not be any risk. This advice was followed, and presently four empty boats were found. The amirs got on board, while their horses swam over beside the boats. The army imitated their example, and having remounted on the further side, sped on again. They overtook the Sultan's baggage and his tents, and secured all the money and other valuables which he had carried off, and now deemed it prudent to abandon. The Mirza Miranshah halted at Hillah, and sent on Aibaj Oghlan (a descendant of Juchi, Khan of Kipchak), Jelalhamid, Osman Behadur, Sheikh Arslan, Seyid Khoja (son of Sheikh Ali Behadur), and other amirs—forty-five in number—in pursuit. They were compelled to advance alone, since the horses of their troopers were broken down with fatigue, and required rest. They came up with Ahmed in the plain of Irbil. He had 2,000 men with him, of whom 200 turned to meet the pursuers. The amirs dismounted and fired showers of arrows, and, having thus compelled them to retire, mounted again, and again pursued them. Again the amirs were charged, and this time sheltered under their horses, whence they poured in their arrows. The third time the manœuvre was tried the amirs had not time to dismount, and a terrible hand-to-hand scuffle ensued, in which many on both sides were killed. Osman Abbas fought very bravely, and had his hand disabled with a sabre cut. Sherif ud din makes out that the victory rested with the amirs, but tells us they ceased their pursuit. This struggle, in which a small body of superior officers alone were engaged on one side, if it really happened, as the panegyrist of Timur just quoted relates, has a certain special interest, but it sounds like a great exaggeration. The day of the struggle, he tells us, was very hot, and the plain of Kerbela being destitute of water, the amirs were afraid of perishing from thirst. Each one tried to find some. Aibaj Oghlan and Jelalhamid sent people out, but they only found two pots of water, with which they returned. The former emptied one without having his thirst quenched, and then declared he should die of thirst if his companion did not give up his portion (*i.e.*, the other pot) to him. Jelal replied that a certain Persian having on one occasion been travelling with an Arab, a similar mischance befell them in a desert that had now occurred. The Arab still had a little water, and the Persian said to him: "The generosity of the Arabs is so famous that it has become proverbial everywhere. It would be a great proof of this truth if, to save me from certain death, you were to make over to me the water which you still have." The Arab having thought a little, said: "If I give you the water it is certain I shall die of thirst, nevertheless this dire necessity will not justify me in transgressing

the prerogative of the Arabs. I prefer a good reputation to this perishable existence. I prefer to hazard my life, and to sacrifice my life, by giving up this water which I have saved, so that the virtue of the Arabs may still be universally renowned." The Arab accordingly gave the Persian the water. Jelal having told the story, continued: "I wish to imitate the Arab on this occasion, and will give you the water on condition that you make known to the princes of the house of Juchi and their subjects this sacrifice, so that the memory of this deed may always redound to the credit of the descendants of Jagatai Khan, of whom I have the honour to be one, and on condition also that you will tell it when you reach the camp of his highness, so that the event may be recorded in history and be cited as a proof of my courage to all our descendants." Aibaj having consented to these conditions, Jelal took some bystanders to witness, and surrendered the water, which his companion consumed. He did not die, however, but survived. The amirs having retraced their steps, reached the Euphrates at Makad, where Hussein, son of Ali, was killed. Each of them kissed the portal of the holy place, and went through the ceremonies usual with pilgrims. They took back with them Ala ud daulat, son of Sultan Ahmed, and others of his children, together with his wives and servants. Aibaj and his companion, the amir Jelal, related the story of the water, which pleased Timur greatly, and he poured out his praises, not only on Jelal himself, but on his father Hamid.*

During this campaign the Mirza Muhammed Sultan had a savage campaign among the Kurds, after which he joined Timur at Baghdad, and was appointed governor of Wasith, a town on the Tigris, and of the province dependent on it.† Timur gave orders for the transport of the wives of Sultan Ahmed and his son Ala ud daulat to Samarkand, with all the learned men of Baghdad, and the other proficients in art and science there. This order was duly executed, and the Khoja Abdul Kader, author of a famous work on Oriental music, was among those thus transported. Letters with the news of the capture of Baghdad were sent to Samarkand, Kashgar, Khoten, Khuarezm, Azerbaijan, Persia, Irak, Khorasan, Zabulestan, Mazanderan, Tabaristan, &c. Timur spent two months at Baghdad in various festivities. As a rigid Mussulman he ordered all the wine that could be found in the place to be poured into the Tigris. The people of the city had to pay the usual ransom in consideration of its having been spared from pillage.‡ He confided the city of Baghdad to the Khoja Masaud Sebzevari.§ Having secured Wasith and Hillah, he ordered one of his sons (Sherif ud din says it was Miran Shah) to march on Basrah. Its governor was Salih Ibn Julun. Makrizi says a son of Timur was captured by the garrison, while Ibn Iyas says that the titular Grand Khan of Jagatai, Mahmud Shah, was killed, and a son

* Sherif ud din, ii. 221-234. † *Id.*, 235-236. ‡ *Id.*, 235-238. § *Id.*, 259.

of Timur was captured. The latter sent to demand the surrender of his son. The governor replied that he would not release him until Timur had released Ahmed's son. Timur thereupon sent fresh troops against the place, which were again defeated, and he had to postpone its capture till the winter.* He now proceeded to subdue a number of strong places in Mesopotamia and Armenia, each governed by its petty ruler. The details of this campaign, in which Tekrit, Irbil, Mosul, Mardin, Amid, Mayafarkin, Belbis, &c., were subjected, will more fitly occupy us in the next volume. He punished the Turkomans of Kara Yusuf for their depredations, and captured their stronghold of Van.†

When Timur captured Baghdad he sent Sheikh Shah as his envoy to the Egyptian Sultan, with some Mongol companions and a grand equipage, reminding him of the long struggle which had been waged between the Mongols and the Egyptians, which had terminated with the peace made with Abusaid, and how, after the latter's death, all kinds of misrule and usurpation had ensued in Persia, where there no longer reigned a sovereign of the stock of Jingis Khan, but the various governors had usurped authority, and caused great troubles. To put a stop to this he had been permitted by Providence to conquer Iran, as far as the limits of Irak Arab and the borders of Egypt, and in order to complete the good work he asked that there might be friendly intercourse between them, and that the merchants of each country might be allowed to freely traffic in the other.‡ The Sultan put the envoys to death. He was not wishful for intercourse with such a dangerously treacherous neighbour, and was afraid they might be spies. He also gave orders to the governor of Aleppo to welcome the fugitive successor of the Ilkhans, Ahmed (who, as we have seen, had fled to Syria), as a prince, and to supply all his needs. He also sent his chief cupbearer, Az Timur, to conduct him to Egypt. As he approached Cairo the chief amirs went out to meet him, and conducted him to the Sultan, who rose to receive him, embraced him, and would not permit him to kiss his hand. He also gave him some rich robes, and a choice horse with a golden saddle, and rode by his side through the city. At the citadel he left him to be conducted by the amirs to the palace set apart for him, where a lordly meal had been prepared, and he afterwards sent him a costly present of horses, richly caparisoned, Circassian mamluks and slave girls, costly stuffs, and 5,000 dinars. The Sultan also married his niece, daughter of Hussein ibn Oweis, but presently put her away, as he heard that she had previously been courted by her cousin, Jelal ud din Hasan ibn Oweis. These civilities towards his enemies and truculence towards his envoys was not likely to be forgiven by Timur, who had already placed his heavy foot on the Prince of Mardin, and on hearing that his army was *en route* for

* Weil, v. 42. Note 1. † *Id.*, v. 42-46. ‡ Sherif ud din, ii. 238-241.

Rabah, the Egyptian Sultan in turn set out, and presently repulsed some of Timur's people near Basrah; while Ahmed, who had hitherto accompanied the Sultan, invaded Mesopotamia with a suitable force, in conjunction with the Bedouin chief Nuyir, in order to once more occupy Baghdad on behalf of the Egyptian Sultan.*

Meanwhile Timur had been prosecuting his campaign against Toktamish, who was in alliance with Barkuk, but, as usual, derived small advantage from his Egyptian friend. In the spring of 1396 he returned from this campaign by way of Derbend, Shirvan, Irbil, and Sultania, and having reached Hamadan, he appointed the Mirza Miran Shah prince of Azerbaijan, Kuhistan, and the Arabian Irak, including all the country from Baku, on the Caspian, to Baghdad, and from Hamadan to the Ottoman frontier, with his capital at Tebriz.† The Bedouin chief Nuyir soon succeeded in occupying Baghdad, and the Friday prayer was said there in the name of the Egyptian Sultan, who duly appointed Ahmed as its governor; but this arrangement lasted only a short time, since Barkuk died on the 20th June, 1399, and in the confusion which ensued in Egypt Ahmed secured his independence. On another side, the Turkoman Kara Yusuf won several victories over the people of Timur, re-occupied the town of Van, and captured Atilmish, who was a connection of Timur's, having married his niece, and who was sent as a prisoner to the Egyptian Sultan. Mosul, Sinjar, Yezd, and Neharvend also broke away from their allegiance. Meanwhile Miran Shah, who had remained at Tebriz during Timur's campaign in India, having had a serious accident, became partially demented, and very tyrannical. We are told that for a simple suspicion he would put a man to death, while he dissipated his treasures, destroyed wantonly some of the most famous buildings there, &c.‡ In the early summer of the year 802 (1399) he tried to retake Baghdad. He marched day and night, and made two marches in twenty-four hours, fancying the very mention of his name would strike terror into the Sultan and cause him to abandon the place. When he reached the Dome of Ibrahim Lik, situated twenty-seven leagues from Baghdad, he heard that a conspiracy had broken out among the chief people of Tebriz against him. He nevertheless continued his march. Sultan Ahmed, who knew that the season was unfavourable for siege operations, on account of the drought and extreme heat, resolved to defend the place. Miran Shah had only been two days there when the news from Tebriz became so threatening that he was constrained to return thither post haste, and put to death the principal conspirators, including the Kadhi. He now had to face a revolt of the Georgians. Sultan Ahmed's son Tahir was in command of the fortress of Alenjik, which had been besieged for a long time by Sultan Sanjar, son of Haji Seif ud

* Weil, v. 48-55. † Sherif ud din, ii. 390-391. Weil, v. 56. ‡ Sherif ud din, iii. 190-191.

din, by order of Timur, who, to make the blockade more complete, had girdled it round with a wall. The Georgians marched to make a diversion in Tahir's favour, and laid waste Azerbaijan. This led to the raising of the siege. They now advanced on Alenjik, and were joined by Tahir, who left the place in charge of Haji Salih and three famous Georgian oznaurs or princes.* These disorders compelled Timur, on his return from his fatiguing campaign in India, to at once face another expedition. He ordered Mirza Rustem, his grandson, with the amirs Sevinjik, his nephew Hassan Jandar, and Hassan Yagadaul, who were at Shiraz, to advance upon Baghdad. They ravaged Luristan *en route*, and reached Mendeli in the month Yumazinlevel (802 HEJ). Mendeli was governed by the Amir Ali Kalander, on behalf of Sultan Ahmed. The place was taken and pillaged.† Mir Ali Kalander escaped, and repaired to his master to report to him what had happened. The latter closed the city gates and broke down the bridge. At this time Shervan, who governed Kuristan on behalf of Timur, having misappropriated its revenues and squeezed large sums of money out of the principal inhabitants there, went to Baghdad with a thousand well-armed followers. He was well received by Sultan Ahmed, but proceeded to corrupt the Sultan's officers with various bribes, from 3,000 to 10,000 dinars of Baghdad. The receipts for some of these payments having fallen into the hands of Kaureh Behadur, one of Ahmed's officers, he reported the matter to his master. This was at the time when he had closed the gates of the place, as we have mentioned. He was greatly disturbed, and himself decapitated Rafeh, one of the men who had been bribed. Shervan, with Kutub Haidari, Mansur, and other amirs, had been dispatched to Uirad. He now sent Yadghiar Ektachi with orders to the amirs to put Shervan away, which was accordingly done, and his head was sent to Baghdad, where the suspicious Sultan in less than eight days put nearly 2,000 of his officers to death. He sent the Khatun Vefa, who had been his foster mother and had brought him up from infancy, to Wasith, where he had her suffocated with a pillow. Having killed with his own hands the other women and officers of the household, and had them thrown into the Tigris, he closed himself within the doors of the seraglio; and would allow no one to enter, and when the bavarchis or butlers brought his food they shouted at the door, where they deposited the plates, and withdrew without entering. Having passed some days in this fashion, he ordered five or six of his most devoted followers to provide six horses from the stable and to have them conveyed across the Tigris. He himself crossed the river one night in a boat, and having reached his faithful followers who had charge of the horses, fled with them to the district dominated by the Turkoman chief

* Sherif ud din, iii. 191-194. † *Id.*, 229-231.

Kara Yusuf. The butlers continued to take the food as usual, and handed it to an officer who was in the secret, without the people outside knowing what had happened. Meanwhile he felt he could not rely on the citizens, and sought out Kara Yusuf, and persuaded him to go and plunder Baghdad, himself acting as guide. When the Turkomans neared the city they were assigned quarters on the other side of the river. The Sultan crossed the river in a boat and entered his palace, and lavishly rewarded them with presents of money, rich stuffs, arms, Arab horses, golden girdles, &c. His real object was, no doubt, to secure protection, and we are told he did not allow his guests to injure the place. At this time Timur was advancing upon Sivas, and Sultan Ahmed, who was well informed of his movements, fearing that if the great Conqueror entered Anatolia and Syria he would cut off his own retreat, determined to leave Baghdad in charge of Farruj, and taking with him his wives and children, and all his treasures, he left Baghdad with Kara Yusuf. They passed the Euphrates and went towards Aleppo. Its governor, Timurtash, went out to oppose them, but he was defeated, and they thereupon continued their march with their Turkoman followers, but having been defeated by the Bedouin chief, Nuyir, and the governor of Behesna, they turned aside towards Anatolia.* De Guignes reports from the "Tarikhi Bedr ud din" that after defeating the governor of Aleppo they laid waste all the district of Tel bashr and Aintab.† These events took place in the summer of 802 HEJ. Timur being on the Georgian frontier, sent to demand from the Georgian king the surrender of Tahir, son of the Sultan, who, as we have seen, had been rescued by the Georgians at Alenjik. To this message a defiant reply was apparently sent, and the consequence was a cruel invasion of Georgia.‡ When Timur heard that the Sultan and Kara Yusuf had gone to Anatolia he dispatched some cavalry after them, which plundered their baggage and, *inter alia*, captured Sultan Dilshadeh, the elder sister of Kara Yusuf, with his wives and daughter. Kara Yusuf himself escaped, and joined the Ottoman chief Bayazid.§

In 803 HEJ. Timur, having laid waste a good deal of Syria and the country by the Tigris, sent a fresh army to attack Baghdad, where Farruj still commanded on behalf of Sultan Ahmed. The nominal chief of the Jagatai dominions, Mahmud Khan, whom another account makes to perish in an earlier campaign, the Mirza Rustem, and the amir Suliman Shah were selected to lead it. They speedily reached the city and encamped on its southern side. Farruj, inspired by the great number of Turks and Arabs who garrisoned it, had the temerity to march out and offer battle to the invaders. He was assisted by the amirs Ali Kalander, of Mendeli, and Jian Ahmed, of Baku (both towns of Kuristan), who crossed the Tigris at Medaineh. On another side, Farruk Shah, of

* *Id.*, 233-238. Weil, v. 79. † Op. cit., iii. 296. ‡ Sherif ud din, iii. 241. § *Id.*, 268-269.

Hillah, and Mikail, of Sib, set out on the same errand, and reached Serfer with 3,000 well-armed men. These allies were sharply attacked by the Timurid chiefs, and Jian Ahmed, with many of his men, perished in a fight at a building known as that of the Amir Ahmed. Many threw themselves into the water and were drowned, while others escaped with difficulty. Farruj was not discouraged by this defeat. "Sultan Ahmed, my master," he said, "made me swear that if Timur came in person I was to surrender the town to save the people from misfortune; but if he does not come in person, however great an army assails it, I will defend it courageously against everyone. I cannot disobey my master's orders." He inspired the garrison with his own spirit, and they not only manned the walls, but also poured a shower of weapons upon the enemy from the boats in the river. When Timur learnt of the determination of Farruj, and its pretext, he selected the bravest of his people, left the Empress Chelpan Mulk Aga, with the rest of the army and the baggage, in charge of Shah Rokh, and ordered him to go to Tebriz, while he himself set out for Baghdad by way of Altun Kupruk, a bridge over the river Altun Sui, near Mosul. Having reached the city, he posted his camp opposite the gate of Kariet Ulakab, while his people surrounded the place. He gave orders that the sappers were at once to begin. Farruj, wishing to know if Timur was there in person, sent a confidential person, who knew him, as his envoy. He was well received, and presented with a robe, &c. On his return he reported faithfully what he had seen and heard, but Farruj pretended not to believe him, ill-used him, and for fear he should speak to others in the same strain, imprisoned him. He persuaded the garrison that Timur was not present. Meanwhile the Khojas Masaud Semnani and Mengheli, who were engaged in raising a platform whence to command Baghdad, were both killed by weapons from the place. Timur now sent word to Shah Rokh to join him at Baghdad with the baggage, and on his arrival he held a grand review. Although the city was more than two leagues in circumference, it was beleaguered on all sides, a bridge was made over the Tigris below Kariet Ulakab, while skilled archers were posted in ambush upon it to prevent people escaping. So carefully was guard kept, that although the Tigris flowed through the city and many ships were upon it, no one could escape. At this time the fortress of Alenjik having been captured, its governor, Ahmed Ogulshai, was taken to Timur, who had him put to death. The garrison fought desperately. As soon as the invaders had breached the wall and caused part of it to fall, it was repaired with lime and burnt bricks, and an entrenchment made behind. It was summer, and the heat was so great that the birds fell down dead, "and as the soldiers were encased in their cuirasses," says Sherif ud din, "they might be said to have melted like wax." Presently a great platform was raised, which commanded the city, whence an incessant bombardment with great stones was kept

up. The mirzas and amirs several times asked permission to be allowed to storm the walls sword in hand, but Timur refused, as he hoped the garrison would repent and surrender, and thus save the place from destruction. The siege had lasted forty days, and want began to be felt, but this did not constrain the defenders. On the 9th of July, 1401, when the citizens had gone for shelter from the sun's rays into their houses, and left the walls, having placed their helmets on rods which they had erected, Timur deemed it a favourable opportunity for a general assault. Scaling ladders were attached to the walls, and the Sheikh Nur ud din was the first to mount, and planted there a horsetail standard, surmounted by a crescent. The big trumpet was sounded and the drums and cymbals beaten. A general rush was thereupon made, and the walls were pushed over into the ditch. The troops entered the place sword in hand, while Timur watched the proceedings from the bridge he had built over the Tigris. All the means of exit had been closed. Many threw themselves into the river; others seized boats, but when they reached the bridge the archers who were in ambush speedily destroyed them. Farruj and his daughter managed, nevertheless, in spite of all Timur's efforts, to escape in a boat. They were pursued along the banks by the soldiers, who poured in upon them a shower of missiles, and he was at length forced to throw himself into the water with his daughter, when both of them were drowned and the boat was sunk. His body was fished up and thrown on the bank. As the besiegers had lost so many men, each soldier was ordered to bring the head of a citizen of Baghdad, and neither the old people of eighty nor children of eight were spared; quarter was given neither to rich nor poor, and the slaughter was so great that no one ever knew the number of victims, although the tavachis were ordered to furnish an account. "Their heads," says the panegyrist of Timur, "were built up into towers as a warning to posterity, and so that men should not raise their feet higher than their capacity." Only a few learned men secured pardon. They were given robes and escorted to a place of safety. All the rest of the inhabitants were exterminated. Orders were given that every house was to be destroyed, but (and it is a curious proof how religious fanaticism in all climates discriminates on these occasions) the mosques, colleges, and hospitals were to be spared. In consequence of this order the markets, bezestins (?), caravanserais, hermitages, cells, monasteries, palaces, and other buildings were laid low. "It is thus," says Sherif ud din, "according to the Koran that the houses of the wicked are overturned."* It is appalling to think that such destruction should have overwhelmed for a second time the old capital of the Khalifs, and this time, not at the hands of an unbeliever, who had learnt his war policy in the far-off steppes of Mongolia, but of a good Mussulman, who

* Op. cit., 361-371.

had been brought up amidst all the amenities of culture. "After the Tigris was reddened with the blood of the inhabitants of Baghdad," says Sherif ud din ambiguously, "the air began to be tainted with their corpses," and Timur moved away to pay his devotions at the tomb of the Imaum Abu Hanifa, founder of one of the four orthodox Muhammedan sects. He then ordered Sultan Muhammed Khan and Mirza Khalil Sultan to ravage the district round, which they effectually did, including Hillah and Wasith in their raid, and then rejoined him. He thereupon withdrew again.

During this campaign Sultan Ahmed and the Turkoman chief Kara Yusuf were living with the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid, with whom they had found shelter, and whom they persuaded to attack Erzenjan, in revenge for the reverse Bayazid had sustained at Sivas. He captured this place, and brought upon himself ample revenge presently. When Sultan Ahmed learnt that Timur's armies had withdrawn from Baghdad and were being directed towards Turkey, he left Bayazid at Cæsarea of Cappadocia, and returned to Irak Arab by way of Kalat Errum, along the Euphrates. He went to Hit, and thence to Baghdad, where he set about rebuilding the place and collecting such of his people as he could bring together. When Timur heard of this he determined to at once stamp out the process, and ordered four divisions of cavalry to march upon the city by four separate routes. The Mirza Pir Muhammed, with one division, marched by way of Luristan, Kuzistan, and Wasith; the Mirza Abubekr advanced straight upon Baghdad; the Mirzas Sultan Hussein and Khalil Sultan were to occupy certain districts in Chaldea; while the Amir Berendah was told off to attack Jeziret ibn Omar, a town on the Tigris. The troops set out with alacrity, although it was mid-winter. The Mirza Abubekr, having with him the Amir Jihan Shah as his lieutenant, arrived suddenly one evening before Baghdad. Sultan Ahmed was so taken by surprise that he had only time to reach a boat in his shirt, and thus crossed the river with his son, Sultan Tahir, and the officers of his household, with whom he took horse and went towards Hillah. Having rested his troops for the night, Abubekr the following morning dispatched Jihan Shah in pursuit of the Sultan as far as Hillah, where Ahmed broke the bridge and then sought shelter in the islands of Khaled and Malek, on the Lower Euphrates, where Jihan Shah did not care to follow him. Meanwhile, the Mirzas Sultan Hussein and Khalil Sultan marched by way of Shepshemal, and pillaged Mendeli, whence the Amir Ali Kalander, who governed it for Sultan Ahmed, fled, crossed the Tigris with some troops, and made a stand on the other side. Mirza Khalil Sultan dispatched a body of picked men to cross the river by swimming at another point, and to attack Ali Kalander in rear, while he traversed the river opposite to him, and thus attacked the enemy on both sides. This was successfully accomplished. Most of them were

killed or captured; among the latter was Alī Kalander, who was burnt alive "for having had the audacity to defend himself."* Timur having collected his forces for an attack upon Bayezid, Ahmed seized the opportunity, re-occupied Baghdad, and drove out his deputies in Chaldæa. The Turkoman Kara Yusuf also returned to Mesopotamia and collected his friends.

We now read that Sultan Tahir, in conjunction with one of his officers, Agha Firuz, formed a conspiracy against Sultan Ahmed, which included Muhammed Bey, governor of Ormi, the Amir Ali Kalander (who is stated elsewhere by Sherif ud din to have been previously burnt alive), Mikail, and Farrak Shah. They crossed the river together by the bridge during the night, and encamped on the further side. Sultan Ahmed broke the bridge, and dispatched a messenger to summon Kara Yusuf to his assistance. The Turkoman chief accordingly went with some troops, and having united them with those of the Sultan they attacked the rebels together. Tahir was speedily defeated and fled, and in trying to jump his horse across a ravine they fell together to the bottom and he was killed. His people dispersed.† Sultan Ahmed soon quarrelled with his doubtless exacting ally, Kara Yusuf, and repaired to Baghdad. Thither he was pursued by the Turkoman chief, and was obliged to hide himself. Kara Hassan, a faithful dependant, having found him, carried him off on his shoulders, and conveyed him to a spot five leagues off. *En route*, they found a man who had a cow, on which the Sultan mounted and went to Tekrit with Kara Hassan. Sarik Omar Uirad made him a present of forty horses, with all the money, arms, stuffs, and girdles he had. He was then joined by several of his officers, as Sheikh Maksud, Dolat Yar, Adil, and others. From Tekrit he went to Damascus, and Kara Yusuf, his former dependant, became undisputed master of Irak Arab. This was only for a short time, however, for Timur nominated the Mirza Abubekr as governor of that province, as far as Vassit, Basra, Kurdistan, Mardin, Diarbekr, Uirad, and their dependencies, with orders to rebuild Baghdad.‡ In conjunction with the other Timurid princes, he attacked Kara Yusuf on the River Nahreljanam, beyond Hillah (Weil says by Sib, near Hillah), and completely defeated him. All his baggage and flocks were pillaged, his chief wife and the other women of the harem were captured, his brother killed, and he himself compelled to find shelter, like Sultan Ahmed, in Syria, under the ægis of the Egyptian Sultan.§

Abubekr now set to work to rebuild Baghdad, and to restore prosperity to the other towns of Irak Arab.‖ This was during the year 806 HEJ. Soon after, Mir Eluerd, a son of Sultan Ahmed, who was eighteen years old, was removed from Irak Arab and taken to Samarkand.¶ The Egyptian Sultan, afraid to embroil himself with Timur, arrested the two fugitives,

* Sherif ud din, iii. 387-391. † *Id.*, iv. 94-95. ‡ *Id.*, 93-96. § *Id.*, 127-129.
‖ *Id.*, 129-130. ¶ *Id.*, 135.

and sent to ask him what he should do with them. Timur replied in a long letter, written in letters of gold by the Mulana Sheikh Muhammed, famous as a scribe. In this note he asked that Sultan Ahmed might be sent to him bound, while the head of Kara Yusuf should also be sent. With this letter he also forwarded some rich presents.* The Sultan, unwilling to break the laws of hospitality, and wishful at the same time to please Timur, put them under arrest, but not so that they could not communicate together. They thereupon formed a close alliance, promising each other that on regaining their liberty they would help one another. This good fortune came to them on Timur's death, on the 17th of February, 1405. When news of it reached him, the Sultan paid the two some attention, and gave them their liberty. Kara Yusuf having arrived at home, put himself at the head of his Turkomans, and speedily secured the greater part of Chaldæa and Mesopotamia, acting apparently on behalf of Sultan Ahmed, against whom the Egyptian Sultan was much irritated, and to whom he complained bitterly, having expected probably to be treated as suzerain. Not receiving any satisfaction, he withdrew the protection he had given him. Sultan Ahmed did not lose courage, but having dressed a number of his supporters as beggars they entered Baghdad quietly, and excited a seditious movement against the governor, who held the town on behalf of Omar Mirza. He was eventually driven out, whereupon Ahmed was duly proclaimed Sultan by the people. In the latter part of the year 808 HEJ., while Abubekr Mirza, grandson of Timur, was engaged in the siege of Ispahan, the amir Ibrahim went from Shirvan and occupied Tebriz.† Sultan Ahmed thereupon himself advanced upon that city, where the citizens were growing tired of the turbulence of the Timurids. Sheikh Ibrahim, hearing of Ahmed's approach, said: "For a long time we were attached to this august family. As the country was without a master, and the people were tormented by the ambition of those who wished to attack it, we came to its succour; now that the real ruler is at hand we will return home." Sultan Ahmed reached Tebriz in the middle of Moharram. The chief people of Azerbaijan and the citizens of Tebriz were greatly delighted, and the place was *en fête*. They renewed their oaths of allegiance. Sheikh Ali Uirad and Muhammed Saru Turkoman made him a present of some horses. Khoja Muhammed Kejeyi, the amir Jafar, Khoja Masud Shah, and Zain ud din Kazvini, were appointed heads of the administration. Meanwhile, the Timurid mirzas, Miran Shah and Abubekr, advanced upon Tebriz. Sultan Ahmed, afraid to meet them, went to Aujan, and having consulted with his amirs, determined to return to Baghdad. He accordingly set out, and the troops of Azerbaijan dispersed. Mirza Abubekr speedily reached the city, but would not enter it, as the plague

* Sherif ud din, iii. 202-203. † D'Herbelot, sub voce Avis.

was then raging. He then went to Nakhchivan, and summoned Malik Iz ud din from Kurdistan. They agreed to jointly attack the Turkoman Kara Yusuf. In the fight which took place on the Aras or Araxes, the allies were beaten. Abubekr retreated. On his way his demoralised troops pillaged Tebriz. Abubekr continued his retreat to Sultania, where he passed the winter.* Kara Yusuf now occupied Tebriz, and became the undisputed master of Azerbaijan. Thence he marched on Sultania, which he captured, and carried off its inhabitants to Tebriz, Meragha, and Irbil. He thus added Irak Ajem to his rapidly growing dominions. All this was doubtless very unwelcome to his former suzerain, Sultan Ahmed.

During the year 810 HEJ. Sultan Ahmed devoted himself with great energy to fortifying Baghdad, building up its ramparts and deepening its ditches. Towards the end of the year his son Ala ud daulat Sultan, having been released from the prison where he had been confined at Samarkand, arrived in the neighbourhood of Baghdad. When he saw his son, who was so dear to him, approaching, he descended from his horse, and they embraced. The two went into the city together and spent some days in feasting. Some time after, Ahmed sent him to Hillah, where he might enjoy himself to his heart's content, while he gave himself up to wine and debauchery. On the last day of the month Shaban, Ala ud daulat had a son, to whom he gave the name of Sheikh Hasan. Ahmed went to Hillah to join in the rejoicings at this event, and then returned to Baghdad, where he passed the winter. In the spring he sent for his son, and the two re-commenced their pleasure making.†

We now read how the Timurid prince, Mirza Pir Muhammed, marched to repress a revolt in Khuzistan, and afterwards invaded Beyat, which belonged to Baghdad. He was obliged to withdraw from it on account of the fevers prevailing there.‡ Sultan Ahmed, on hearing of this, himself set out, and suddenly appeared before Havizah. The garrison were stupefied, took to horse, and fled, but they were for the most part overtaken and killed. Pir Haji Kukeltash, hearing of the fate of Havizah, abandoned Dizful and retired towards Shuster, whose governor was so afraid that he even doubted the resources of the citadel of Selasil, and retired hastily upon Ramhormuz. Mirza Pir Muhammed, having heard of this invasion, sent Tulek and Nushirvan Borlas to help the amirs of Khuzistan. They went to the governor of Shuster, who had fled to Ramhormuz. Meanwhile Ahmed, master of Khuzistan, marched upon Ramhormuz. The place resisted for a while, when the garrison fled, and he entered it, killed the Kadhi, Kotb ud din, who had been the soul of the defence, and a great number of foot soldiers, and carried off the rest of the inhabitants to Shuster,

* Abdur Rezak, Notices et Extraits, &c., xiv. 109-112. † Notices et Extraits., xiv. 136.
‡ *Id.*, 149.

after razing the fortress of Ramhormuz. Meanwhile, he learnt that his son, Sultan Ala ud daulat, had revolted, and had marched by way of Hillah and Irbil towards Azerbaijan, which was subject, as we have seen, to the Turkoman Kara Yusuf. When Kara Yusuf heard that he had gone thither without his father's consent, he assigned him a certain moderate sum for his daily expenses, and after the fast of Ramazan ordered some of his people to re-conduct him home again. But when in the neighbourhood of Khoi, the Kurds subject to Malik Iz ud din arrested him, and took him to their master, who detained him for two months, treating him with great consideration. Kara Yusuf wrote to complain of this, and said that he himself having found that the young man was acting without the approval of his father, had expelled him from his dominions, and bade Iz ud din do the same if he did not wish to regret it. Unable to resist, he was obliged to obey this notice, and said goodbye to his guest, who, bereft of resources, went to Irbil, to pass some days with the anchorite, Sherif ud din Ali Sefevi. When he arrived near Tebriz some perverse people fell on him and put him in chains. Kara Yusuf now had him sent to the fortress of Abd Eljuz.*

About the year 812 HEJ. Sultan Ahmed, after having conquered Khuzistan, left Maksud Nizehdar in command there, and returned to Baghdad. Having fallen ill towards the end of winter, he was recommended to remove to his summer quarters, and went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Sheikh of Sheikhs, Oweis Karni. His health being completely restored, his amirs pressed him to go to Sultania, urging that Bestam Jaghir, who commanded there, had left the place for Ispahan, leaving his young son Bayazid in charge of it, who would at once abandon the fortress on his approach. Khurrem Shah Derguzmi specially urged this policy. Ahmed accordingly set out. When he reached Hamadan he learnt that Bestam had returned to Ispahan, where having heard of the Sultan's plans, he had put his brother Masum at Sultania, while he himself had gone to Irbil. The Sultan now took up his residence in the kuruk of Sultania. The commanders of the neighbouring districts, and especially Abder Rezak, who had forcibly seized upon Kazvin, submitted to him, and he conferred honours on them worthy of a king. He then sent a message to Masum, with fair promises, but they were not heeded. Meanwhile, he heard that a man named Oweis, at Baghdad, professing to be his son, had risen in revolt, having been encouraged to mount the throne by those about him. He hastily returned thither. At his approach the conspirators scattered. Oweis and his principal supporter, Mani ibn Shoaib, were captured.

At this time the Turkoman chief, Kara Yusuf, had a successful campaign against Kara Osman, during which he secured Mardin, and afterwards

* Notices et Extraits, xiv. 152-154.

made a raid into Shirvan. Sultan Ahmed sent to ask if he would allow him to have his summer quarters in the district of Hamadan, a request which Kara Yusuf refused. This no doubt irritated Ahmed, who was the heir to the Ilkhans and formerly suzerain of the Turkoman chief, and soon after, while Kara Yusuf was engaged in an attack upon Erzenjan, he determined to march upon his capital, Tebriz.* According to Ibn Hajr, he was in alliance with the Timurid chief, Shah Rokh. These events all happened in 813 HEJ. He left Baghdad on the 12th Moharrem, 813 (*i.e.*, 17th May, 1410), *en route* for Azerbaijan, and having reached Hamadan he subdued the Kurds there. Shah Muhammed, son of Kara Yusuf, who was in his yilah or summer quarters at Aujan, set out for Khoi. Ahmed reached Tebriz on the 26th of Rebi the first (29th July). He sent troops in pursuit of Shah Muhammed, which overtook and defeated him near Salmas.† At Tebriz Ahmed was visited by the Armenian prince Sempad, son of Ivaneh, grandson of Purthel, to whom he gave as an appanage the town of Arkéghaguth, whose position is unknown.‡ When Kara Yusuf heard of the doings of his late ally he was busy in settling the affairs of the province of Erzenjan. He set out for Tebriz, and met the Sultan near the town of Asad, two parasangs from Tebriz. In the battle which followed, and which was fought on the 30th of August, 1410, the Sultan fought bravely, but his men were defeated, and he himself was wounded by an arrow in the arm. He sought refuge in a neighbouring garden, but a native of Tebriz, Beha ud din Julah, disclosed his hiding place to the Turkoman chief, who sent some troops to arrest him. He was put in chains and taken before Kara Yusuf, who upbraided him for having been treacherous towards him. He did not deprive him of his life, or even of his title, at once, but appropriated his kingdom, and enjoined him to do nothing against his authority; presently his courtiers suggested that he was a dangerous person, and by their advice he was condemned to death, and strangled. His body was allowed to lie in the dust for two or three days, to prevent turbulent people from setting up a pretender on the ground that he was not really dead. At the request of the people of Tebriz, and according to the wish expressed in Ahmed's will, he was buried in a building called Dimashkuh, near his father and mother. His son, Sultan Ala ud daulat, who had been confined in the fortress of Abd Eljuz, was also put to death and buried in the Dimashkuh. Kaiumars, son of Sheikh Ibrahim, the ruler of Shirvan, arrived to help Ahmed the day after his defeat. He was arrested and imprisoned in the fortress of Arjish, nor would Kara Yusuf accept the money offered by his father for his release. We are told that the Turkoman chief abstained from pillaging Tebriz, although it had sided with his rival.§

* *Id.*, 178-181. Weil, v. 141. † Abdur Rezak, Notices et Extraits, &c., xiv. 193-194.
‡ Thomas of Medzoph, 95. § Notices et Extraits, &c., xiv. 193. D'Herbelot, sub voce Avis.

Thus passed away a prince who had probably seen more changes of fortune and more stirring adventures than any of his ancestors. Shah Rokh, son of Timur, when he heard of Ahmed's death, asked Abdal Kadir, a learned man, who was one of his intimate friends, if he had composed nothing on such a tragical event. He thereupon recited four lines with the following meaning: "Tears of blood were shed on this occasion, and on asking wherefore from Fate the only answer was 'Kasd Tebriz' (the expedition to Tebriz)." The two latter words, which only comprise eight letters in Arabic, make the chronogram 813, which was the year of Ahmed's death. Ibn Arabshah cites a witty reply which Ahmed sent to Timur when he was obliged to fly before him, referring to the latter's lameness, &c.: "If I was maimed for the fight, I was not lame for the flight," referring to Timur's double lameness in his leg and hand.* In the British Museum there is a large and interesting series of Ahmed's coins. There is a gold coin struck at Baghdad, and silver ones struck at Irbil, Baghdad, Tebriz, Shamakhi, Hamadan, Halab, Arminiyah (?), Vassit, and Mosul. Fræhn, in his supplement, gives the additional mints of Van, Sultania, Khoi, Asterabad, Alemja, and Gushtasf.

SHAH WALAD.

On Sultan Ahmed's death considerable confusion arose at Baghdad, and the authorities differ. The Egyptian writers tell us that Kara Yusuf sent his son, Shah Muhammed, to occupy Baghdad. Nakhsais, a Mamluk of Ahmed's, was in authority there on behalf of one of the latter's nephews, Shah Walad ibn Shahzadeh Sheikh Ali ibn Oweis. Nakhsais defended the place with great bravery, but was killed in a tumult, whereupon his place was taken by another Mamluk, Abdur Rahman Ibn Mullah, who spread the report that Ahmed was still living, and had the khutbeh said in his name. He also was killed in an outbreak, and Shah Walad was again recognised as Sultan. Reports continued to spread that Ahmed was still living, and a fresh conspiracy arose against Sultan Walad, which ended in Baghdad being captured by Shah Muhammed. This was in April, 1411. Presently Walad was driven out by the party which still professed to believe in Ahmed's survival. Kara Yusuf thereupon sent him fresh troops, with which he recaptured the city in August and September of the same year.† Other accounts make out that Sultan Walad was put to death with his uncle, Shah Ahmed, and buried in his grave, and Abdur Rezak attributes the events assigned by the Egyptians to him, to his son Mahmud. He tells us how Shah Muhammed, who was then at Irbil, having heard of the turbulence of Baghdad, marched upon the place, and encamped before "the gate

* D'Herbelot, sub voce Avis. † Weil, v. 141-143.

of the Sultan's Market." Shah Mahmud had meanwhile secured the supreme authority in the place, and Abd Ibrahim Mallah commanded there in his name; but the latter was murdered by some turbulent people who, in Ahmed's reign, had filled the posts of shahnah and daruga. Great disorders now broke out, and Shah Mahmud, with his brothers, Sultan Muhammed and Sultan Oweis, together with Dendi or Tendu Sultan, his stepmother, left it and fled towards Shuster. Shah Muhammed occupied Baghdad, and also subjected Hibet and a part of Kurdistan, and for some years exercised sovereign rule over those districts.*

SHAH MAHMUD.

After the capture of Baghdad, Tendu, a daughter of Hussein Ibn Oweis, who had been to Cairo with Ahmed, and had married, first Sultan Barkuk, and then her own cousin, Shah Walad, continued to rule at Vassit, Basrah, and Shuster, in the name of her stepson, Mahmud, son of Walad.† In 817 she sent messengers to Shah Rokh with her submission. Shortly after, news arrived from Shuster that she was dead.‡ In the year 819 (*i.e.*, 1416) she was, in fact, put to death, and Mahmud reigned himself.§ He reigned until his death, in 822, when he was followed by his brother,‖

SULTAN OWEIS.

He would seem to have held some authority previously, for Abdur Rezak tells us that in 818 Shah Rokh, who was then at Shiraz, sent a courier to Shuster, to Sultan Oweis, with affectionate greeting. Shah Rokh's envoy was received with honour, and Sultan Oweis sent one of his own people back with him.¶ Sultan Oweis was killed by the Turkoman Shah Muhammed in the year 829 HEJ.**

SHAH MUHAMMED.

Sultan Oweis was succeeded at Shuster by his brother, Shah Muhammed, and on his death there succeeded

HUSSEIN,

son of Ala ud daulat, son of Ahmed Sultan, who conquered the whole of the Arabian Irak, except the capital, Baghdad. Ispahan, the son of Kara Yusuf, had a long struggle with him, and eventually beleagured him at Hillah, which he captured on the 3rd Safai, 825, when Hussein was killed. With him ended the rule of the Jelairids in Irak, which now fell completely into the hands of the Turkomans.††

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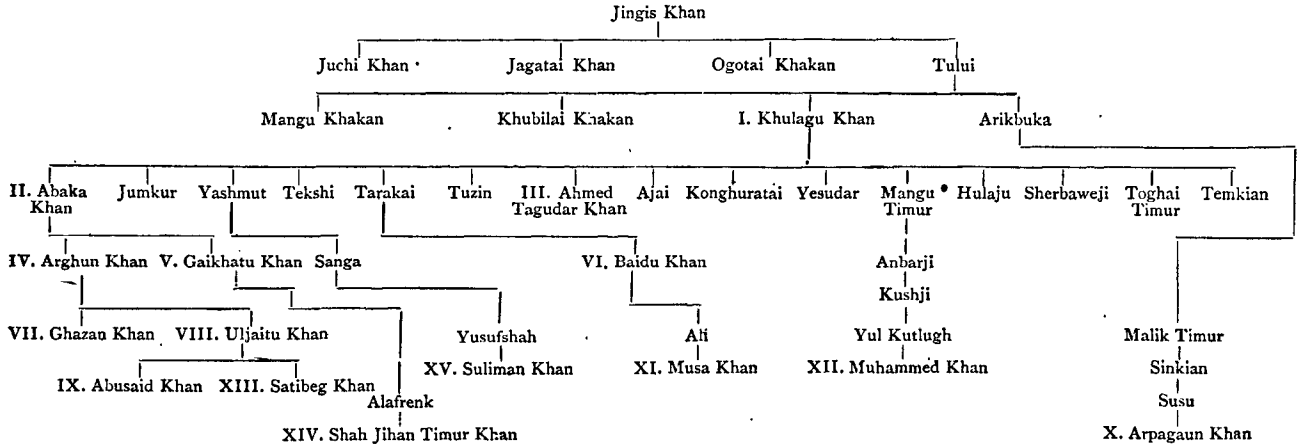
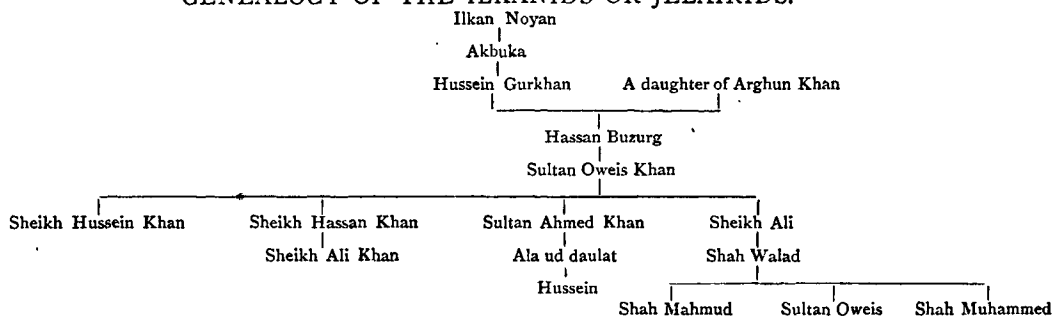
* Notices et Extraits, xiv. 210-211. † Weil, v. 142. Note. ‡ Notices et Extraits, xiv. 258-259.
§ Weil, v. 142. Note. ‖ *Id.*
¶ Notices et Extraits, xiv. 285-286. ** Weil, v. 142. Note. †† *Id.*

Note 1.—GENEALOGY OF THE ILKHANS.

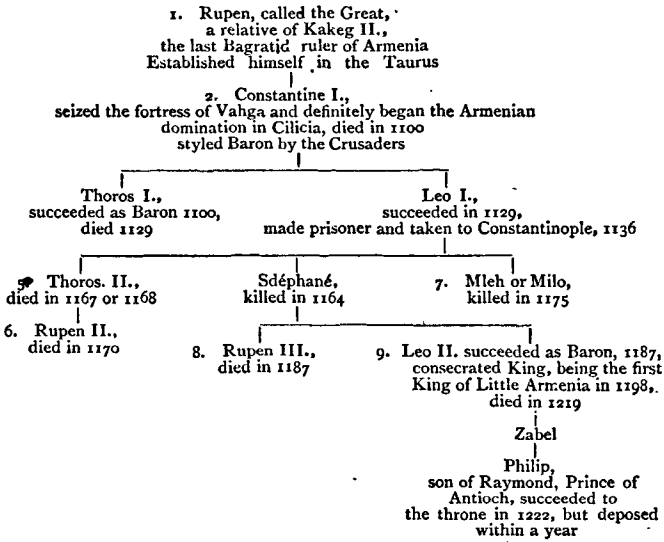


GENEALOGY OF THE ILKANIDS OR JELAIRIDS.



Note 2.—Little Armenia. The kingdom of Cilicia, or Little Armenia, was so intimately connected in its history with that of the Ilkhans, that I have incorporated short notices of it in my narrative. The last of these was on page 604, where I described the investiture of Leo V. by the Egyptian Sultan. According to Abulfeda, this was during the year 1328-9. M. Dulaurier dates his accession in the year 770 of the Armenian era (*i.e.*, in 1321). Leo reigned till the year 1341, and was the last king of Armenia of the old royal stock of the Rupenians. He was succeeded by John (Juan), son of Amaury de Lusignan, Count of Tyre, brother of Henry III., King of Cyprus,* by Zablun, or Zabel, daughter of Leo III., with the style of Constantine III. He was killed, after reigning a year, by his grandees, and was succeeded in 1343 by his brother Guy, who similarly perished after a reign of two years. He was succeeded in 1345 by Constantine IV., a descendant of Leo V. and son of the Baron Baldwin, marshal of the kingdom. He died in 1362, when there was an interregnum of two years, during which there were several competitors, amongst others, Peter I. of Cyprus. In 1365 Leo VI., a supposed son of Constantine IV. by an Armenian mother, mounted the throne. He married Maria, niece of Philip of Tarentum, titular Emperor of Constantinople, and was made prisoner in 1375 by Malik ul Ashraf-Shaaban, Sultan of Egypt, when the kingdom came to an end. Leo was released in 1378 at the request of the kings of Castile and Arragon, and died at Paris on the 29th of November, 1393.†

The following table shows the descent of the rulers of Little Armenia :—


1. Rupen, called the Great,
a relative of Kakeg II.,
the last Bagratid ruler of Armenia
Established himself in the Taurus
2. Constantine I.,
seized the fortress of Vahga and definitely began the Armenian
domination in Cilicia, died in 1100
styled Baron by the Crusaders
Thoros I.,
succeeded as Baron 1100,
died 1129
Leo I.,
succeeded in 1129,
made prisoner and taken to Constantinople, 1136
5. Thoros. II.,
died in 1167 or 1168
Sdéphané,
killed in 1164
7. Mleh or Milo,
killed in 1175
6. Rupen II.,
died in 1170
8. Rupen III.,
died in 1187
9. Leo II. succeeded as Baron, 1187,
consecrated King, being the first
King of Little Armenia in 1198,
died in 1219
Zabel
Philip,
son of Raymond, Prince of
Antioch, succeeded to
the throne in 1222, but deposed
within a year

On the death of Leo, Adam de Gastim became bailly of the kingdom for two years, when he was killed by the Ismaelites, and was replaced by the Grand Baron Constantine.

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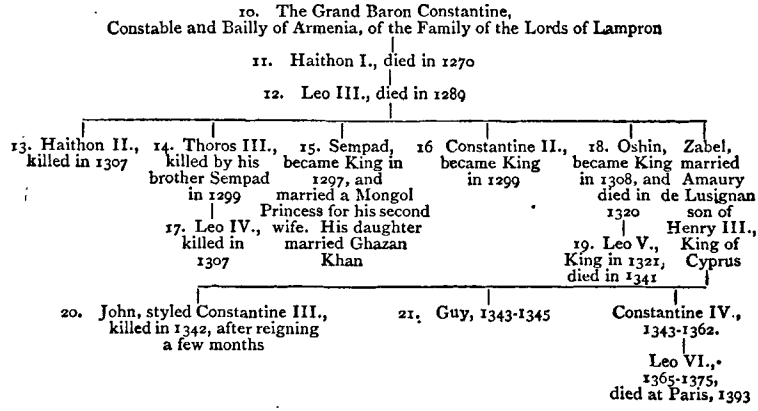
* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xviii. 293. † *Id.*, xvii. 386.


10. The Grand Baron Constantine, Constable and Bailly of Armenia, of the Family of the Lords of Lampron
11. Haithon I., died in 1270
12. Leo III., died in 1289
13. Haithon II., killed in 1307
14. Thoros III., killed by his brother Sempad in 1299
15. Sempad, became King in 1297, and married a Mongol Princess for his second wife. His daughter married Ghazan Khan
16 Constantine II., became King in 1299
18. Oshin, became King in 1308, and died in 1320
Zabel, married de Lusignan son of Henry III., King of Cyprus
17. Leo IV., killed in 1307
19. Leo V., King in 1321, died in 1341
20. John, styled Constantine III., killed in 1342, after reigning a few months
21. Guy, 1343-1345
Constantine IV., 1343-1362.
Leo VI., 1365-1375, died at Paris, 1393

Note 3.—A second Christian kingdom, whose history was most closely intertwined with that of the Persian Mongols, and which I have incorporated largely in my narrative, was that of Georgia. As we have seen, it became divided into two kingdoms, Karthli and Imerithi. I have carried down its history to the installation of George V. (styled the Brilliant) as king of Karthli.* This period of Georgian history, as Brosset says, is singularly obscure. During the confusion following on the death of Abusaid Khan, Georgi drove out the Mongols from his country. He then called together a solemn assembly of the eristhafs and princes of Karthli at Mount Tziv in Hereth, and having put to death those who would not obey him, set up eristhafs of his own in various provinces, and was obeyed in all the country as far as Derbend, while the robber Lesghs paid him tribute. He appointed Sargis Jakel atabeg and generalissimo, and made a successful raid into Rum and Shirvan.

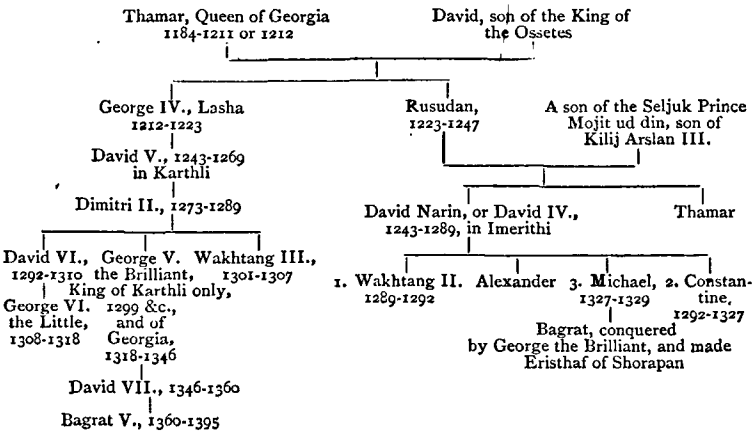
Meanwhile things had been going on badly in Imerithi. David Narin, as we have seen, left three sons.† Of these, Constantine, the eldest, died without issue in 1327, whereupon his brother Michael succeeded to the throne. He died in 1329, leaving a young son, Bagrat, who could not control the eristhafs, some of whom would not acknowledge him. Taking advantage of this, George the Brilliant of Karthli invaded the country and speedily subdued all Imerithi, appointing governors in various districts, and nominating Bagrat as eristhaf of Shorapan. This was in 1330. Thereupon the Dadian Mamia, the Guriel, the Eristhaf of the Suans, and Sharwashidzéh, eristhaf of Abkhazia, acknowledged George as king of Imerithi and of all Georgia.‡

The noyan who occupied Azerbaijan (*i.e.*, the Ilkhan for the time being) now began to invade Somkheth, Ran (*i.e.*, Arran), Mowakan (*i.e.*, Mughan), and advanced as far as Ganja, or Kantsak, intending to conquer him. He thereupon fought with him, defeated him, and returned with much booty. He also defeated the Ottoman Sultan, Orkhan. All Georgia, we are told, was subject to his laws, and the Caucasians obeyed him from Nicophsia to Derbend, while Ran, Mowakan, and Shirvan were tributary to him. Thus Georgia, which had been

* Ante, 544-587. † Ante, 357. ‡ Hist. de la Géorgie, 646-647.

disunited for so long, was once more controlled by one hand. He died at Tiflis in 1346,* and was succeeded by his son, David VII., who had a peaceable and prosperous reign, in which he employed himself in restoring the ruined churches, fortresses, and other buildings in his kingdom. He died in 1360, and was buried at Kelath.†

He was succeeded by his son Bagrat V., in whose reign Timur invaded Georgia. I shall remit an account of him to the next volume, in which the history of Timur will be related. The following table gives the descent of the Georgian kings during the Mongol supremacy in Persia :—


Thamar, Queen of Georgia
1184-1211 or 1212
David, son of the King of the Ossetes
George IV., Lasha
1212-1223
Rusudan,
1223-1247
A son of the Seljuk Prince Mojit ud din, son of Kilij Arslan III.
David V., 1243-1269 in Karthli
Dimitri II., 1273-1289
David Narin, or David IV., 1243-1289, in Imerithi
Thamar
David VI., 1292-1310
George V. the Brilliant, King of Karthli only, 1299 &c., and of Georgia, 1318-1346
Wakhtang III., 1301-1307
George VI. the Little, 1308-1318
1. Wakhtang II. 1289-1292
Alexander
3. Michael, 1327-1329
2. Constantine, 1292-1327
Bagrat, conquered by George the Brilliant, and made Eristhaf of Shorapan
David VII., 1346-1360
Bagrat V., 1360-1395

Note 3.—*Mardin.* When the Mongols invaded Western Asia, Mardin was governed by the Ortokid Turkoman dynasty. Its prince resisted them; but was undone by the treachery of his son, who thus acquired his father's throne, and, as we have seen, it preserved its separate life during the domination of the Ilkhanian dynasty. I have introduced what I could find of its history during the progress of the previous narrative, and will bring together here what is to be said of the later doings of its rulers.

The Malik Salih succeeded his father Mansur in the year 712 HEJ. Von Hammer calls him Salah ud din Yusuf, son of Nejm ud din Mansur.‡ He was the ruler of Mardin when Ibn Batuta visited the town. He tells us he was famous for his acts of generosity. Poets and fakirs visited him, and he gave them splendid presents, thus following in his father's footsteps. He was visited by Abu Abdallah Muhammed, son of Jâbir Alandusi Almeruz, surnamed Alkapf, who praised him greatly, and he gave him 20,000 dirhems. He distributed much alms, and supported colleges and zainahs which supplied strangers with refreshments. His vizier was Jemal ud din Arsinjary. He had made profession at Tebriz, and was on familiar terms with the principal ulemas. His chief kadhi was Borhan ud din Almansily, who was pious, modest, and virtuous, and wore a rough woollen garment not worth ten dirhems. His turban was equally homely. He generally pronounced his judgments in the

* *Id.*, 648-649. † *Id.*, 649-650. ‡ Ilkhans, ii. 321.

courtyard of the mosque outside the college, where he performed his devotions, and anyone who did not know him thought him a servant. A woman once passed close by him, when he was away from the mosque, and she did not recognise him. "O, sheikh," she said, "where does the kadhi sit?" "What do you want with him?" "My husband has beaten me," she said; "besides, he has another wife, and does not treat me equally with her in his attentions. I have cited him before the kadhi, but he did not appear, and I am poor and cannot pay the kadhi's people to bring him before the court." "Where does he live?" said the judge. She replied, "In the sailors' village outside the town." "I will go with you thither," he said. "But I have nothing to give you," said the woman. "I would not take anything from you," he replied. He then added, "Go towards the village, and wait for me outside. I will come to you, there." Presently he went as he had promised, and all alone and together they entered her husband's house. The latter said, "Who is this importunate sheikh with you?" "I am what you describe," said the judge, "but you do fairly by the woman." The interview was prolonged, and presently some people came in who knew the judge, and saluted him. The husband was afraid and covered with confusion; but the judge said, "Do not fear, but repair the injustice you have done the woman." The kadhi, having paid what would keep them during the day, left.*

Salih reigned for fifty-four years, and died upwards of seventy years old, in the end of HEJ. 765, or beginning of 766. Dr. Rieu has collected some notices of his successors from the chronicles of Ibn Habib (A.H. 648-801) and Ibn Hajar (A.H. 773-850) which he has kindly sent me.

Salih was succeeded by his son Mansur Ahmed, who died in in A.H. 769, at the age of 60; and he by his son, Salih Mahmud, who was deposed, after a reign of a few days, by his uncle, Muzaffer Dāūd, son of Salih, who succeeded him, and died in A.H. 778, when his son Zahir Majd ud din Isa (Ibn Arabshah calls him Al Malik Addahir) succeeded him.

He was ruler of Mardin when Timur invaded the West. When he was on his march from Mosul to Roha or Edessa, Isa sent him his submission, and accordingly at the end of the month Sefer, 796 (*i.e.*, 1404), when the great conqueror neared Mardin, he summoned him to bring his contingent and to march with him against Syria, and then marched on.† Isa sent as his envoy Alhaj Muhammed, son of Shasebeki, with presents and excuses for his not going in person, whereupon Timur declared that it was not his policy to leave a rebel behind him. He accordingly returned towards Mardin on the 10th of February, 1404. Isa now went to him with rich presents, horses, mules, &c., nine of each kind, and was presented to Timur two days later. He humbly begged pardon of the great chief, who gave him a robe.‡ Isa agreed to pay tribute, and to have such taxes imposed as were customary in the case of captured towns. Timur's commissaries went into the place to receive these taxes, and some of his soldiers also trusted themselves carelessly, having gone to make some purchases. They were attacked by a crowd, whereupon Timur summoned Isa

* Ibn Batuta, ii. 144-147. † Sherif ud din, ii. 263-264.
‡ *Id.*, 266-268. Ibn Arabshah, ii. 153-155.

once more, and made him kneel down. It then transpired that when he left the city he had told his brother and his people not to part with their arms, and under no circumstances to surrender the town, and that they must take no heed of any letters he might write to them when under durance bidding them receive a governor or otherwise, as he had determined to sacrifice his life for them and his country. This having been proved against him, he was put in chains; but Timur did not deem it prudent then to besiege Mardin, since the country round was bare of forage.* He accordingly withdrew; but returned again on the 15th of April, and planted his camp about it, and the following day stormed it, the garrison withdrawing to the citadel on the adjoining mountain. Many of them were killed in the flight, while their pursuers captured many youths and girls. They also secured a large booty in horses, mules, and camels, and then proceeded to invest the mountain fortress, which was approachable only by one path, and which was watered by a spring strong enough to turn a mill. Several poets have praised its situation, among others, Ibn Ferai, who called it Kala Shahba (*i.e.*, the White Castle). The besiegers attacked it, and, notwithstanding the stones rolled down upon them, forced their way up to a level with the walls, capturing some prisoners who had not sought shelter in time. According to Sherif ud din, the garrison were cowed by the persistence of the attack, and approached Timur demanding quarter. He thereupon withdrew from the walls into his camp again. The garrison now came out, and gave him numerous presents, some very valuable Turkoman horses, and large sums of money. They swore to be faithful, and undertook to pay a heavy tribute. Timur's heart was softened at this moment by the birth of his grandson, Shah Rukh, which happened just at the time.† Ibn Arabshah makes out he was frustrated in his attack, and revenged himself by destroying the chief buildings in the town.‡ Sherif ud din goes on to say that he pardoned the people of Mardin, and even remitted the taxes he had already received. He gave the principality to Salih, brother of Isa, and gave him patents of office sealed with his own hand.§ Isa was taken to Sultania.‖ Presently, Timur having visited Sultania, took pity on him, after he had been in prison for three years, with his hands and feet chained. He consoled him, gave him a robe, pardoned him, and restored him the principality of Mardin, giving him the necessary patents. He in return swore before Timur's amirs that he would never fail in his obedience to his suzerain, would accompany him in all his wars, &c., and he thereupon returned again to Mardin.¶

Turning once more to the authorities consulted for me by Dr. Rieu, we read how in the year of the HEJ. 809, the amir Jekim, a mamluk of Al Zahir (Barkuk) became Sultan of Aleppo, conquered the neighbouring district, crossed the Euphrates, and marched against the Turkoman amir Muhammed Ibn Karailik, Lord of Amid or Diarbekr. Isa, the chief of Mardin, joined him *en route*. Their united forces were defeated by the Turkomans, and both Jekim and Isa were killed. The battle was fought on the 15th Zulkadah,

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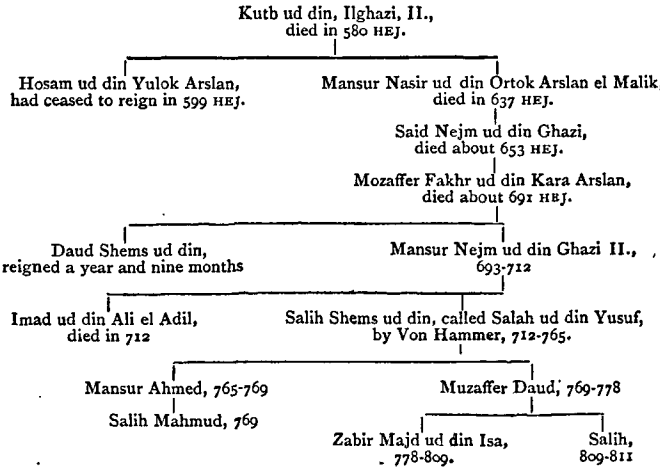
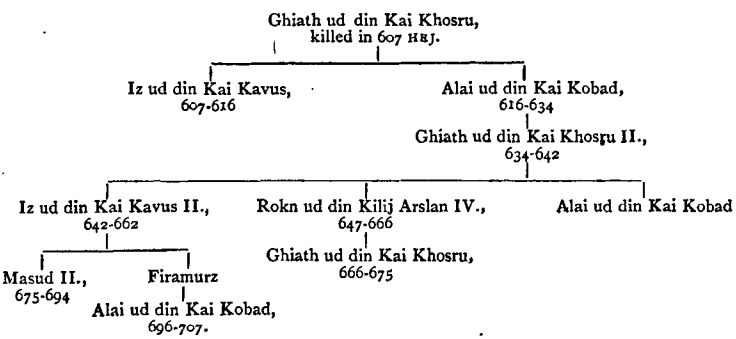
* Sherif ud din, ii. 274-275. † *Id.*, 280-283. ‡ Op. cit., ii. 163.
§ *Id.*, 285. ‖ *Id.*, 312. ¶ *Id.*, 396.

A.H. 809. Thereupon Salih, Isa's brother, who had been nominated chief of Mardin for a short space by Timur, as we have seen, once more mounted the throne; but two years later, being hard pressed by the Turkoman amir, Ibn Karailik, he sought aid from Kara Yusuf, the famous chief of the Black Sheep Turkomans, and proposed to him to give up Mardin to him in exchange for Mosul. His offer was accepted, and he went to Mosul, but died a few days later; and thus ended the dynasty of the Ortokids of Mardin. I append its genealogy as a probably useful table.


Kutb ud din, Ilghazi, II., died in 580 HEJ.
Hosam ud din Yulok Arslan, had ceased to reign in 599 HEJ.
Mansur Nasir ud din Ortok Arslan el Malik, died in 637 HEJ.
Said Nejm ud din Ghazi, died about 653 HEJ.
Mozaffer Fakhr ud din Kara Arslan, died about 691 HEJ.
Daud Shems ud din, reigned a year and nine months
Mansur Nejm ud din Ghazi II., 693-712
Imad ud din Ali el Adil, died in 712
Salih Shems ud din, called Salah ud din Yusuf, by Von Hammer, 712-765.
Mansur Ahmed, 765-769
Salih Mahmud, 769
Muzaffer Daud, 769-778
Zabir Majd ud din Isa, 778-809.
Salih, 809-811

This table is compiled from that given in the first volume of the Eastern section of the work, entitled "Les Historiens des Croisades," xxiv., and from notes supplied me by Dr. Rieu.

Note IV.—GENEALOGY OF THE SELJUKS OF RUM DURING THE ILKHANIAN RULE.


Ghiath ud din Kai Khosru, killed in 607 HEJ.
Iz ud din Kai Kavus, 607-616
Alai ud din Kai Kobad, 616-634
Ghiath ud din Kai Khosru II., 634-642
Iz ud din Kai Kavus II., 642-662
Rokn ud din Kilij Arslan IV., 647-666
Alai ud din Kai Kobad
Masud II., 675-694
Firamurz
Ghiath ud din Kai Khosru, 666-675
Alai ud din Kai Kobad, 696-707.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EASTERN FRAGMENTS OF THE ILKHANIAN EMPIRE.

I.—THE SULTANS OF FARS.

THE PRINCESS KORDOJIN.

FARS had long been the seat of a famous line of princes, the Salghurids. They managed to conciliate the Mongols, and retained their power as subordinates of the Ilkhans until the dynasty came to an end with the Princess Abish, daughter of the last atabeg of Fars, of the Salghurid dynasty, who married Mangu Timur, son of Khulagu.* By Mangu Timur, Abish left a daughter called Kordojin, or Kurdujin, who married Siyurghatmish, the ruler of Kerman, by whom she had a son, Kutb ud din Shah Jihan, who succeeded him, and a daughter, Ismet ud din Aalem Shah, who married the Ilkhan Baidu.† On her husband's death she retained control of Kerman by permission of Baidu Khan. Early in the reign of Abusaid, the Princess Kordojin was nominated by him governor of Fars,‡ and, pleased at her for having sent him a present of standards, &c., on a certain occasion, he gave her the title of Terkhan, which exempted her from the payment of taxes.§ It was probably at this time she also acquired the privilege of coining money, for a coin with her name upon it is known. She was a great builder, and during her rule Shiraz became a magnificent city, the resort of numbers of learned men. Wassaf mentions among the finest buildings of his native city all due to her, (1) the robath, or caravanserai of Sonkor; (2) that of the Princess Abish, (3) the new mosque, (4) the robath of Shehrolla, (5) the hospital of Mozaffer, (6) the robath of Khair, (7) the robath of Sarbend, bearing an inscription supplied by the Princess Abish, (8) the aqueduct of the old mosque, (9) the khan with two doors, (10) the robath Iddeti, (11) the medresseh Adhadiyeh, which had a revenue of over 200,000 ducats; (12) the medresseh called after Kordojin herself, in the praise of which Wassaf composed some verses, which were written in gold on a blue ground above the entrance of the medresseh. About this medresseh was planted a garden, traversed by an aqueduct borne on high pillars; a bath, about

* Vide ante, 318-320. † Ilkhans, ii. 48. ‡ *Id.*, 270. § *Id.*, 276. Ante, 593.

which Wassaf wrote some pretty verses, and a fountain, whose good qualities were contrasted with those of the four rivers of Paradise. The students and attendants at the medresseh were well paid, and alms were also distributed there by the wish of the pious foundress, who, in the words of Wassaf, combined the virtues of many famous women—the Balki of Time, the Sarah of the World, the Asia of chastity, the Safura of purity—nor could the three famous women of Islam—Khadisha, Fatima, and Aisha—claim to rival her.* The princess apparently married the great amir Choban.† I do not know when she died, the last reference to her I can find being about the year 1327, when the Malik of Herat asked for her as a reward for having undone Choban.‡

SHARF UD DIN MAHMUD INJU.

Sharf ud din Mahmud ibn Muhammed, surnamed Inju (*i.e.*, the tax-gatherer),§ was, according to the "Jihanara" of Ahmed Ibn Muhammed ibn Abulghaffar al Kazvini, descended from the Khoja Abdallah Ansari; others made him descend from Abu Aiyub Ansari. He was fortunate enough to secure for himself the lucrative post of tax farmer of Fars, whence he was promoted to the position of governor of that province by the influence of Choban. The date of this I have not been able to trace. He drew an immense income from the province, and was deemed the Crœsus of his time, and drew a revenue of 100 tumans from Shiraz and Shibânkareh, and was thus able to secure himself many powerful friends among the amirs; and when Abusaid deposed him in 736 HEJ. (D'Ohsson says 734), and appointed Muzaffer Inak in his place, some of them, such as Mahmud Issen Kutlugh, Sultan Shah (son of Nikruz), Muhammed Bey, Muhammed Pilten, and Muhammed Kushji, gathered round him, and he tried to seize his rival at his own house. When he presently fled to the royal palace, he was pursued thither, and it was only when Shiburgan, the son of Choban, and the Khoja Lulu happened to come up with assistance, that the rebels were driven back. The leaders were now captured, and would have been put to death but for the intercession of the vizier, Ghiath ud din. They were imprisoned in strong fortresses, and Mahmud himself was locked up in Tabarek, the citadel of Ispahan. The amirs remained in custody until Abusaid's death, but Mahmud was released.‖ He apparently went to live at Tebriz, and was put to death by Arpagaun, Abusaid's successor, soon after his accession, on the charge that he had secretly brought up a descendant of Khulagu in his house.¶

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* Ilkhans, ii. 270-272. † *Id.*, 298. ‡ *Id.*, 299.

§ "Jihanara" says the word had this meaning in Mongol. Wassaf says it was taken from the Khuarezmian dialect. See Bergmann Munzen der Indschuiden, Numismatische Zeitschrift, iii. 146-147. Quatremere's Rashid ud din, 130. Note.

‖ Bergmann, op. cit. 147-149. D'Ohsson, iv. 715-716.

¶ Mirkhond, in Bergmann, op. cit., 149-150.

MASUD SHAH INJU.

On the murder of their father, Mahmud,* his sons fled—Masud, to Rum, to Sheikh Hassan Buzurg, whose representative he became, and who married him to Bakht, the daughter of Dimashk Khoja, son of Choban. His two brothers, Mahmud Shah and Abu Ishak, fled to Ali Padishah, Abusaid's maternal uncle,† at Diarbekr, who had set up Musa as a rival khan to Arpagaun. In conjunction with his *protégé*, he defeated the latter in a battle at Karabagh, and Arpagaun having been captured, was handed over to Mahmud's sons, who revenged their father's blood upon him. Presently, Ali Padishah and Musa were driven out by Hassan Buzurg, who set up Muhammed as Khan, and was assisted in his campaign against Ali Padishah by Masud Shah Inju, who, as we have seen, had sought refuge with him. Doubtless, as a reward for his conduct, he was now sent with Pir Hussein, son of Mahmud, son of Choban (the "Jihanara" says with Yaghi Basti, which is doubtless a mistake), to take charge of Shiraz.‡

Ibn Batuta makes out that Abusaid appointed Pir Hussein to succeed Mahmud Shah Inju, that he lived for some time at Shiraz, and then determined to pay a visit to his master in Irak; but, before doing so, arrested Abu Ishak, son of Mahmud, his two brothers, Rokn ud din and Masud Bek, and his mother, Tash Khatun, under the pretence that he intended to take them to Irak, and to make them disgorge what their father had appropriated. When they arrived in the market-place of Shiraz, Tash Khatun raised her veil, as she did not want them to see her covered, "it not being the custom of the Turkish women to appear veiled in this way." She appealed to the people of Shiraz to help her, saying, "Is a woman such as I am to be carried off from your very midst in this fashion?" Thereupon a carpenter named Pehluvan Mahmud rose and said, "We will not let her leave the place." A tumult arose, several of the soldiers were killed, the treasury was plundered, and the princess and her sons were rescued. The amir Hussein and his adherents fled. He repaired to Abusaid, who gave him an army, and ordered him to occupy Shiraz again. The citizens, feeling that they were not strong enough to resist, sought out the Kadhi Mejd ud din, and begged him to prevent any bloodshed, and to arrange an accommodation. The Kadhi accordingly went to meet Hussein, who dismounted as he approached, and saluted him. Peace was arranged, and the amir encamped outside Shiraz. Next day, the people went out to greet him. They decorated the town and illuminated it with torches, and he entered it in triumph, and behaved very cordially to its citizens.§ The same author says that

* Ibn Batuta mentions his tomb at Shiraz, and also a post station he built at Yezd Khast.
† Bergmann, op. cit., 150. ‡ Bergmann, 151-152. D'Ohsson, iv. 743.
§ Ibn Batuta, ii. 65-67.

on Abusaid's death, Hussein, afraid that the people of Shiraz would destroy him, left the place.*

Ibn Batuta's narrative is often somewhat suspicious, and these events were probably the same as those elsewhere recorded, where we read that Pir Hussein, in the year 740 (*i.e.*, 1339-40), sought the alliance of Mubariz ud din Muhammed, the governor of Yezd, and having united forces with him at Istakhr, marched upon Shiraz. Masud Shah thereupon fled, and Shiraz presently surrendered.†

Hamdullah Meztufi, writing in 741 HEJ., tells us that Fars and Shebankareh were then subject to Masud.‡ The authorities agree that Masud was put to death in 743 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1343). The "Jihanara," however, attributes the deed to Yaghi Basti, while elsewhere we read, more probably, that it was Pir Hussein who killed him, through jealousy.§

SHEIKH ABU ISHAK.

The contradictions in the story do not cease with the death of Masud. One account says that Pir Hussein deprived Sultan Shah of the government of Ispahan, and conferred it on Abu Ishak, who was Masud's brother, and that the same year the latter joined his forces with the amir Ashraf, who had advanced into Irak against Pir Hussein. Pir Hussein, not being able to resist the two allies, went to Tebriz, to Sheikh Hassan the Lesser, who had him put to death, merely giving him the option between poison and the sword. He chose poison.‖ In the "Jihanara" we read that Abu Ishak had been sent by Masud against the Shebankarehs. On hearing of his brother's death he returned to Shiraz, whence he drove out Yaghi Basti (? Pir Hussein), and seated himself on the throne, struck money, and had the Friday prayer said in his own name. His power grew greatly, and Ibn Batuta, who visited Shiraz during his reign, tells us his army consisted of 50,000 men (Persians and Turks); that the people of Ispahan, who also obeyed him, were his most faithful subjects, while those of Shiraz were unruly, and were forbidden carrying weapons on pain of death. Our traveller himself saw a man dragged off before the hakim, with a chain about his neck, for having been found with a bow in his possession.¶

Soon after his accession, Abu Ishak had a struggle with Ashraf, the brother of the Lesser Hassan. Ashraf withdrew to Irak, but presently made another attempt, in conjunction with Yaghi Basti, to invade Fars, and plundered and burnt Abrkuh. Abu Ishak marched against them. The allies were only a march from Shiraz, when news arrived of the murder of Hassan. This was in 745 HEJ. They thereupon returned again.** Abu Ishak now began a series of attacks on Muhammed, son

* Ibn Batuta, ii. 68. † Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., iv. 101. ‡ Ilkhans, ii. 321.
§ Bergmann, op. cit., 151-152. D'Ohsson, iv. 743. ‖ *Id.*, 743-744. ¶ Op. cit., ii. 64.
** Mirkhond, in Bergmann, op. cit., 152-153.

of Muzaffar, ruler of Yezd and Kerman. In one of these he captured Yezd. Muhammed sought refuge at Mibud, a fortress six miles from Yezd, surrounded on all sides by sands, where he defended himself bravely, and made successful sorties, in one of which he killed ten of Abu Ishak's horses. In another he was caught in an ambuscade, with only a hundred followers, but cut his way out. At length his brave conduct attracted the attention and regard of Abu Ishak, and he said: "I wish to see him, and will then withdraw." He accordingly planted himself near the fortress, and Muhammed went to the door of the citadel and saluted him. The Sultan said: "Come down, and trust to my safe conduct." Muhammed replied: "I have sworn before God not to come to you until you have entered into the fortress." Abu Ishak consented to do this, and went with only ten companions. When he reached the gate, Muhammed dismounted, kissed his stirrup, entered before him, and introduced him to his house, where his guests took some food. After this, host and guest returned together on horseback to Abu Ishak's camp. The latter seated him beside him, gave him his own robes and a present of money, and they agreed that Muhammed and his father should remain in possession of the province, while the khutbeh or Friday prayer should be said in Abu Ishak's name.*

In the year 1350 Abu Ishak again attacked Yezd, and again retired, and two years later his general, Bikjar, with his nephew, the amir Kaikobad, son of Kaikhosru, were defeated in the plain of Penj Angusht (the five fingers), and lost considerable booty. Muhammed, pursuing his success, laid siege to Shiraz, during which his eldest son, Sherif ud din, died, which greatly discouraged him. He was helped, however, by the imprudence of Abu Ishak, who, without cause, put to death the commanders of the quarters of the city called the New Mosque and the New Garden, while he gave himself up to wine and women. Eventually, the commander of the quarter called Murdistan, whom he intended putting to death, surrendered the gate in his charge to Shah Shuja, Muhammed's son. Abu Ishak thereupon left Shiraz, and withdrew towards Shulistan, and thence to Ispahan,† where he continued to rule.

During the year 1354 Muhammed attacked Ispahan. In the spring the governor of that town, despairing of further resistance, agreed to pay a sum of money to save the place from pillage, whereupon Shah Shuja who had been left in command of the besieging army by his father, returned to Shiraz. This was only a short respite, however, and presently a fresh army from Shiraz beleaguered Ispahan, commanded by Shah Sultan, nephew of Muhammed, which pressed Abu Ishak sharply. His troops began to abandon him, and to join the besiegers. The governor of the fort of Tabrek, close by, treacherously surrendered it, and the

* Ibn Batuta, ii. 68-70. † Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., iv. 106-107.

Amir ul-Umera, having said good-bye to his children and servants, left Ispahan with a single attendant. In his distress Abu Ishak took refuge with the Maulana Asil ud din, who was Sheikh-ul-Islam of that district, and who gave him up to Shah Sultan. The latter sent him to Muhammed, who had just returned from pacifying Luristan. He was conducted to the hippodrome of the gate of Istakhr, where Muhammed had assembled the ulemas, the kadhis, and the notables of Fars. Convicted on his own confession of having put to death the amir Haji Dharrah, he was handed over to the younger son of his victim, who decapitated him with a single stroke of his sabre. This happened on a Friday in May, 1357.* Yahia Ibn Abdallatif says he was executed on the Maidan Saadet, which he had himself made. The "Jihanara" speaks of his noble and upright character. Ibn Batuta tells us he was named after the famous Sheikh Abu Ishak al Kaziruni, that he was one of the best sultans of the time, with a good figure and handsome presence. He had a generous soul, and was humble.† He determined to build a splendid building in Shiraz. The foundations were dug out, and the richer inhabitants joined in the labourers' work with the rest, going so far as to make panniers of leather, covered with gold brocaded silk, to carry the earth in, and showing the same luxury in the housings of the beasts of burden they used. They used picks made of silver, and burnt numerous candles during the work. They dressed themselves for their work in their best clothes, and fastened aprons of silk to their girdles. The Sultan watched the work from a belvedere. Ibn Batuta tells us he himself saw the building, when it was three cubits high. When the foundations were finished, the rest of the work was left to the regular workmen, who were paid wages, and it was said that the larger part of the revenues of the place were devoted to it. Jelal ud din ibn Alfeleky Attawrizy superintended the work, and had several thousand workmen under him.‡

Many coins of Abu Ishak are extant. Some of them bearing his name as early as 719 and 724 of the HEJ., are perhaps rather mementoes of his godfather, the holy sheikh, Abu Ishak. Several undoubted coins of his own are in the British Museum, only one, however, with a mint mark, viz., Shiraz. Other mint places of his mentioned by Bergmann are Abrkuh and Shebankareh.§ Abu Ishak does not style himself Sultan on his coins, but simply gives his name. It must be remarked also that while Ibn Batuta calls him Sultan, Mirkhond and the "Jihanara" call him merely Sheikh Amir Abu Ishak.‖

* Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., iv. 109. † Op cit., ii. 64. ‡ Ibn Batuta, ii. 71-72.
§ Op. cit., 162-163. ‖ *Id.*, 162.

THE MUZAFFARIANS.

MUZAFFAR.

When the Mongols invaded Khorasan, Ghiath ud din Haji Khorasani, a native of Sejavend, in the district of Khaf, abandoned his country, and removed to Yezd with his three sons, Abubekr, Muhammed, and Mansur. The two former entered the service of Alai ud daulat, atabeg of Yezd, who sent Abubekr with three hundred horsemen to help Khulagu when marching on Baghdad. Abubekr was posted on the Egyptian frontier, and fell in an encounter with the Khafajah Arabs. Mansur devoted himself to his father, after whose death he continued to live near his mausoleum. He left three sons, the amirs Muhammed, Ali, and Muzaffar. Muzaffar was patronised by Yusuf, son of the atabeg Alai ud daulat, and was given command of his troops. Eventually, he joined the service of the Ilkhan Arghun, who appointed him a yassaul, or usher. Ghazan gave him command of a thousand men, with the right to use standards, drums, &c., and also gave him a paizah, or official tablet. Uljaitu Khan gave him charge of the roads and the government of Abrkuh, Luristan, and Mibud. In the year 712 HEJ., or beginning of the next (1312-1313), he received orders to subdue the Shebankarehs, who had revolted. He conquered the rebels, and soon after died. This was in the year 713 (*i.e.*, 1314). His body was transported to Mibud, and there buried in a medresseh, or college, he had built. It is from him the dynasty we are now interested in was named.*

MUBARIZ UD DIN MUHAMMED.

Mubariz ud din Muhammed, son of Muzaffar, was born at Mibud in the year 700 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1301). On Muzaffar's death he repaired to the court of Uljaitu Khan, who gave him the post held by his father. He remained four years with Uljaitu, on whose death, and the accession of Abusaid, he returned to Mibud. Soon after he allied himself with the amir Kai Khosru, son of Mahmud Shah Inju, against Haji Shah, the atabeg of Yezd, who had killed one of Kai Khosru's officers in order to appropriate one of his slaves. They attacked Haji Shah in the bazaar of Yezd, defeated him, and compelled him to fly with his slaves and wealth This put an end to the dynasty of the atabegs of Yezd, who, according to Mirkhond, had reigned for three centuries.† In 1319, Muhammed was given the government of Yezd by Abusaid. At this time the Nigudarians living in Seistan revolted against the Ilkhan, and commenced to plunder the caravans on the roads. Muhammed, with only sixty men, attacked the Nigudarian chief, named Nuruz, who was at the head of three

* Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., iv. 96-97. † *Id.*, 97-98.

hundred. He received seventy arrows on his cuirass, was wounded in two places, and had two horses shot under him ; but, some reinforcements coming up, the Nigudarians were defeated, Nuruz was killed, and another of their leaders was captured. Muhammed sent the latter to Uljaitu in an iron cage, with the head of Nuruz fastened round his neck. The Nigudars, determined to avenge their chief, advanced as far as Yezd. Muhammed attacked them again with a smaller force, and again defeated them. The feud continued for some time, and it is said he fought twenty engagements with them in the course of four years. In the year 729 HEJ. (1328-9), he married Khan Kutlugh Makhdum-Shah, daughter of Kutb ud din Shah Jihan, former Sultan of Kerman. In the year 734 HEJ. (1333-4) he went to the court of Abusaid, who gave him a royal robe, a girdle enriched with stones, drums, and a standard, fixed his salary at 100,000 kopeghi dinars, and ordered that in future he should be styled "Amir Zadeh Muhammed."*

After the death of Abusaid, confusion arose in the Persian Irak and Fars. The eldest of the sons of Mahmud Shah Inju, Masud Shah, secured Shiraz and all Fars, and the younger one, Abu Isak, tried to seize Yezd by a ruse ; but Muhammed compelled him to fly, after an engagement which was put an end to by the mediation of the Sheikh Ali Omran. In the year 740 HEJ. (1339-40) the amir Pir Hussein allied himself with Muhammed, as we have seen, and marched upon Shiraz, from which Masud Shah withdrew. Pir Hussein, to reward his ally, gave him the government of Kerman. Muhammed arrived there in July, 1340, and finding great distress, dispersed his soldiers in the different cantons. Malik Kutb ud din Nikruz, who held Kerman for the Mongol rulers, fled to the Prince of Herat, who gave him some troops under Malik Daud. At their approach Muhammed retired, but returned again presently with his son, Shah Sherif ud din Mozaffar. A sharp fight took place at the Gate of the Four Vaults, which was followed by the siege of the town. Presently, the Malik Kutb ud din, feeling discouraged, withdrew toward Khorasan, and Malik Daud was obliged to surrender the town. The capture of Kerman was followed by that of the very strong fort of Bem. Meanwhile, Abu Ishak made himself master of Fars, and, elated by his successes, he, in the spring of 1347, marched against Kerman with a considerable force ; but when he arrived at Behramjerd, fifteen parasangs from that town, he heard that the Afghans, Yermans,† and the nomad Arabs had sided with Muhammed, and he withdrew again to Shiraz. Presently, he again marched on Kerman, ravaging the country *en route*. Muhammed met and defeated him, and compelled him to withdraw. Muhammed now

* Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., iv. 98-100.

† These, we are told, were troops sent by the Ilkhan to protect the frontier, at the demand of Jelal ud din Siyurghatmish.

had to repress a revolt of the Yermans and Afghans. He pillaged their homes, and killed seven of their chiefs. The rest fortified themselves in the very strong fortress of Suliman, and presently dared to meet him in the plain of Thavan. They defeated him, and killed 800 of his men, while he received seven wounds, and had his horse killed under him. Although he had previously made peace with Abu Ishak, the latter sent the amir Sultan Shah Jandar, with 2,000 men, to help the rebels, while he himself marched upon Yezd with a considerable army. Muhammed took refuge at Mibud, where, as we have seen, he successfully resisted Abu Ishak's attacks. I have already described the issue of the struggle, which lasted some time.* It ended in Muhammed securing Shiraz and becoming master of Fars. He still had to face some rebellious chiefs, who possessed fortresses of their own. *Inter alios*, Malik Ardeshir, belonging to the royal race of the Shebankarehs, who raised the standard of revolt at Ij, the capital of that principality. Muhammed sent his son, Shah Mahmud, against him, who speedily captured the fortress, and compelled the rebel to fly.†

In 1354 Muhammed marched upon Ispahan, where his enemy, Abu Ishak, still retained authority. He planted his camp at Mardanan, and there he swore allegiance to the Abbasidan Khalif, Mutadhid Billah Abubekr Mustasimi, who lived in Egypt, and whose name was now inserted in the Friday prayer and on the coins. His example in this respect was presently followed by Abu Ishak himself, as we know from his coins, and subsequently by Muhammed's successor, Shah Shuja. After attacking Ispahan for some time, Muhammed left an army there, under his nephew, Shah Sultan, to press the siege, while he himself marched to Luristan with his two sons, Shah Shuja and Shah Mahmud, to punish Kaiumars, chief of the Lurs, for his continued hostility against his family. On his return from this expedition, he repaired to Shiraz, where he put Abu Ishak to death, Ispahan having in the meantime fallen into his nephew's hands.‡

Master of Kerman, Fars, and Irak Ajem, Muhammed, in the year 1359, determined to march upon Tebriz, the famous capital of the Ilkhans. Ashraf Khan, who had reigned there for some time, had been killed, as we have seen, by Janibeg, the ruler of the Golden Horde, who, claiming the heritage of the Ilkhans, had sent an envoy to Muhammed, confirming him in the humble position of yassaul held by his father. Muhammed sent back the envoy with an equally insulting message. Presently, having heard that Janibeg had withdrawn beyond the Caucasus and left his lieutenant, Akhijuk, in charge at Tebriz, he set out against him with an army of 70,000 horsemen. Akhijuk met him with 30,000 men at Mianeh. Muhammed won the battle, entered Tebriz, and on the Friday following

* Ante, 691. † Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., iv. 108. ‡ *Id.*, 108-109.

mounted the minber, recited the khutbeh, and swore allegiance to the Abbasidan Khalif; then, coming down from the pulpit, he performed the functions of an imaum. Two months later he heard that Sultan Oweis was marching from Baghdad against him, and he speedily withdrew again to Ispahan. Meanwhile, Muhammed had to face troubles in his own family. The partiality he manifested for his grandson, Shah Yahia, son of Shah Muzaffar, who had shown great bravery at Mianeh, aroused the jealousy of his two sons, Shah Shuja and Shah Mahmud; in addition to which he used towards them very foul language, and threatened to blind or put them to death. He also determined to displace them from the throne in favour of their younger brother, Abu Yezid. In order to forestall him, they allied themselves with their cousin, Shah Sultan, and arrested their father in his palace, while engaged in reading the Koran, and while he had no one with him except Maulana Rokn ud din Heravi, afterwards known among the poets as Rokn Sain. Under cover of the night Muhammed was taken to the fortress of Tabrek, and on the night of Friday, the 19th of Ramazan, 759 HEJ., Shah Sultan, no doubt with the concurrence of Shah Shuja, had him blinded with a red hot bodkin. He was then sent to Kalahi Séfid (the White Castle), in Fars. In the course of two months, having won over his guardians, he captured the fortress, and fortified himself there. Shah Shuja sent envoys to him, and it was agreed that he should return to Shiraz, that his name should be replaced in the khutbeh and on the coin, and that matters of state should not be decided without his concurrence. Presently, a plot having arisen, in which Muhammed was implicated, to put Shah Shuja to death, and to replace him by Abu Yezid, he had the conspirators executed. Muhammed was remitted to prison, and there died on Rebi the 1st, 765 (December, 1363). D'Ohsson says it was in January, 1364.*

Muhammed was undoubtedly a brave prince, and secured a large dominion for himself. He was zealous for religion, and a patron of learned men; but he was rude in manner, and of a hard disposition, perfidious, and bloodthirsty. Maulana Said Lutfallah, who was his constant companion, is reported to have said: "I often saw culprits brought before Muhammed while he was reading the Koran. He used to stop reading, kill them with his own hand, and then resume his pious occupation." Imad ud din Sultan Ahmed said of him: "My elder brother, Shah Shuja, one day asked him, 'Have you killed a thousand men with your own hand?' 'No,' he replied; 'but I think I may have killed eight hundred.'"† He had five sons, Shah Sherif ud din Muzaffar, born in 1325, who died during the siege of Shiraz, as we have seen, in 1353; Shah Shuja, born in 1332, whose mother was Khan Kutlugh Makhdum Shah, daughter of the former Sultan of Kerman, Shah Jihan;

* Journ. Asiat. 4th ser., iv. 109-113. D'Ohsson, iv. 146. † Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., iv. 113-114.

Kutb Shah Mahmud, born in 1337; and two younger sons, named Sultan Imad ud din Ahmed and Abu Yezid.*

Mirkhond tells us that Muhammed became so zealous and strict that he even exceeded the letter of the law itself in his prohibitions, whence his sons and the wits of Shiraz named him the Mohtésib (*i.e.*, superintendent of police) of Shiraz, and he cites a distich of Hafiz, ending with the words, "Drink your wine in secret, or you will be accused of impiety." Shah Shuja, Muhammed's son, also made verses on the same subject, ending thus: "All the good-for-nothing people have renounced the use of wine, save the mohtésib of the town (*i.e.*, his father, Muhammed), who finds it possible to get drunk without drinking wine."†

In the British Museum are several coins of Muhammed, chiefly with date and mint obliterated. Two of them were struck at Kashan and Yezd respectively.

JELAL UD DIN SHAH SHUJA.

After his father's arrest, Shah Shuja went from Ispahan to Shiraz. He gave the government of Kerman to Sultan Ahmed, that of Abrkuh and Ispahan to Shah Mahmud, and ordered Shah Yahia to be imprisoned at Kohendiz. He soon had to put down a revolt of the Afghans. This was in 1359. It was not long before he also quarrelled with his brother, Shah Mahmud, in consequence of his claiming the revenues of Abrkuh for himself. This was in the year 764 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1362-3). Shah Mahmud invaded and occupied Yezd, and on his return to Ispahan he suppressed the name of Shah Shuja in the khutbeh, and renounced his allegiance to him. Thereupon the latter beleaguered him at Ispahan, but having fallen into an ambuscade, he was captured and condemned to the same punishment he had inflicted on his father. Presently, peace was restored between the two brothers, on condition of Shah Shuja's name being replaced in the khutbeh and on the coins.

Shah Yahia, having gained over his keepers, fortified himself in the fortress of Kohendiz. Feeling too weak to resist his uncle, he submitted, and was pardoned. He was thereupon sent to Yezd with a considerable army, and made his way into the place with a hundred determined followers through a subterranean aqueduct. The commander of the town for Shah Mahmud fled, and he remained master of Yezd, where he rebelled. Shah Shuja sent the vizier Khoja Kavam ud din against him; but, at the humble solicitation of Shah Yahia and his partisans, he withdrew him. In the year 765 HEJ (1363-4), Shah Mahmud, having secured help from Sultan Oweis, the ruler of Baghdad and Tebriz, marched upon Shiraz. He was joined by the chiefs of the Lesser Lur, of Rum, and Kashan, and won over Shah Yahia by promising him the

* *Id.*, 99-100. † *Id.*, v. 445. Notes.

government of Abrkuh. Shah Shuja abandoned Shiraz and repaired to Beidha, from whence he marched upon his enemies. He was abandoned by Sultan Ahmed, who was angry at the little confidence he put in him. Nevertheless, he joined battle in the plain of Khansar and Seh-Chah (the Three Wells). The result was indecisive; but, during the night, he withdrew to Shiraz, where he fortified himself, and where he was besieged by the army of Baghdad and Irak.

Meanwhile, Devlet Shah and Malik Muhammed, whom he had sent to collect the tribute of Kerman, rose in revolt, and captured his son, Muzaffar ud din Shébéli, and imprisoned him in the green kiosk. Devlet Shah then recognised the authority of Shah Mahmud, and put his name in the khutbeh and on the coin. The siege of Shiraz had lasted for eleven months, and Shah Shuja was being hard pressed, when an accommodation was arranged between the two brothers, by which he agreed to retire to Abrkuh, and to remain there for a month, while Shah Mahmud undertook to send back the troops of Sultan Oweis, and to treat with his elder brother; but, having got possession of Shiraz, he forgot his promise. Shah Shuja, after staying a few days at Abrkuh, determined to punish Devlet Shah, and in a battle in which the latter's force was four times as numerous as his own, he defeated and compelled him to fly to Kerman. Devlet Shah now submitted; but, having begun to conspire again, he was put to death, with his accomplices. The people of Shiraz, weary of the domination of the troops of Tebriz and Ispahan, sent to invite Shah Shuja to return. He accordingly did so, and encountered Shah Mahmud near Bésa. The latter was beaten, and withdrew to Shiraz, which he abandoned in three or four days, and went to Ispahan. This was the 26th Dulkadeh, 767 (1366).*

In the year 770 (1368-9), Shah Shuja recognised the Khalif Khir Billah Muhammed, son of Abubekr, and hearing that his brother Mahmud was again intriguing at Baghdad, he sent an envoy to Sultan Oweis to ask for the hand of a princess of his house. Shah Mahmud, hearing of this, also sent an envoy asking for the hand of one of his daughters. The embarrassed Sultan, on the advice of his amirs, preferred the alliance with Mahmud. He sent his daughter to Ispahan, and also sent an army to his assistance. On the arrival of these troops, Shah Mahmud again advanced on Shiraz, and a battle was fought in the plain of Chasht Khar. Shah Shuja's right wing defeated the left wing of Mahmud, while his left wing was defeated by the enemy's right. The indecisive battle was followed by the flight of a portion of Shah Mahmud's army to Ispahan, and of that of Sultan Shuja to Shiraz. Ashamed of this flight, the latter wished to march again against his brother, but was dissuaded by his nephew, Shah Mansur, and soon after Shah Mahmud returned again to Ispahan.

* Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., v. 437-441.

Towards the end of Ramazan, 776 HEJ. (1375), a messenger arrived at Shiraz with the news of the death of Sultan Oweis, which was followed by that of the death of Shah Mahmud. This last happened on the 13th of March, 1375. The people of Ispahan were not agreed about his successor. The greater number favoured Shah Shuja, but others supported Kutb ud din Oweis, his son. Eventually, the Khoja Bahai ud din Kurchi and Salah ud din, the treasurer, sent people to Shiraz, to announce that the greater part of the amirs, and the chiefs of Shah Mahmud's Court, had recognised Kutb ud din as Sultan. The two chiefs just named had transported Mahmud's treasure to the fortress of Ta'brek, where they had sustained two assaults. Thereupon Shah Shuja set out for Ispahan. The chiefs of Irak came to him at each station to offer presents. When Kutb ud din heard of this he took counsel with his partisans, and sent to ask his father's pardon. This was granted, and he went to his camp, where, shortly after, according to Mirkhond, he was poisoned, by his order. When Shah Shuja reached Ispahan, the Malik Fakhr ud din, ruler of Little Luristan, who had been a dependant of the Muzaffarians, and had afterwards gone over to Sultan Oweis of Baghdad, sent him envoys, with a present of racehorses and other precious things. He also inserted his name in the khutbeh and on the coin. The amir Siyurghatmish Arghani also joined him, with 2,000 horsemen. Meanwhile, he heard that the chiefs of Azerbaijan were discontented with Sultan Hussein, son of Sultan Oweis, who passed his time with musicians and singers, and he accordingly determined to capture Tebriz. He therefore marched thither with 12,000 of the men of Irak and Fars. On the way, the people of Kazvin resisted, but the place was speedily captured; he would not allow it to be pillaged, however, and moved on. He met Sultan Hussein, who was at the head of 30,000 men, at Jerbadekan, defeated him, and captured Abd el Kadir and the Pehluvan Haji Kharbendeh, two of the principal amirs of Azerbaijan, whom he sent in chains to Shiraz. Having announced his victory in various directions, he now approached Tebriz, whence the Seyids, the mollahs, and the grandees of Azerbaijan went to meet him, and were allowed to kiss his hand. He passed the winter there enjoying himself, sent his nephew, Shah Mansur, to Karabagh with 2,000 horsemen, dispatched Ferrukh Agha to Nakhchivan, and ordered the amir Seljuk to occupy Aujan. The latter was not long left alone, but having been joined by another amir named Isfahan Shah with some troops, the two were attacked by two amirs of Azerbaijan, who lived on the rivers Jaghatu and Baghatu. Isfahan Shah was made prisoner, while Seljuk, in attempting to escape, fell from the roof of his house, and broke both his legs. Their troops were either killed or dispersed. News also arrived that Sultan Hussein was on the march. Thereupon Shah Shuja, whose army was dispersed in various places, and who was suffering from gout in the foot, had to retreat. It was the middle of winter, and he was

carried in a litter. When he arrived at Kazvin the people refused to supply him with food and forage. According to one account he did not punish them, but marched on. According to another, exasperated at their having killed a messenger of peace sent to them by one of their own people, the Khoja Mejd ud din Kakum, he ordered the town to be attacked. It was captured and pillaged. Two months afterwards, Sultan Hussein having re-entered Tebriz, sent a messenger to Shah Shuja, offering to exchange Isfahan Shah for the two amirs captured at Jarbadekan. This was arranged.*

Shah Shuja, having secured the hand of a daughter of Sultan Oweis for his son, Zain al Abidin, gave the young prince the government of Ispahan. He now discovered a plot, in which his nephew, Shah Yahia, was in correspondence with the Pehluvan Akad, son of Toghan Shah Khorasani, whom he had appointed governor of Kerman, and was inciting him to rebel. He accordingly sent an army to attack Yezd, which was Shah Yahia's appanage. The latter fought a fierce battle outside the town, but was driven inside, and being hard pressed there, had recourse, we are told, to his usual weapons—perfidy and trickery. He sent a message out to the besiegers, begging them not to attack him, as he was about to send Shah Shuja an envoy. Believing in his word, the soldiers withdrew to their tents, where they were presently attacked unawares and routed, and a large booty fell into Shah Yahia's hands. When he heard of this, Shah Shuja determined to march in person on Yezd. From this he was dissuaded by Shah Mansur, who offered to go himself and capture the place. Shah Shuja gave him some troops, with which he proceeded to attack his brother. Almost every day there was a struggle, in which the people of Yezd had the worst of it. Eventually, Shah Yahia sent out their common mother to make terms with his brother. Peace was arranged, and the besieging army returned home, except Shah Mansur and a few of his friends, who wished to enter the town. Shah Yahia replied that the place was too small for his needs, and, in a characteristic way, suggested that Shah Mansur should go to Asterabad to the amir Vali, and, having obtained an army from him, they should make common cause against their uncle, Shah Shuja. Shah Mansur delayed two or three days, but not being able to enter the town, he set out for Asterabad, cursing in his heart his brother's treachery. When Shah Shuja heard of all this, he marched himself upon Yezd. Shah Yahia, thoroughly frightened, sent a deputation to appease his uncle, which included the latter's son, Sultan Shah, his sister, Khan Zadeh, and his own son, Sultan Jihanghir, with his other relations. Once more they succeeded in reconciling Shah Shuja, who again returned to his capital. Meanwhile, the Pehluvan Akad, of whom we have spoken, was besieged

* Journ Asiat, 4th ser., v. 441-451.

in Kerman, first by Sultan Ahmed, and then by the Pehluvan Taj ud din Khurrem. He was compelled to surrender, and was put to death, with his principal wife. This was in Ramazan, 776 HEJ. (February, 1375.)*

In the year 781 HEJ. (1379-80), having learnt that Sarik Adil, one of the amirs of Sultan Hussein, was collecting an army at Sultania, with the intention of attacking him, he determined to forestall him, and marched thither. He was sitting at table outside his tent, when a cloud of dust announced the approach of Sarik Adil and his people. He speedily put his men in order of battle, gave the command of the right wing to Sultan Ahmed and Zain al Abidin; the left wing to Sultan Shébéli and Shah Hussein, brother of Shah Mansur; and himself retained command of the centre. The enemy numbered 24,000 horsemen, whose charge broke Shah Shuja's ranks. He himself was dismounted and surrounded, and defended himself bravely with his scimitar. Malik Baurji, one of his bravest warriors, mounted him on his horse, on which he would have fled; but Akhi Kuchuk, one of his chief officers, said to him, "If you fly, not one of these men will remain alive." While they were discussing, ten or fifteen brave men rallied round them. A cloud of dust arose. Some said, "It is the enemy." Akhi Kuchuk rode on to see, and when he came near the dust he found it was some men of Shah Hussein, who were fleeing with the standard and an assload of kettledrums. He ordered them to sound an announcement of good news. When those who were fleeing heard this, they rallied to the standard. They charged the enemy, who were engaged in pillaging, and put them to flight. Shah Shuja passed the night on the field of battle, and encamped the next day at the gates of Sultania, where Sarik Adil and his amirs fortified themselves. Presently they sued for peace (which was granted them), and sent out some rich presents. Sarik Adil went, unaccompanied, and kissed the hand of Shah Shuja, who presented him with a khelat from his own wardrobe, and a girdle incrusted with precious stones, and then returned home again.

Zain al Abidin, who was very young, misbehaved himself at Ispahan. He was deprived of that government, and imprisoned for some days. His place was given to the amir Pehluvan Khurrem, who kept it till his death. Pir Ali Barik, one of the principal amirs of Azerbaijan, having aroused the jealousy of the notables of that country, fled to Shah Shuja, who presented him with several strings of horses, mules, and camels loaded with rich objects—among other things, kettledrums and a standard. He intrusted him with a considerable army, and ordered him to march upon Shuster. He speedily captured this place, and leaving one of his men, named Islam, took 5,000 men with him, with which he attacked Baghdad. This he also captured, and placed Shah Shuja's name in the

* *Id.*, 451-454.

Friday prayer and on the money. When Shah Shuja heard of these successes, he sent Pir Ali a shoulder belt decorated with stones, and an affectionate letter.* From the account in the "Habib as siyer," it would seem that Pir Ali was in league with Sheikh Ali, who was then governor of Baghdad on behalf of Hussein.† Hussein, it would seem, marched against Baghdad in 782 HEJ. with Sarik Adil, and drove out his brother and Pir Ali, who retired again to Shuster; but it was not long before an outbreak of the people compelled him to retire, and the two allies again entered the place.

In August or September, 1381, Hussein was murdered by his brother, Sultan Ahmed, who occupied Tebriz.‡ Sheikh Ali, another brother, now marched against him with Pir Ali. A violent struggle ensued, in which they were both killed, and Baghdad thus fell into Sultan Ahmed's hands. Meanwhile, Shah Mansur had been wandering for some time in the district of Mazanderan, and had gone from there to Sultania, where he was imprisoned and bound by Sarik Adil. Escaping, he fled to his uncle, Sultan Ahmed, who received him well. Islam, who commanded at Shuster, as we have seen, sent to inform Shah Shuja of Mansur's return, and for fear of a surprise he sent Pehluvan Ali Shah Mezinani to Islam's help. On his arrival, he tried to murder Islam, but was himself killed in the attempt. After this murder, Shah Mansur occupied Shuster. He made continual attacks upon Luristan, whereupon Shems ud din Pésheng, prince of that country, implored the aid of Shah Shuja, and offered, if assisted, to re-conquer Shuster. Shah Shuja would have marched against Shuster, when he received a message from Sultan Ahmed in these terms: "Sarik Adil has put my young brother, Sultan Bayazid, on the throne of Sultania, and aroused animosity between us. As his majesty Shah Shuja stands in the position of father towards me, I trust he will try to restore peace between two brothers." Shah Shuja sent a messenger back with a favourable reply, while he sent word to Pésheng that he was about to set out for Sultania, but that on his return they should meet at Shuster. The people about Sultan Shébéli incited him against his father, and also reported to Shah Shuja the various bitter things which his son said against him, both in private and public, and fearing that he might have to submit to the same punishment he had inflicted on his own father, he, in July, 1383, ordered Shébéli to be arrested, and to be transported to Kalahi Séfid, in Fars, and thence to the castle of Aklid and Sarmak. Two or three days after, he, when drunk, ordered the amir Ramadhan Akhtaji and the khoja Jauher Kuchuk to blind his son. In vain, at the solicitation of the khoja Turanshah, he tried to recall his order; the courier he had dispatched for the purpose arrived too late.§

* Journ. Asiat, 4th ser., v. 454-457. † Weil, v. 17. ‡ *Id.*, 17-18.
§ Journ. Asiat, 4th ser., v. 459-461.

When Shah Shuja reached Sultania, Sarik Adil, fearing his junction with Sultan Ahmed, came out of the citadel with Bayazid and went to meet him, and was received with every mark of honour and respect. He then sent an envoy to Sultan Ahmed, and succeeded in making peace between him and Bayazid. After this he went to Shuster by way of the Lesser Lur, and accompanied by Sarik Adil. It was winter, and we are told that during their march it rained five days and nights successively. According to his promise, the atabeg Pesheng went to meet him. The river at Shuster proved impassable, and Shah Mansur being posted on the further side with 7,000 well-armed men, Shah Shuja deemed it prudent to withdraw; but he promised the atabeg to send an army under his brother Abu Yezid, to help him to conquer the place. He returned to Shiraz by way of Kuhi Kiluieh. As he passed through Shulistan, he was taken ill, and halted awhile till he had recovered. When he reached Shiraz he abandoned himself to his love for wine, and as he took little nourishment, he undermined his constitution and lost his appetite. As he saw that he could not live long, he superintended the preparations for his own funeral, and ordered ten hafiz to be continually with him to read the Koran through, every day. The amirs were meanwhile divided into two factions, one of which swore allegiance to his son, Zain al Abidin, and the other to his brother, Imad ud din Ahmed. Shah Shuja having heard of this, summoned his brother. The two when together began to weep, and we are told that sobs stopped their conversation. Ahmed went out, in order that his brother might recover his self-possession. Thereupon, the latter summoned Pir Shah, Ahmed's confidential servant, and bade him tell his master these words: "The world is like the shadow of a cloud, and like a dream; like the former, it is continually moving, and when a man awakes he merely possesses a faint memory of the latter. I foresee much trouble in this town. Our first residence was the city of Kerman. I have never had to complain of thee. Now that I am going to set out on my journey to the other world, if thou beginnest to create strife, God will be dissatisfied as well as I, and it will be necessarily a subject of rejoicing for our enemies. Go at once to Kerman, and leave this city full of trouble." Ahmed consented, and the same day set off thither.*

Shah Shuja now wrote a letter to the Great Timur, who had then advanced into Khorasan, and was menacing Mazanderan. He intrusted this letter to Omar Shah, one of his principal amirs, and in it he commended to the great conqueror his son, Zain al Abidin, as well as his other sons, his brothers, and nephews. A similar letter was addressed to Ahmed, the Sultan of Baghdad. This was in the year 784 HEJ. (1382). Among the presents he sent to Timur are mentioned precious stones

* *Id.*, 461-464.

and pearls, gold rings and gold coins, rich stuffs, Arab horses, fast mules, with golden saddles; several teams of six mules each, richly harnessed; cuirasses decked with silk, rich furniture, a grand scarlet daïs, a royal pavilion, a tent, and a grand umbrella. Omar Shah was duly presented, and delivered the letter to Timur, and the presents to his officers. He was well received, and Timur gave him gold coin, a khelat from his own wardrobe, a girdle, a khanjar, a scimitar decorated with precious stones, and some horses, and sent him back with a favourable answer, and accompanied by one of his officers bearing rich presents for his master. He also sent to ask for the hand of his daughter for his grandson, Mirza Pir Muhammed. According to Mirkhond, the wife of Pir Muhammed was a daughter of Sultan Oweis, son of Shah Shuja. According to Sherif ud din, in the beginning of the year 783 HEJ., Timur sent Unkaitu and Haji Khoja to Shiraz to bring home the princess. The Princess Serai Mulk Khanum, Tuman Aga, and other great ladies went out to meet her, and received her with great ceremony; scattered precious stones, seed-pearls, and gold dust over her, and prepared the marriage banquet, &c.*

Shah Shuja continued his preparations for his funeral. He chose the linen for his own shroud, and ordered the carpenters in his presence to make the coffin which was to hold his corpse. He nominated a ulema, distinguished for his piety, to wash his body; and summoned the Amir Ikhtiar ud din Kasam Kurji, from Kerman, in order that he might transport his coffin to Medina. Nor did he forget to leave rich presents for the pious people at Mekka and Medina. At length he died on the 22nd of Shaban, 786 HEJ. (the 9th of October, 1384), at the age of 53 years and two months. The date 786, according to several writers, was expressed by an Arab phrase, meaning, "It is a loss to Shah Shuja," which chronogram, according to Sherif ud din, was constructed by Hafiz.†

According to Mirkhond, Shah Shuja bore an excellent character. He was learned, liberal, and brave. It is said that, when nine years old, he knew the Koran off by heart, and his memory was so good that he could remember seven or eight Arab verses after hearing them once. He composed a large number of verses in Persian and Arabic, several of which are preserved by Mirkhond, and in the Atesh Kédeh of Lutf Ali Beg. Mirkhond justifies his eulogy by quoting, *inter alia*, this anecdote about him: One day he was returning to his palace from the archery ground, when a woman put the following statement in his hand: "I am a woman without means, and have lost my husband; my two daughters are in pledge to a Jew, who has recently embraced Islam, for the sum of 400 dinars. If the Padishah would deign to rescue these poor girls, God will remember the good act, and I shall be grateful all my life." Shah Shuja, having learnt the contents of the

* Op. cit., i. 389-90. † Journ. Asiat, 4th ser., v. 465, and notes.

paper, replying, said: "At the day of resurrection, and when everyone shall be rewarded according to his works, if I am asked how it came about that during my reign two young girls, Muhammedans by birth, had been pledged to a converted Mussulman, what shall I say?" Having dismounted and sat down, he said: "Let each one that is devoted to me bring me something, according to his means." The amirs, notables, and even servants thereupon placed on the ground what they could spare in money, precious things, &c., till the whole heap was of the value of 100,000 dinars. He then said to those about him, "Which of you would become my relation?" A young man, named Adineh, belonging to the company of the amir Isfahan Shah, bending the knee, said: "I am the first to claim this privilege." Shah Shuja asked him what was the value of his annual income. He replied, "One thousand dinars." The king ordered 19,000 dinars to be added to this. Khosru Shah, who served in the company of the amir Alai ud din Inak, having next offered himself, his pay was fixed at 20,000 dinars. Shah Shuja then ordered 400 dinars to be paid to the man who had the two girls in pawn, to redeem them. One of them was then taken to the household of the Princess Durri Mulk, and the other to that of Muhab Shah Khatun, and he sent 30,000 dinars to each princess to prepare a trousseau with. The pile of wealth was made over to the widow; and when the preparations were ready, he went with all his amirs and the princesses to the marriage of his two *protégés* with the two young men whom he had constituted his relations in this odd fashion.

As I have said, Shah Shuja was an accomplished literary man, and, *inter alia*, wrote verses. It was possibly from a feeling of jealousy or pique that he took a dislike to the famous poet Hafiz, the greatest ornament of his kingdom. Khuandemir tells a singular story in regard to this. It was the fashion in writing a gazel, love poem, &c., to limit it to a single subject, and not to introduce parenthetical matter. Shah Shuja said one day to Hafiz: "The verses of your gazels do not limit themselves to one subject only. On the contrary, three or four verses are devoted to a description of wine, two or three to the doctrine of the Sufis, and one or two to a description of the object of love. This mixture in one and the same gazel is contrary to the practice of the best authors." The Khoja replied: "The sacred words of His Majesty the King are most true; but, nevertheless, the poems of Hafiz have acquired great fame everywhere, while the verses of other poets are not known outside Shiraz." This repartee was accepted as a personal affront by Shah Shuja, who determined to be avenged. It happened that about this time Hafiz wrote an ode, of which the last verse ran somewhat thus: "Alas, Islamism is the creed of Hafiz, and is it true that a to-morrow (*i.e.*, a day of resurrection) follows upon to-day." Shah Shuja having read this, declared that Hafiz did not believe in a resurrection, and some learned doctors who

were envious of him determined to obtain a *fetva*, or judicial decision, declaring anyone to be an infidel (Kaffir) who should deny the resurrection. Hafiz, greatly troubled at this charge, repaired to the Sheikh Zain ud din Abubekr Taiabady, who had made a pilgrimage to Mekka and returned to Shiraz, and reported to him what had happened. The latter advised him to interpolate a verse before the incriminated one, putting the latter in some one else's mouth, when he would come under the rule expressed in the proverb: "To quote the opinion of a heretic is not heresy." Thereupon the Khoja composed the following verse: "How much I have been troubled by these words spoken by a Christian one morning at the door of a tavern, to the sound of the drum, flute," &c. Having duly interpolated this, he escaped the penalty.

Khuandemir mentions among the contemporaries of Hafiz a poet named Khoja Imad. He was a jurisconsult of Kerman, and head of a monastery; and Shah Shuja professed a great reverence for him. It was said that whenever he prayed his cat imitated him, which the Sultan looked upon as a miracle. Hafiz being jealous, composed the following gazel: "The Sufi has hung up his nets and opened the cover of his box. He has commenced to practise tricks towards heaven which are fertile in illusions; but the latter will break the eggs in his cap: for he has exhibited his juggleries before those who are in the secret. Approach! oh cupbearer! for the elegant mistress of the Sufis has presented herself in all her splendour, and commenced her coquetry. Whence comes this musician, who, having commenced after the manner of Irak, has changed into that of the Hijaz? Come! oh my heart! let us seek refuge with God against those who shorten their sleeves and lengthen their hands (*i.e.*, against the hypocritical Sufi who, with a pretence of austerity, allows injustice to be done). Never employ artifice; for whoever does not play the game of love with sincerity, will close the gate of reality to himself. To-morrow (*i.e.*, in the day of resurrection), he who has been moved by human motives only shall be covered with shame at the sight of the throne of spiritual doctrine. Oh! partridge with the graceful step, where goest thou? Stop! Be not led away because the cat of this saint has been praying. And you, Hafiz, do not blame the drunkard; since, from all time, God has permitted both devotion and hypocrisy."*

Shah Shuja left four sons, Zain al Abidin, Muzaffer ud din Shébéli, Kutb ud din Oweis, and Moiz ud din Jihanghir. Shah Shuja's various mint towns prove how widely his authority was obeyed. General A. Houtum Schindler enumerates the following: Bender, Lúrdeján, Ráhin, Kerman, Idej, Shiraz, Yezd, Bázuft, Marlahú, Shebánkáreh, Kazirun, Abrkuh, Sirjan, and Beljan (?)† Mr. Poole, in his catalogue of the coins in the British Museum, adds Kashan, Shabiran, and Lár.‡

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 408-413. † Numismatic Chronicle, lxxx. 324, &c.
‡ Op. cit., vi. 235-241.

General Houtum Schindler has some valuable notes on the more obscure of these towns. Sirjan, he says, was formerly the capital of Bardsir. It is now a district of the Kerman province, its principal place being Saidabad, a large village in a fertile plain, five stages from Kerman on the road to Shiraz. Bender, he suggests, was the principal port of Kerman or Fars, perhaps Hormuz or Kish, adding, that the people of Shiraz and Kerman now say shortly Bender, when they speak of the chief ports of their province, Bushin and Bender Abbas.

Idíj was the capital of Great Luristan, its ruins being still visible on the Málámir plain, 121 miles from Shuster on the Ispahan road. Bázuft and Lúrdeján were also towns of Luristan, about half-way between Shuster and Ispahan. Two head streams of the river of Shuster have the same names.

Ráhin was probably the modern Rayin, or Rahin, a large village sixty miles south-east of Kerman on the road to Bam. In 1877 it had 2,546 inhabitants. Marlahú is probably the modern Maharlu, about twenty miles south-east of Shiraz.

ZAIN AL ABIDIN, SHAH MANSUR, &c.

On Shah Shuja's death, his empire was divided among his relatives. His eldest son, Zain al Abidin, took Fars, with its capital of Shiraz; his brother, Sultan Ahmed, became the ruler of Kerman; his nephew, Shah Yahia, took Yezd; and another nephew, Shah Mansur, took Ispahan. Zain al Abidin soon found himself at strife with his cousin Yahia and his uncle Abusaid.

A little before Timur reached Ghilan, in his western progress, he sent Merahem to Zain al Abidin to summon him to his presence, as he wanted to show him the goodwill he bore him on account of his father, from whom he had received the letter already referred to. Instead of going he arrested Timur's envoy, and the latter thereupon determined to invade Fars and Irak. He ordered some of his best troops to go on ahead with the baggage by way of Rai, and to winter at Sarik Kamish. With them went the Mirza Miran Shah, the Amir Seif ud din, and the Sheikh Ali Behadur; the rest of the army, with the imperial standard, advanced by Hamadan and Jerbadeken upon Ispahan. Zain al Abidin's maternal uncle, Sai Muzaffer Shashi, who then governed the town for his nephew, went out to implore Timur's clemency, accompanied by the Khoja Rokn ud din Said, and the grandees, Sherifs, doctors of the law, &c. They were well received, and allowed to kiss the imperial carpet. The troops having seized all the entrances into the town, Timur entered it in triumph, and afterwards retired to the fort of Tabarek. He nominated Aikutmur its governor, appointed guards for the gates, and ordered that all the horses and arms in the town should be surrendered

to him, an order which was obeyed. The grandees went to the imperial camp, where the sum to be paid for the ransom of the inhabitants was fixed. For the purpose of collecting this money, the place was divided into different quarters, an amir being assigned to each, and the sum was ordered to be paid to Nur Mulk Berlas and Muhammed Sultan Shah, Timur meantime detaining the grandees as hostages. Unfortunately, a reckless young blacksmith, named Ali Kuchapa, having beaten a drum in the night in the town, this collected a number of vagabonds, who killed all Timur's commissaries, except those who were protected by some of the more prudent inhabitants. A large number of soldiers who had ventured into the town were also murdered, among them being Muhammed, the son of Katei Behadur. More than 3,000 men are thus said to have perished. The mob then seized the gates, and proceeded to fortify them. The next day, Timur having heard what had happened, was in a terrible rage, and ordered the place to be stormed. It was speedily captured, and a general massacre ensued, save of those who had protected the commissaries, and in whose houses a certain number of fugitives found safety. The quarter of the Sherifs, the street of the Turekés, where the doctors of the law lived, and especially the house of the Khoja Imam ud din, although that famous preacher had been dead a year, were also spared. So great was Timur's rage, that he ordered each section of his army to furnish a certain number of heads, and it is said, adds Sherif ud din, that many soldiers, unwilling to slaughter Mussulmans, bought heads from the police authorities. At first a head was sold for twenty dinars kopeghi; but presently, when each soldier had furnished his tale, the price fell to half a dinar, and at last was unsaleable. The soldiers, exasperated by the slaughter of their comrades, followed the wretched victims by their footsteps in the snow. The smallest calculation, based on the registers, puts the number of the slain at 70,000. The heads were placed in heaps outside the walls of Ispahan, and eventually were built up into pyramids. This slaughter took place on the 18th of November, 1387, and Sherif ud din, moralising on the unaccountable ways of the infinite providence of God, concludes that the tragedy was connected with the unfortunate conjunction of the stars, when the two ill-omened planets, Saturn and Mars, were in the sign of the Crab, and the eleventh of the aërial triplets was in the sign of the Twins.*

Having named Haji Bey and Nunan Shah, governors of Ispahan for a year, Timur marched upon Shiraz. Zain al Abidin, on hearing of this, fled to his cousin, Shah Mansur, who was at Shuster, and with whom he was not on good terms, thus imitating, says Timur's historian, the man who threw himself into the fire to avoid the heat of the sun. When he reached the River Dudankeh, Shah Mansur corrupted his troops, who nearly all

* Sherif ud din, i. 447-454.

went over to him. Zain al Abidin was seized, put in irons, and taken to the castle of Sclasch. Shah Mansur eventually imprisoned the soldiers who had deserted their master, and confiscated their goods. Timur now occupied Shiraz without resistance, and the imperial standard having been planted at a place called Takt Karajeh, outside the town, the various officials of the kingdom went to do homage, and agreed to pay a thousand tumans into Timur's treasury. A grand fête was also held, which was honoured by the presence of Timur himself; the khutbeh was said in his name, and, after prayer and sacrifice, he retired to his camp. In such a case, the sacrifice consisted of a camel. Shah Yahia, prince of Yezd, with his eldest son, Sultan Muhammed, Sultan Ahmed, prince of Kerman, Abu Ishak, a nephew of Shah Shuja, lord of Sirjan, with all the neighbouring rulers, including the atabegs of Lur and Gurghin Lar, said to have been of the race of Gurghin Milad, all made their submission, and were treated with great honour; and letters were written, describing the recent successes, which were sent in various directions.* Troubles in Trans-oxiana compelled Timur to return to Samarkand. Before doing so, he gave the government of Shiraz to Shah Yahia, that of Ispahan to the latter's eldest son, Muhammed; Kerman to Sultan Ahmed, and Sirjan to Abu Ishak. All these princes received letters patent, sealed with the imperial seal, called "altamgha." The Sherif Gerjani, the Amir Aladin Inak, and the principal amirs of Shah Shuja were sent to Samarkand, together with the most skilled handicraftsmen, and set out for his capital. This was Muharrem, 790.† *En route* he passed through Abrkuh, where the Pehluvan Muhaddeb Khorasani, who had governed the town on behalf of Shah Shuja for a long time, was very submissive, gave the great conqueror a feast, and was duly confirmed in his government.

Of all the Muzaffarian princes, Shah Mansur alone had failed to send in his submission to Timur, and on the latter's withdrawal, he left Shuster and marched upon Shiraz. The Sherifs of the town, with their disciples, opened the gate of Salem to him. As he entered, his brother, Shah Yahia, left the place by the gate of Sadet, and went to Yezd. He thus secured the capital of Fars. Meanwhile, Zain al Abidin, who had been imprisoned, as we have seen, at Kerikerd, four leagues from Shuster, escaped, and went to Malik Az ud din Kerit at Urudgerd. Together they went to Ispahan, whence Sultan Muhammed withdrew into the citadel, and a month later went to join his father at Yezd. Shah Mansur having secured the fortresses of Bid, Sermak, Meruset, and Abrkuh, soon after heard that Zain al Abidin, at the head of an army, was marching against him. The two armies met at the foot of the fortress of Ishtakr, at the end of the new bridge. Shah Mansur's troops swam the river, and attacked their enemy so sharply that Zain al Abidin was compelled to

* *Id.*, 454-462. † *Id.*, 470-471.

retire to Ispahan. The Pehluvan Muhaddeb, fearing that Shah Mansur would conquer the whole kingdom, having entered into a solemn alliance with Shah Yahia, invited him to Abrkuh, and lodged him in a small palace, which he had built and decorated for himself. The prince's officers persuaded him to act treacherously towards his host, who was seized, put in chains, sent to the castle of Melus, on the borders of Yezd, and eventually put to death. Leaving the Amir Muhammed Kurchi with a force to garrison Abrkuh, Shah Yahiâ returned to Yezd.

Shah Mansur speedily heard of these events, advanced upon Abrkuh, and captured the town, its governor having withdrawn to the citadel. This, however, he surrendered by order of his master, on condition that Shah Mansur did not advance upon Yezd. The latter, therefore, contented himself with ravaging the country on the way to Ispahan, then returned to Shiraz. The next year he repeated his destructive raid in the same district. Zain al Abidin, feeling himself thus hard pressed, appealed to his relatives for help. The princes of Kerman and Sirjan, at the head of their troops, with some other chiefs of the house of Muzaffar, went to his aid, and they advanced upon Shiraz, wasting the country, especially the country of Kerbal. Shah Mansur encountered them at a place called Yuruz, and defeated the allies, who each fled to his own appanage. In the spring of the following year, Shah Mansur again advanced upon Ispahan, which was surrendered to him apparently through the treachery of the Khoja Az ud din. Zain al Abidin fled, apparently intending to join Timur; but he was captured near Rai, between Veramin and Shehriar, by Musa Shuker, who sent him to Shah Mansur. He was now blinded with a hot iron. Mansur now made two attempts upon Yezd. On the second occasion, Shah Yahia's mother, who was also his mother, came out of the town, and said to him: "Your elder brother, with his children, contenting himself with the town of Yezd, has given up to you the kingdoms of Fars and Irak. If you molest him there, you will be much blamed." She persuaded him to withdraw from Yezd, and to return to Shiraz.

Timur's historian proceeds to say that "during these years there were other struggles between the princes of the house of Muzaffar, whose nature it was to make war upon one another, which caused great disorder in the empire of Iran. The kingdom of Persia was only one, and ten kings claimed to rule it; but they were, so to say, so many plagues, who maltreated the people and desolated the country."* These events made Shah Mansur master of Fars, Khuzistan, and a part of Irak Ajem. They doubtless also tempted Timur to make another attack upon Persia. He reached Urudgerd on the 26th of February, 1393, a few days later captured Kurram Abad, in Luristan, severely punished the predatory Lurs,

* Sherif ud din, i. 173-183.

and dispatched an army under the Mirza Miran Shah against Kashan, which was surrendered by Meluk Serbedal, who commanded there on behalf of Shah Mansur. Timur himself crossed the River Zal, a tributary of the Kerkhan, which falls into the Tigris, near Kurneh, by a famous bridge, said to have been built by order of the ancient Persian king, Sapor Julektaf. It was made of dressed stone and brick, and consisted of twenty-eight great arches and twenty-seven small ones. He then advanced, by way of Dezful, upon Shuster, and halted by the River Karun, which flows past the town. Ali Kutual and Izfandiar Nami, who commanded there for Shah Mansur, had fled, and the grandees and Sherifs thereupon surrendered it. The surrounding country was, however, pillaged, and a large number of horses and mules were captured and distributed among the soidiers.*

Early in March, Timur crossed the River Karun, and encamped in a grove of palms outside the town. There he was joined by the Mirzas Muhammed Sultan and Pir Muhammed, who had been traversing Kurdistan and Luristan, and punishing their unruly inhabitants.† He also summoned the Mirza Omar Sheikh, and having left the Khoja Masud Sebzevari with the troops of Sebzevar (which he commanded) in charge of Shuster, he set out for Shiraz, crossing the rivers Dudankeh and Shurukan Kendeh. On the 15th of March, 1393, he reached Ram Hormuz, where Pir Muhammed, the prince of Great Luristan, did homage, offered presents, and joined his army. On the 25th of the same month he reached the famous fortress of Kalaa Sefid, where Zain al Abidin was then imprisoned. It was situated on a mountain with scarped sides, and approached only by one small pathway. The top of the mountain was a plateau, a league square, well watered, and well cultivated. It was deemed impregnable, and had never been stormed, and many of the princes had built country houses there. Sherif ud din says that the approach to it was so difficult, that three men could defend the path against 100,000. Its natural defences were supplemented by walls built of great stones, cemented by lime, and as its pastures could support large herds of cattle and much game, it was deemed useless to try and starve the garrison out. Sadet commanded it on behalf of Shah Mansur. Timur having arrived there, and closely inspected the place, determined to try and capture it. Divided into several sections, his soldiers clambered up the rocks, pick in hand, amidst showers of arrows and stones. One of the officers, named Akbugha, scrambled on to a scarped point, deemed unapproachable, and, under cover of his shield, pressed the enemy there so hard that they were discouraged, and ceased fighting. Others followed him, others again made their way up by similar routes, while the Mirza Muhammed Sultan with his men

* *Id.*, 167-172. Weil, v. 37. Note. † Sherif ud din, ii. 172-173.

reached the gate of the fortress, raised their horsetail standards, and cried, "Victory!" The fort was stormed, and its garrison thrown over the precipices. The governor Sadet was executed, as a punishment for holding out so stubbornly. Zain al Abidin was captured, and taken before Timur, who gave him a robe, consoled him, and promised to punish Shah Mansur. Timur also released all the women whom the soldiers had captured. Akbugha was rewarded for his bravery, and loaded with money, tents, horses, camels, and mules, and also young girls; "and this officer, who the previous day had no other property than his horse, could hardly realise that it was not a dream." Leaving Malik Muhammed Aoubehi in charge of the fortress, he set out for Shiraz through the valley of Shaabbevan.

On reaching the gardens outside Shiraz, the amir Osman noticed a party of Shah Mansur's scouts planting some men in ambush. He allowed the scouts to pass, then fell on them from behind, and captured one, who was cross-examined as to the position of the enemy. Continuing his march, he encountered three or four thousand of Shah Mansur's horsemen, dressed in mail, with helmets and corslets of velvet, covered with iron, and their horses protected by a kind of cuirass made of quilted silk, with their banners flying. "Shah Mansur advanced at the head of these his picked troops," says Sherif ud din, "like a furious lion," and encountered at a place called Patila 20,000 of Timur's veteran horsemen, overthrew their ranks, cut his way right through them, and reached a most important vantage behind them. Turning round, he charged again, utterly reckless of his life. Timur, seeing him rushing straight at him, wished to seize his lance to oppose him, but found his lance-bearer had been thrust aside in the struggle. Although he had only fourteen or fifteen men about him, he did not move, and Shah Mansur struck two heavy blows with his scimitar on the Emperor's well-tempered helmet. They did him no hurt, as the scimitar slipped along his arms. Adel Aktashi held a buckler over his head, and Komari Yasaul advanced in front of him. Timur was wounded in the hand during the fight. Eventually, Shah Mansur was driven away from the neighbourhood of the Emperor, and joined his own infantry. The right wing of this body was broken by the Mirza Muhammed Sultan, with terrible slaughter. The Mirza Pir Muhammed similarly broke the left wing, killing some, and putting the others to flight. Meanwhile, the centre of Timur's army, which had been disintegrated by Shah Mansur's brave charge, was rallied by Shah Rokh, who was then only seventeen years old. Shah Mansur was surrounded, and the young prince cut off his head. Throwing it at the feet of his father, he said: "May the heads of all thine enemies be cast at thy feet like that of the proud Mansur."*

* Sherif ud din, ii. 192-197. Weil, v. 39-40.

According to Ibn Arabshah, the head was afterwards sent as a warning to Ahmed, the ruler of Baghdad.* The death of their leader discouraged his men, and "the leopards were changed into deer." Those who escaped the sword, fled. Timur mounted a hill, where he embraced his sons and the noyans, and thanked heaven for his victory on his knees. The amirs went to congratulate him, and offered him the golden cup on their knees in the Mongol fashion. Meanwhile, a division of the enemy, well armed, and in battle array, suddenly appeared. Timur and Shah Rokh turned quickly upon them, and routed and drove them as far the mountain of Kalatsurk (*i.e.*, the red fort). The next day, Timur entered Shiraz in triumph, and the imperial standard was unfurled over the gate of Selm, where he lodged. This gate was alone opened, the others being closed; thereupon his great officers entered the place, and obtained inventories of the treasures, furniture, horses, and mules of Shah Mansur and of his courtiers, from the magistrates, &c. These were conveyed outside the town and presented to Timur, who distributed them among his amirs. A sum was also paid as ransom by the citizens. Mirza Muhammed Sultan was sent to Ispahan with orders to establish a garrison there, and to exact a similar ransom. The Mirza Omar Sheikh, who had remained behind in charge of the baggage, had devoted himself to following and punishing the fugitives from Shah Mansur's army, together with the robber tribes of Luristan, the Shuls, and Kurds. He passed by Nubenjian, and having reached Kazirun, he received orders to plant garrisons and appoint officers in the Mongol fashion over that part of the country. He then went to Shiraz to congratulate his father.†

The power of the house of Muzaffar was now broken, and the remaining princes determined to submit. Shah Yahia set out from Yezd, with his sons and Sultan Ahmed, of Kerman. They offered Timur presents of precious stones, horses, mules, tents, &c. Sultan Mehdi, son of Shah Shuja, and Sultan Gadanfer, son of Shah Mansur, were already at Shiraz. Timur spent a month there, feasting. They played there, says Sherif ud din, on the organ and the harp, and the good red wine of Shiraz was presented in golden cups by the most beautiful maidens of the city. Sultan Abu Ishak, grandson of Shah Shuja, also arrived from Sirjan with presents. The great conqueror now proceeded to regulate the affairs of Fars, to remit taxes, and to restore order; and he appointed Mirza Omar Sheikh governor of that province, which, says Sherif ud din, is the heart of the empire, and most full of cities, towns, and villages of any in Asia. The Mirza prepared a grand feast for his father, offered him presents on his knees, and assured him of undying fidelity to him.‡ Timur's historian enlarges on the troubles brought upon Fars by the conflicts of the various members of the family of Muzaffar, each of whom

* Weil, v. 41. Note. † Sherif ud din, ii. 197-201. ‡ *Id.*, 197-201.

claimed to be sovereign and to strike money in his own name, and among whom father did not spare son, nor son, father. We are told the sheikhs, doctors, imaums, and the people of Fars and Irak presented petitions to Timur in reference to the changes necessary to restore prosperity to the country, which was almost ruined. He determined upon a crucial remedy, and ordered that all the Muzaffarian princes should be seized, put in chains, and that their houses should be pillaged. The amir Osman sent people to Kerman to fetch the treasures of Sultan Ahmed. Mirza Omar Sheikh was, as we have seen, appointed governor of Fars. He was given some trusty amirs as counsellors, and some troops to maintain his authority. Ideku, son of Kaias ud din Berlas, was given the government of Kerman, Temukeh Kuchin that of Yezd, and Lalam Kuchin that of Abrkuh. Guderz, who had governed Sirjan on behalf of Abu Ishak, thinking himself strong enough in that fortress to resist attack, set up as sovereign there.

Zain al Abidin, who had been blinded by Shah Mansur, and Shébéli, who had been similarly blinded by Shah Shuja, were sent to Samarkand, and Timur assigned for their subsistence some of the best property in that town, so that they might spend, says Sherif ud din, the rest of their lives in some comfort under the shadow of his clemency. In the simplicity of their retreat, he continues, they enjoyed many pleasures unknown to the ambitious. The men of letters and the best artisans of Fars and of Irak abandoned their country, and went to live at Samarkand.*

Leaving Shiraz, Timur went towards Ispahan, enjoying his favourite sport of hunting on the way. At Kumsha he issued, says his historian, the famous order so much desired by the people, and so remarkable in history, for the execution of the princes of the house of Muzaffar. All the males of that house, who were at Yezd and Kerman, were put to death by the governors of those provinces.† Ibn Haji says the number so executed was seventeen. Ibn Arabshah says they were put to death because some of them had determined to kill Timur when with him in a tent.‡ Sirjan was attacked by Timur. It held out for three years, and when it eventually surrendered, we are told that only the usurper Guderz and six other people remained alive out of its garrison and inhabitants. He was put to death.§

I don't know when Zain ud din or Shébéli died. Of Shah Mansur there are three coins in the British Museum, struck respectively at Shiraz, Kazirun, and a place read doubtfully as Suk.‖

* Sherif ud din, ii. 203-206. † *Id.*, 207-208. ‡ Weil, v. 40. Note 1. § Sherif ud din, ii. 392. ‖ Poole Catalogue, vi. 241-242.

SULTAN MOTASSEM.

When the Muzaffarian princes were put to death, as above described, one of them, at least, escaped—a son of Zain al Abidin, by a sister of Sultan Oweis. When his father was taken to Samarkand, he fled to Syria. After the death of Timur, he returned to Irak and Azerbaijan. He was well received by the Turkoman chief, Kara Yusuf, who sent him to Hamadan and Luristan, whence he went to Tebriz. There he spent some days feasting, when, by the advice of the Amir Bestam-Jaghir and the Kadhi Ahmed Saidi, he went to Ispahan, where the Timurid prince Mirza Omar Sheikh was governor. The latter withdrew towards Yezd. The Mirza Izkander, who was then at Koshk-zer, having heard of this, advanced against Sultan Motassem. The two armies met near Atesh-gah. The chief people of Fars deserted, and joined Sultan Motassem. Mirza Izkander, undaunted by this defection, fought bravely, and compelled the enemy to fly. The chief warriors of Irak and Azerbaijan were captured. Sultan Motassem having reached the gates of Ispahan, tried to swim his horse across the river, but being a stout and heavy man, he fell off his horse, and a soldier, who was pursuing him, cut off his head. The Malik Fakhr ud din Muzaffari was also killed in this action.*

Thus ended the dynasty of Muzaffar. During its rule at Shiraz, there dwelt there Hafiz, who, with Saadi and Jami, were the most famous Persian poets. Muhammed Shems ud din, otherwise known as Hafiz (*i.e.*, one who knows the Koran off by heart), was born at Shiraz at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and died, according to some, in 791 HEJ. (1389 A.D.), or, according to others, the year following. It would seem from his writings that he was attached to a monastic life, and was perhaps at the head of a monastery. It is certain that he studied jurisprudence and theology in a college founded by Haji-kivam ud din, whose munificence he often praises, and that eventually he became a professor there. His verses were recited to his scholars, and were collected by them after his death. We have seen that he did not get on very well with Shah Shuja; but while his own Sovereign neglected him, his fame induced the neighbouring princes to make him very tempting offers to go to their Courts. The poet, however, like Victor Hugo in our own day, was too much attached to his own country to be thus tempted. "The perfume exhaled by the soil of the Mosalla," he says, "will not permit me to travel." "O, cupbearer," he says, in another song, "pour me out the rest of this wine, for you will not see in Paradise the banks of the River Roknabad, nor the rose gardens of the Mosalla." After refusing an invitation from Ahmed, the ruler of Baghdad, he accepted one from Yahia, the Muzaffarian prince of Yezd, whom, however, he did not flatter. In comparing his avarice with the generosity of the King

* Abdur Rezak, Notices et Extraits, xiv., part i. 133-174.

of Hormuz, he said: "The King of Hormuz has never seen me, and yet he has granted me a hundred favours; the King of Yezd has seen me, I have sounded his praises, yet he has given me nothing. Such is the way of kings. As to you, O Hafiz, do not trouble yourself; the Supreme Judge, who supplies the daily needs of all, will help and assist you." Hafiz was also invited by Mir Faiz Allah Inju, a judicial officer of Mahmud Shah Behmény, the ruler of the Deccan, to go to him, and he sent him a sum of money to pay his expenses on the way. The poet divided a portion of this money among his sister's children and some unmarried women, paid his debts with the rest, and then set out. On arriving at Lur, he met one of his friends, who had been plundered by robbers, and gave him all he had. On reaching Hormuz, he went on board a ship there, but before it started a tremendous storm came on, which disgusted him so much that he landed under pretence of saying farewell to his friend, and did not go on board again, but sent Faiz Allah his excuses in these words: "Even to secure the whole world, it is not worth while to pass a single moment in misery. Sell your coat for a glass of wine, for it is not worth more than that. The wine merchants will not accept it for a cup. O, strange prayer-mat which is not worth even a cup. . . . The sickness caused by the sea seemed formerly a small matter in the presence of the perfume of gold; but I made a mistake, for a hundred pounds of gold is not sufficient solace for one of these waves. The splendour of the imperial crown is very fascinating, but it is not worth losing your life for it. . . . Hafiz, force yourself to be moderate in your desires, and renounce contemptible riches; not for the whole world put yourself under obligation to anyone." Faiz Allah, having received this poem, read it to his master, who was much pleased with it, and in consideration of Hafiz having set out to visit him, he ordered a thousand gold pieces to be spent in presents to send to the poet.

When Timur conquered Shiraz the first time, Hafiz composed an ode, in which he said: "If this Turk of Shiraz would accept the homage of my heart, I will give him Samarkand and Bokhara for his black ephelis." Timur being nettled at this, summoned him, and said: "By the blows of my well-tempered sword I have conquered the greater part of the world, and have desolated a thousand places in order to enlarge Samarkand and Bokhara, my capitals and residences, and you, pitiful creature, would sell me both Samarkand and Bokhara for one black ephelis." Hafiz was not disconcerted, but replied: "O! Sovereign of the world, it is by a similar liberality that I have been reduced to my present condition," a happy repartee which secured the conqueror's favour. Hafiz was buried in the Mosalla of Shiraz, which he so often praised, and a tomb was afterwards built over it by Muhammed Mo'ammâiy, the tutor of the famous Baber, when that prince captured Shiraz in 1451.*

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xi. 406-425.

THE PRINCES OF JORJAN.

TOGHAI TIMUR KHAN.

In an earlier page* I have described the origin of Toghai Timur Khan. I ought to add here that his grandfather Baba Baghatur (or Behadur), who migrated westward with his ulus, consisting of 10,000 families, in 705, as I there mentioned, is no doubt the same Baba Behadur who had a struggle with Uzbeg Khan, and who ravaged Khuarezm in 1315.† He was put to death, together with his son, by Uljaitu Khan.‡ I have described how Toghai Timur was first proclaimed Khan in 1337 A.D.§ How, after a defeat by Sheikh Hassan, he withdrew to Khorasan and Jorjan, where he continued to rule, while Muhammed, the *protégé* of Sheikh Hassan, controlled the other dominions of the Ilkhans.‖ Some time afterwards, during the struggle for supremacy between the two Hassans, Toghai Timur was again invited to occupy the Ilkhanian throne. I have related the unfortunate result of his accepting this invitation and his return to Khorasan in an earlier page.¶ This was in the year 739 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1346 A.D.) Next year, Toghai Timur made another invasion of Irak. This was at the instigation of his brother, Ali Kaun (called Amir Sheikh Ali Kowun, or Gawan, in the "Shajrat ul Atrak"), to whom he intrusted the command of his army, and who was assisted by Shiburgan, the son of Choban, and by the Princess Satibeg, who then governed Irak; but Hassan the Lesser sent his brother Ashraf against him, who defeated him near Abher, and drove him out of Irak Ajem, while his supporter Shiburgan retired into Dilem.**

Shortly after this, the Serbedarians, a fanatical religious community, overran Khorasan, as I shall presently describe, with their emissaries, and speedily ousted the authority of Arghun Shah, Toghai Timur Khan's deputy there. The Khan marched against them. The army of the Khan (called the army of Jorjan by Khuandemir) took to flight, and was pursued by the Serbedarians, and Toghai Timur himself fled to Lar i Kafran. Thenceforward he entirely lost any control in Khorasan. A few years later, when the truculent Khoja Yahia was the ruler of the Serbedarians, Toghai Timur sent him a summons to go and submit to him. This was written in verse, and in not very courteous terms. It was replied to by the Khoja Yahia, also in verse. The latter then repaired to the camp of Toghai Timur, professedly to submit to him. This visit was in answer to the summons to go and acknowledge his suzerainty. There were no precautionary guards about, neither were there gatekeepers nor tent openers in front of the royal tent of Toghai Timur, who only had

* Vide Ante, 638. † Ante, vol. ii. p. 149. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 575. § Ante, 639.
‖ Ante, 640. ¶ Ante, 643-645.
** D'Ohsson, iv. 733-734. Shajrat ul Atrak, 329-330.

with him Khoja Muhammed Bahrabady and two students. A feast, lasting for three days, was held. At the end of the third day, Hafiz Shekhani, Muhammed Habish (*i.e.*, the Abyssinian), and other Serbedarians, consulted together, saying: "We have so far made no treaty, nor have we pledged our word. We can make away with the chief (*i.e.*, Toghai Timur) during the banquet." The latter, it would seem, had also formed the plan of arresting the Serbedarians after the feast. An opportunity offering, the Khoja Kerrair and Hafiz Shekhani pressed forward close to the Khan, and while they were discussing the affairs of Khorasan, Shekhani struck him on the head with a battle-axe, and he was then killed by the Khoja, while all his companions were also put to death. The Khan's treasury was now plundered by the Serbedars. His territory had for some years been limited to the district generally known as Jorjan.

Toghai Timur Khan was assassinated in 1353.* Frœhn published one of his coins, struck in 738, with the mint mark obliterated,† and others struck at Meshed and Amol. In the British Museum there are coins struck by him at Amol, Zeidan, Keez (?), Kazvin, Kushan, Basrah, Baghdad, and Jajerm, in the years 738, 739, 740, and 741. They prove what a wide area obeyed his nominal rule. The coins struck at Basrah (in 742) and Baghdad are especially interesting in this view. One coin published by Frœhn in his posthumous work, has the inscription in Mongol characters, the name reading Toghan Timur.‡

AMIR VALI.

The father of Amir Vali, called Sheikh Ali Hindu,§ was one of the grand amirs of Toghai Timur Khan. When the Khan was killed by the Serbedarians, as we have described, Amir Vali repaired to Nisa with some of his attendants. This is Mirkhavend's statement, and also that of Sherif ud din. Khuandemir makes him go to Nishapur, which is improbable. The governor of that district, Amir Shibly Jany-Kurbany, married his sister, and presently Amir Vali set out, as Khuandemir says, with great hopes and little power, for Jorjan. On his arrival in Dahistan, he was joined by two hundred horsemen and foot soldiers, dependents of his father, Ali Hindu. He was speedily attacked by the Serbedarian who had been nominated governor of Asterabad, Hasan Dameghani, who rushed upon him with great energy at the head of five hundred horsemen. Vali stood firm and defeated his aggressor, killed most of his men, and captured a large number of horses, weapons, &c. When the news of the defeat of the Serbedarians was spread about the district, many of Toghai Timur's former supporters, who had been hiding away, gathered

* D'Ohsson, iv. 738. † Recensio, 645. ‡ Poole Catalogue, vi. 98-101.
§ Sherif ud din calls him Sheikh Ali Bisud. Op. cit., i. 396.

round. Thereupon Abubekr, who was governor of Shasman, or Shemasan, on behalf of Hasan Dameghany, attacked Vali with a force of 2,000 men, but was also beaten, and retired to Khorasan. Hasan now gave him 5,000 brave men, and ordered him to return, as he was encamped at Sultan Dowin. Meanwhile, Vali had got together a body of brave people from the district of Jorjan, and in order to make his army look more numerous and imposing, had dressed some women as soldiers, and mounted them on horseback. The Serbedarians were frightened, and began to break. Their opponents shouted out, "Tat Kashti" (*i.e.*, the Tajiks have fled). They pursued them. Abubekr, their commander, jumped into the River Gurgan, but was caught and beheaded. Many of his people were killed, while those who escaped fled to Khorasan. Amir Vali now repaired to Asterabad, whither he summoned Lokman, the son of Toghai Timur Khan, with the intention of putting him on the throne; but, says the Eastern rhetorician, who has recorded the fact, "the sweets of power overcame the obligations of gratitude for former favours," and he thereupon sent him word before he arrived that he must go elsewhere, and ordered that no one who had been in close relations with Toghai Timur was to live in his neighbourhood. He was acknowledged as master at Asterabad, Bostam, Dameghan, Semnan, and Firuzkuh, and ruled there until the arrival of the great Timur.* In 1370, Vali sustained a defeat near Rai at the hands of Oweis, the ruler of Baghdad, and was pursued as far as Semnan.†

It would seem that when the empire of Abusaid broke to pieces, a small fragment became subject to Arghun Shah, who was the chief of the district of Yun Garbani (called the province of Yuin by Abulfeda). He encamped about Kelat, north-west of Sarrakhs, and was probably partially dependent on Vali. His son Ali Bey submitted to Timur about the year 1379, and the latter married his grandson, Mirza Muhammed Sultan, to his daughter, elsewhere called his sister. Splendid feasts were held to celebrate the betrothal; and, we are told, Timur consulted Ali Bey on his proposed campaign against Herat, and it was arranged that when he marched against that city in the spring, Ali Bey should march to his help.‡ When the latter heard that he was actually setting out, he dispatched a courier to beg to be allowed to take part in the campaign.§ Timur accordingly sent a messenger to tell him to assemble his people and march; but he not only refused to do so, but even imprisoned Timur's envoy.‖ After the capture of Herat, Timur, troubled by the contumacy of Ali Bey, marched in person towards Kelat and Tus, and when he reached the tomb of Abu Muslem Meruzi, the famous general of the founder of the Abassadan line of khalifs, he dismounted

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* Dorn, Mem. on the Serbedarians, 180-182. † D'Herbelot quoting Khuandemir, i. 138.
‡ Sherif ud din, i. 310. § *Id.*, 314. ‖ *Id.*, 317.

and paid it a visit, asking God to aid him. The news of the Emperor's advance naturally troubled Ali Bey, and he determined to submit, and accordingly hastened to the camp and did so.*

Timur now marched westwards, secured Nishapur and Sebzevar, and then advanced upon Isferain, which was subject to Vali. He ordered the place to be stormed at once. The town was speedily captured, and a terrible slaughter ensued. "The captors destroyed the place so," says Sherif ud din, "that only its name now remains." Timur then sent an envoy to the Amir Vali, promising to reward him if he came at once and offered his submission; otherwise, he threatened him with the consequences. Vali kissed Timur's letter on receiving it, and placed it on his head as a proof of his submission, and promised to go to him shortly, whereupon Timur returned to Samarkand.† Not long after this, Ali Bey made a league with Vali, and persuaded him to march upon Sebzevar, where the Serbedarian, Ali Muayid, was governor. Timur at this time lost his daughter Akia Beghi, and was greatly depressed in consequence. His sister, Kutlugh Turkan Aga, in order to rouse him, urged him to march against Vali and his ally, and to punish the insolent rebels. These words had their effect on him, and he prepared to set out again westwards.‡ He was joined *en route* by the Malik of Herat and by Miran Shah from Sarrakhs. On his approach to Kelat, Ali Bey shut himself up with his people in the fortress. Timur sent a messenger to inquire what was the cause of his fear, bidding him come to him, and assuring him that no harm would befall him. He preferred to trust in the strength of his stronghold, which he deemed impregnable. Timur thereupon had recourse to a ruse. He left the neighbourhood, and set out in the direction of Koran, a dependency of Abiverd, and gave out that he was going to attack Mazanderan; but he merely made a detour. Ali Bey was misled on hearing that the imperial army had left. He brought his horses, sheep, &c., out of the fortress, and let them graze in the fields around. Timur now returned, ravaged the whole district, and built a mound opposite the gate of Kelat, on which he unfurled the imperial standard. The place was now closely beleaguered. Miran Shah posted himself opposite the gate of Jia; Mirza Ali, son of the Amir Muayid Orlat, near that of Lobra; Haji Seif ud din at that of Arghun Shah, and Omar Sheikh before another gate. Ali Bey now sent a supplicating letter, asking pardon for what he had done, and offering, if Timur would go to the gate of the town with only a small escort, that he would go like his slave and throw himself at his feet. Timur accordingly went, accompanied by only five horsemen. The walls of Kelat were built on the slope of a high mountain, and a small path led alongside of the wall among the rocks. This path, which was closed by a gate of its own, led to the town. Ali Bey noticing that Timur

* Sherif ud din, i. 329-330. † *Id.*, 331-332. ‡ *Id.*, 331-337.

was ill-attended, planted an ambush, and ordered his men to kill him, whatever the consequences; but the plan failed, and he returned to his camp to receive the congratulations of his generals on his escape. He then ordered the place to be stormed, and the men of Mekrit and Badakhshan, who were skilled crags-men, made their way over the rocks in the night, and reached the gates of the town amidst the clash of cymbals and the bray of trumpets. The enemy was speedily defeated in a struggle outside, and demanded quarter. Ali Bey sent to beg that the conqueror would order the carnage to cease, and promised in a solemn writing to go himself and submit the next day, and as a gage of his sincerity, sent Nikruz and Muhammed Sheikh Haji, the principal amirs of the tribe, Yun Garbani, and also Kand Sultan, who had been betrothed, as we have seen, to Mirza Muhammed Sultan. These people begged him to forgive Ali Bey, which he consented to do. He ordered the slaughter to cease, while Nikruz and Muhammed were told to go to his camp. Next morning at sunrise Timur mounted on horseback and went to the gate of the town, where he was met by the recalcitrant chief, who confessed his faults, and begged that his life might be spared, and that he might have one day's grace only, after which he would go to his camp. He was still treacherous, and devoted the night to fortifying the road of Lohra and other routes by which Timur's people had scaled the mountain, and then sought safety among the crags. Here he for a time escaped. Timur left in a fortnight, and went to the fortress of Kahkaha, between Abiverd and Kelat (still called Kaka), and gave orders that it was to be rebuilt, which his eager soldiers accomplished in two days and two nights. He planted a garrison there under Haji Khoja, and then sent his nominal suzerain, Siyurghatmish Khan, with Mirza Ali and Sheikh Ali, and their division, to blockade the mountain of Kelat, which was most effectually done.*

Timur now proceeded to secure Tershiz, a fortress which was held by some Ghurian dependants of the Malik of Herat, and had refused to submit. Having captured it, he marched onwards against Jorjan. He went by way of Rughi, and passed Kebud Yaemeh and Shamsan. Vali, on hearing of this, sent the Amir Haji with presents of strings of horses, each consisting of nine, with other curiosities, and a humble letter, begging Timur to excuse his going to him on this occasion, asking him to turn his army aside, and offering his submission. Timur reciprocated these messages, and marched upon Kelat. From there news arrived that Sheikh Ali Behadur had secretly during the night clambered up to the fortress with a few followers; that he had been seen by, and had a struggle with some of the garrison; but after fighting for some time, some religious people brought about an interview between him and Ali Bey, and that they

* *Id.*, 338-347.

had embraced mutually. The sheikh spent some days with Ali Bey, who tried to secure his good offices with Timur. Meanwhile, the latter returned home by way of Shamlagan and Charmagan, and pitched his camp in the pleasant meadows of Radikan. There he was joined by Sheikh Behadur, who presented Ali Bey, holding a sword, and a winding sheet in his hand, and begged the emperor to pardon him. Timur conferred Radikan upon the sheikh as an hereditary fee. He also gave Sebzevar to Ali Muayid, while the Malik of Herat, with Ali Bey and his people, were conveyed to Samarkand. He then distributed the district of Yun Garbanian among his amirs, but ordered that its inhabitants should be carried off to Transoxiana.* Ali Bey, with the son and brother of the Malik of Herat, were now arrested and sent to Andikan, where they were put in charge of the Mirza Omar Sheikh, while the tribe of Yun Garbanian was planted in the district of Tashkend.† It was not long before an outbreak took place at Herat, and Timur, to remove all danger, had the malik put to death, and with him Ali Bey. This took place in 1382.‡ The following year apparently he again marched westwards, intending to attack Mazanderan. He went by way of Termed, and having crossed the Murghab, pitched his camp there, and received information of two outbreaks, one at Sebzevar (*i.e.*, the Sebzevar south of Herat) and the other in Seistan, and he dispatched Sheik Ali Behadur and Uchara Behadur with a large force to ravage the frontiers of the Amir Vali.§ Having overrun Seistan and Kabulistan, he returned to Samarkand, where he only stayed three months, when he again set out for Jorjan. He crossed the Oxus at Termed, halted some days at Balkh, so that his troops could gather round from various sides, and was speedily joined by 100,000 horsemen in armour. Having reviewed these troops, he crossed the Murghab, took the road to Burkei Tash, and descending to Sarrakhs, he went on to Abiverd and Nissa, where he learnt that the Amir Vali had fortified the citadel of Durun, and had shut himself up there with a body of troops. Sheikh Ali Behadur, Sevinjik Behadur, Mubasher, and other amirs, who commanded the advance guard, had an engagement with the army of the Amir Vali in a place called Ghiaukarsh. The struggle was well maintained. Mubasher was struck by an arrow in the mouth, which came out at his neck ; but he rushed, notwithstanding, upon his opponent, and cut off his head with his sabre. Timur, in consequence of this heroic act, gave him Ghiaukarsh and Hurberi as an hereditary fee. The enemy having been beaten, the victors advanced upon Durun, which was captured, its governor and garrison being put to the sword. They then entered the district of Chilaun, which was full of villages, and having crossed the river at Jorjan, went on to Shasuman. There they proceeded to build bridges over the rivulets, to

* Sherif ud din, i. 353-356. † *Id.*, 357-358. ‡ *Id.*, 359-362. § *Id.*, 367.

cut down trees, make roads, and other useful works. The advance guards of either army had a series of sharp encounters during twenty days, and when on the twentieth Timur crossed the bridge of Dervish, Vali advanced against him with the utmost bravery, but was beaten, and many of his people were pursued and killed. To avoid the danger of surprises, each regiment was ordered to entrench itself, then to make a kind of rampart of its shields, and in front of these to plant stakes. All this seems to show either that Vali was a more powerful prince than we suppose, and that Timur was, in fact, hard pressed, or else that the district was a singularly difficult one to fight in. Timur also planted an ambuscade. At length, in the night, Vali with a large force came out of his fortress to attack the camp. They raised a great shout on the right of the army where Miran Shah commanded, and cut down with their swords the palisades and shields which we have mentioned, many falling victims to their courage. Miran Shah now ordered a volley of arrows to be fired, and at the same time the force which had been put in ambush rushed out, sword in hand, and defeated their assailants. Vali had, *inter alia*, dug a number of pitfalls, into which many of his own men fell and perished. The enemy was pursued as far as Asterabad, the neighbourhood of which was laid waste, neither age nor sex being spared. This struggle took place in Shaval, 786 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1384). Vali fled, with his wives and children and a few soldiers, towards Dameghan, by way of Langaru, and having left his family in the fortress of Girdkuh, famous, as we have seen, as the old stronghold of the Assassins, he went himself towards Rai. Timur sent Khodaidad Husseini, Sheik Ali Behadur, Omar Abbas, Komari Inak, and other chiefs in pursuit of him, and they almost caught him at Rai. He, however, escaped to the forests of Rustemdar, amidst whose recesses and rocks he eventually baffled his pursuers.

LOKMAN PADISHAH.

We have seen how Vali was a usurper, and how he refused to instal Lokman, the son of Toghai Timur, on his father's throne. That young prince, we are told by Sherif ud din, became a wanderer from one land to another until Timur conquered Asterabad, which he made over to him.*

In the spring of 1385, Timur again advanced westwards, and secured the district of Kumuz. He then crossed the mountains into Mazanderan proper, when the princes of Rustemdar fled, and his troops overran the country and secured a vast booty. The Amir Vali, who had retired to a place named Yalus, was so terrified that he also took flight, and Timur then marched towards Amol and Sari. Seyid

* Op. cit., i. 388-397.

Kemal ud din and Seyid Razi ud din, who were the princes of this part of the country, sent their naibs, or lieutenants, with precious stones and gold dust "to scatter over the Emperor's feet," with a considerable tribute. They also struck gold coins with the name and surname of the invincible Timur upon them, and had the khutbeh said in all the mosques of their country, and Timur ended by ordering them to follow the commands of Lokman Padishah, to whom he had given the principality of Asterabad, "hoping thus to restrain them from doing anything but what that prince thought best."* The Amir Vali fled with Mahmud Kalkali to Tebriz, where he helped to defend the place against the attack of Tokhtamish, Khan of Kipchak. When the town was captured by the latter, he, with Mahmud, withdrew to the district of Kalkal.† Presently Vali was seized by his treacherous host, Mahmud Kalkali, and handed over to Komari Inak, who put him to death, and sent his head to Timur.‡ This was apparently in 1386. I don't know when Lokman died, but it was before August, 1402.

PIR PADISHAH.

In August, 1402, Pir Padishah, son of Lokman, on whom Timur had conferred his father's government, feasted the great conqueror at Asterabad.§ A few months later he took part in Timur's campaign in Mazanderan.‖ In the summer of 807 HEJ., Timur being near Bostam, was visited by Pir Padishah, who offered him presents, including nine strings of horses, each consisting of nine animals. Timur gave him a robe, and sent him home again.¶ About the year 807 HEJ., a revolt broke out in the district of Sebzevar, headed by Sultan Ali, who was supported by a number of Serbedarians. The rebel marched against Seyid Khoja, who commanded in that district on behalf of Timur Sultan Ali, and who was being hard pressed when Pir Padishah, who is here called Perek, king of Mazanderan, went to his assistance. Thereupon a struggle ensued outside Sebzevar.** It ended in the defeat of the allies, and Perek, after showing great gallantry, was compelled to retire.†† Some time after, the Mirza Miran Shah having arrived at Kalpush, the late rebel Sultan Ali Sebzevari went to meet him there, and was apparently accompanied by Sultan Hussein, son of Pir Padishah. They were both arrested at the instance of the Mirza's officers, and were sent in chains to Herat.‡‡ Seyid Khoja defeated Perek Padishah, and captured his son,§§ who was called Sultan Ali, like the Serbedarian chief. We next read that Sultan Ali, son of Pir Padishah, fled from Samarkand, where he had been detained, and went to Asterabad. He was, however, arrested by Seyid Khoja, and sent to Shah Rokh, who treated him kindly and sent

* Sherif ud din, i. 400-401. † *Id.*, 403. ‡ *Id.*, 411. § *Id.*, ii. 143. ‖ *Id.*, 149.
¶ *Id.*, iv. 170-171. ** Vide *infra, sub voce* Serbedarians.
†† Abdur Rezak, Notices et Extraits, xiv. 30. ‡‡ *Id.*, 54. §§ *Id.*, 81.

him to his father, together with the latter's wife. He, however, detained Sultan Hassan,* brother of Sultan Ali. Notwithstanding his rebellion, sent word to Pir Padishah that he should retain the government he held in the time of Timur, and bade him have no hesitation therefore in going to him, as he would be received with the greatest affection.†

We now read of one of those numerous revolts which shattered the power of the Timurids. Seyid Khoja, already named, one of Shah Rokh's most distinguished commanders, rebelled, and eventually sought shelter with Pir Padishah in Mazanderan. Shah Rokh sent Mengli Timur Naiman to the latter, to tell him how the rebel, whom he had raised from being a slave to be one of his generals, had revolted, and pillaged his towns and killed their inhabitants, while as soon as he marched against him he had fled like a fox before a lion. He reminded him how able he was to recompense him, and urged that he should surrender the fugitive.‡ Pir Padishah, in reply, sent Mengli Timur and Khoja Mekki from Asterabad, offering, if the province of Asterabad was secured to him, and if some fugitives who had sought shelter with him were pardoned by Shah Rokh, and allowed to return to Herat, he would take care to send the rebels back, together with his son. This letter was deemed impertinent, and Shah Rokh set out for Asterabad, but he could only advance slowly, on account of the heat. He reached Tenaseman, which was held for Pir Padishah by Bayazid Jupan; but as the city of Asterabad was the real key to the position, he did not deign to attack the smaller place; "just as falcons," says our author, "deem it a dishonour to kill sparrows, and lions to capture jackals." He accordingly advanced upon Asterabad. A skirmish took place at Feraskhaneh, in which some of Pir Padishah's behadurs were captured and put to death. The imperial army having reached the plain of Asterabad, was engaged in digging a ditch to protect itself from attack, when Pir Padishah, with his forces, emerged from a forest. He commanded the centre; Shems ud din Uj Kara, Shir Ali, and Jafar Sahib the left wing, and Seyid Khoja the right. After a severe engagement, the imperial forces were successful. Pir Padishah, much dejected, fled towards the desert, and thence to Khuarezm.§ Mazanderan, Jorjan, Dahistan, Asterabad, and Dameghan were now confided to the Mirza Omar Behadur.‖

On the *fête* day following the month of Ramazan in the year 808 HEJ. some people of Irak deserted the Timurid chief, Mirza Khalil Sultan left Samarkand, and went towards Khuarezm. Having arrived there they revolted in favour of Pir Padishah, who had been defeated by Shah Rokh in Mazanderan, as we have seen, and had sought refuge there. They scattered the gold over him which they had received from Mirza Khalil Sultan. He now proposed to himself to conquer

* (?) The same person previously called Sultan Hussein.
† Abdur Rezak, Notices et Extraits, 80. ‡ *Id.*, 91-92. § *Id.*, 96-99. ‖ *Id.*, 100.

Mazanderan.* Elsewhere the same writer tells us that, having collected together the partisans of Jaun Korban and Tavakkul, he entered the province of Mazanderan (really Jorjan) and attacked the fortress of Asterabad, and that Shems ud din Ali and Jemjed Karen, who were its governors on behalf of the Timurid ruler, were in great danger. Shah Rokh having heard of this, set out to repress the revolt. He duly arrived at Shebertu and the town of Kusuiaah, and arranged to attack the enemy by more than one route. While he himself advanced by way of Jam and Meshed, the Amirs Hasan Jandar Firuz Shah, Sheikh Ali Hasanek, and Ajeb Shir went by way of Zavah and Mahulat. When Shah Rokh reached Tarak, he heard that Pir Padishah had been abandoned by the troops of Khorasan, and had fled towards Rustemdar. He thereupon advanced into the plain of Asterabad, and Mazanderan was once more at peace.† Sultan Ali, son of Pir Padishah, now went with his submission, and presented himself to Shah Rokh, at Mehneh Mubarak. He was well received, and Shah Rokh took him with him to Seistan; but after the capture of the fortress of Férah, he suddenly fled, and repaired to Rustemdar, where his father had died.‡

SULTAN ALI.

Sultan Ali received the support of the Amir Kaiumars Rustemdari, while his father's dependants and the people of the surrounding districts joined him. He then determined to attack Asterabad, where Abulleith was governor on behalf of the Timurids. The two came speedily to blows, each at the head of a considerable force. In the struggle, Sultan Ali was so badly wounded that he died. His head was sent to Herat, and the victors secured a large booty.§

THE SERBEDARIANS.

ABDUR REZAK.

The history of this dynasty has been abstracted from Mirkhavend's and Khuandemir's narrations, by Dorn and Von Hammer. They tell us how there lived at the village of Pashtin, or Bashtin, in the district of Baihak, in Khorasan, a man named Shihab ud din Fazlullah, who was descended, on the father's side, from Hussein, the son of Ali, and on the mother's, from the Barmekid Yanhia ibn Khalid. He had five sons, Amir Amin ud din, Amir Abdur Rezak, Amir Wejih ud din Masud, Amir Nasrulla, and Amir Shems ud din. At this time, there was at Abusaid's

* Abdur Rezak, Notices et Extraits, xiv. 226. † *Id.*, 121-122.
‡ *Id.*, 163-164. § *Id.*, 164.

Court, a certain Ali Surkh Khuaji, or Surkh juni, surnamed Abu Muslim, who had a great reputation as an athlete and archer. One day, the Sultan remarked, "Is there no one to be found in our empire who can compete with Abu Muslim?" Amin ud din, who was at the head of the Pehluvans, replied that he had a brother in Khorasan, named Abdur Rezak, who was equal to this challenge. Abusaid thereupon sent a messenger to bring him, and in two months he arrived at Sultania, where his appearance and qualities made a great impression on the Sultan. Two or three days later, Abdur Rezak, passing through the market-place of Sultania, noticed that some one had hung up a bow and a bag of gold coin, in an archway, with a notice that anyone who could bend the bow might have the money. He took the bow and bent it, and then distributed the coin. When Abusaid heard of this his interest was still further aroused, and he ordered him to have a trial of skill in archery with Abu Muslim. They accordingly had a struggle, and, as Abdur Rezak's arrow overshot that of his opponent ten paces, the Sultan told the Vizier to give him a profitable post. He was accordingly assigned the collectorship of taxes in Kerman. These amounted to 120,000 gold kopeghi, of which 20,000 was assigned to his own use, and he had to account for the rest. He, however, squandered the whole sum; and, when the troubles which succeeded the death of Abusaid came, he was in great embarrassment, and returned to Bashtin, where there was a great excitement on account of a demand which had been made upon the brothers Hasan Hamsa and Hussein Hamsa (with whom he lodged, and who were both pious men), not only for men, but also for some boys or maidens on behalf of the government (*i.e.*, the government of Toghai Timur Khan). The brothers said they were prepared to supply the first, but not the second—"On this we stake our heads" (serbedarim). They thereupon killed the messengers. Abdur Rezak, who arrived at this time, strengthened their resolution to resist; and expelled the fifty men who had been sent by Khoja Alai ud din Muhammed, the Vizier of Khorasan, and who lived at Feryumed, to seize the brothers, and aroused the whole village to resist the scandalous tyranny. "A thousand times better," he said, "that our heads should go to the gibbet rather than suffer such gross tyranny. We lay our heads on that." From this phrase they derived their name of Serbedars (*i.e.*, those who hazard their heads). This took place in the year 737 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1336).*

The "Chronicle of Herat," which writes in a very hostile spirit to Abdur Rezak, says that, having murdered a distinguished reis, he had surrounded himself with a body of abandoned people and criminals, who had sworn to put away all the agents of the government, or to take their own heads to the gibbet (ser be dar).† Abdur Rezak's repute now grew daily. He

* Dorn Mems. St. Peter's Acad., 6th ser., viii. 161-163. Ilkhans, ii. 324-326.
† Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 506.

attacked and defeated the Vizier, who withdrew from Feryumed to Asterabad, where he was pursued and overtaken by Wejih ud din, Abdur Rezak's brother, and was killed at the village of Valayed, near that town. Khuandemir calls the place Sherek i nau. The Vizier's son fled to Sari, while Abdur Rezak returned to Bashtin with the booty he had secured. He now found himself at the head of 700 brave men, and proceeded to occupy Sebzevar, where there was no one to oppose him, and which he now made his head-quarters. The Amir Abdulla Mulai, the ruler of Kuhistan, wished to marry the daughter of the late Vizier, and sent some splendid presents as a marriage gift. Having heard of this, Abdur Rezak sent Muhammed Aitimur to waylay the treasure. The Kuhistanis, however, who had 700 well-armed men, defeated him. Thereupon, Wejih ud din Masud, his brother, came up with 300 men, dispersed the mountaineers, and carried off the presents. Abdur Rezak now determined to secure the Vizier's daughter for himself, but suspecting that he merely wanted to make use of her for a base intrigue with her brother, who was very beautiful, she fled from Sebzevar towards Nishapur.* Von Hammer makes out it was the Vizier's widow whom the Serbedarian chief proposed to marry, and she thought he wanted by this means to secure her beautiful daughter. Abdur Rezak, on hearing of her flight, sent his brother Masud in pursuit, who overtook her at Sengkinder, but allowed her to escape on her urging upon him that, as a good Mussulman, he ought not to take part in such a violation of the law. On his return without her, Abdur Rezak, who was indignant, declared he was no man. He replied sharply, and from a strife of tongues, it came to one of swords. Abdur Rezak sprang through the window, broke his foot, and was put to death by his brother, who succeeded to his authority. This took place, according to the "Chronicle of Herat," 12th Zilhidjeh, 738 (*i.e.*, July, 1338).†

WEJIH UD DIN MASUD.

During the reign of Abusaid, there flourished at Sebzevar a sheikh known as the Sheikh Khalifa, the founder of the order of Dervishes. Sebzevar had already distinguished itself as an abode of heresy. He was apparently a heretic, and aroused great animosity and feeling. He was at first a pupil of the Sheikh Balu Amoly, in Mazanderan; but, some time after that sheikh's doctrines being deemed deficient, he went to Semnan, where he joined the Sheikh Rukn ud din Alai ud daulat Semnany, and spent some time in his monastery, which was a famous seat of learning. He then went to Bahrabad, where he sought out the Khoja Ghiath ud din Hibet ulla Hamevy, and ended by settling at

* Dorn, op. cit., 163-164.

† Ilkhans, ii. 324-326. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 506. Dorn, op. cit., 164-169.

Sebzevar, where he entered a monastery, and devoted himself to a close study of the Koran, and to the inculcation of various austerities to a large number of scholars. He seems to have acquired a reputation for working miracles, but his teaching was disapproved of by the ulemas or professors of the law, who forbade him access to the ruler's house. He did not heed them, however. Thereupon his enemies prepared a case for judicial decision, viz., "If a man who establishes himself in a mosque, and discourses on worldly matters, and not only pays no heed to the directions of the learned, but even becomes more stubborn, is it lawful to put him to death?" The greater part of the authorities decided in writing that it was lawful, and sent the decision on to the Court. Abusaid gave the judicious reply that he did not wish to shed the blood of the dervish, and that the officers of the law in Khorasan were to deal with him in the way prescribed by the law. This answer caused the greatest discord among the authorities in such matters at Sebzevar, who had tried so hard to ruin the sheikh; and the discord was at its height when the Sheikh Hasan Juri, a native of Jur, came to Sebzevar, and proclaimed himself a disciple of the unpopular and probably heretical sheikh. This greatly increased his reputation; but his enemies were determined to undo him, and he was found one morning hanging from one of the pillars of the mosque, while a number of stones were at his feet, as if he had hanged himself. His scholars thereupon chose Sheikh Hasan as their leader, and left Sebzevar. He went to Nishapur, Abiverd, Khabushan, and Meshed, spreading the doctrines of his dead master, and when anyone declared himself his scholar he took his name down, but bade him stay at home for the present, and to hold himself in readiness in case he were wanted, when he would be duly summoned. His manner was very persuasive, and he speedily secured an immense following, and the authorities began to be afraid.*

To stop this dangerous excitement the Amir Arghun Shah Juni Kurbani, who commanded in Khorasan on behalf of Toghai Timur Khan, had the sheikh imprisoned in the castle of Tak, or Takh, in the district of Yazer, or Yaser. Thereupon, the Serbedarian chief, Wejid ud din Masud, who doubtless saw in the whole matter a chance of furthering his ambitious schemes, declared himself an adherent of the imprisoned sheikh. Amir Arghun marched against Nishapur with three armies, numbering altogether some 70,000 men. Masud defeated two of these armies, led respectively by the Amir Mahmud of Izferain and Tukal, and compelled them to retreat; and as the third army, under Arghun, arrived too late, and the latter found his other contingents defeated, he withdrew. This religious strife naturally led to the great increase in power of the leader of the Serbedars,

* Dorn, op. cit., 166-167.

who now became master of Nishapur and Sebzevar. A disciple of the Sheikh Hasan Juri, called Khoja Asad, now set to work, with seventy companions (Von Hammer says seven), to obtain the release of his master, which he succeeded in doing with the help of the Serbedarian chief, who surprised the citadel of Yazer, released the sheikh, and carried him off in triumph. Meanwhile, Amir Mahmud, the son of Arghun Shah, who, in the absence of his father (who had gone to Irak with Toghai Timur), held his authority, wrote a letter to the sheikh, dissuading him from causing confusion throughout the land by his opinions. The sheikh replied in a long letter (preserved by Mirkhavend), in which he pictured his whole life, and his alliance with Wejih ud din, in the fairest light, and stating that he only aimed at furthering the interests of the Faith.

Wejih ud din now marched upon Herat, which he hoped to conquer. That town and province had recently begun to prosper again, under the beneficent rule of Moiz ud din Hussein Kert, who had succeeded Malik Hafiz about the year 1332. He naturally dreaded the approach of the fanatical Serbedarians, and brought together the contingents of Ghur, Khaisar, the Sinjars from Seistan, and the Nigudars, left Herat, and advanced as far as the neighbourhood of Savah, near Nishapur. There a bloody struggle ensued. It seemed as if the Serbedarians would win the day, for the bravest officers in the Herat army were killed, and their men began to disband, when the Malik, who had planted himself with his guards on an eminence, ordered the charge to be sounded, and the great standard to be unfurled, and putting himself at the head of his wavering men, restored the fight. The struggle began again with terrible energy, but meanwhile Sheikh Hasan was stabbed by one of his own disciples. This news having spread among the Serbedarians, they were seized with sudden panic, and dispersed. Khuandemir says Sheikh Hasan had told his friend that, if he should fall, Masud must withdraw at once, and return to Sebzevar. The Serbedarians were closely pursued, and "a great number of these infidels," says the chronicler, "were killed or made prisoners." Among the latter was the Amir Ibn Yemin, whose life was spared on account of his skill as a poet. After this victory Moiz ud din returned to Herat with a rich booty.*

After his defeat, Wejih ud din Masud returned to Sebzevar, where his fanatical followers do not seem to have lost faith in him; for he was able to make head against Toghai Timur, who was *de jure* ruler of Khorasan, and who, no doubt, deemed it quite time that the turbulent Serbedarians were put down. We have seen how he marched against their chief, and how he was defeated by him. Toghai Timur, by his defeat, lost hold entirely of Khorasan, and his dominions were restricted to Jorjan.

* Chronicle of Herat, Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 506-507.

After his victory, Masud went to Asterabad, and issued a decree to the people of Mazanderan, in which he summoned them to submit to him. This district had retained a quasi-independence, under its own princes, during all the Mongol domination. Kia Jemal ud din Ahmed Jelal, an old man of experience, "who," says Khuandemir, "had already tested the heat and cold of time," had recently usurped authority in that province, and recognised no one as his superior. Fearing an invasion by the Serbedarian chief and its probable consequences, he arranged with his two nephews, Kia Tash ud din and Kia Jelal, to pay Masud a visit. They were received with honour. This strengthened Masud's intention to proceed; and he set out, in a peaceful humour apparently, accompanied by these chiefs. Presently, he sent word to Jelal ud daula Izkander, the governor of the town of Rustemdar, to fix a place of meeting. The latter consulted with his brother, Fakhr ud daula Shah Ghazi. They agreed that some sacrifice must be made, and that it would be well to surrender some districts to the Serbedarians; but if the summons meant they were going to enter by force into Rustemdar and occupy, they must be opposed by arms. Masud set out in 1342, and went to Amol, pitching his camp, which he inclosed with palisades, in the district of Buran. The troops of Izkander and Shah Ghazi mounted, during the night, their Arab horses, made a raid on the outskirts of this camp, and succeeded in securing some plunder; their motive probably being that the erection of the palisading looked like a permanent occupation of the country. This attack was repeated; and, we are told, Kia Jemal ud din sent to tell the inhabitants there and the other people of Mazanderan that, notwithstanding his being in the company of Masud, they were to spare no efforts to drive the Serbedarians out. The Mazanderan people, therefore, collected in considerable numbers, made night attacks on the camp, and cried out: "O, men of Khorasan! Mazanderan is a wood full of fierce lions. You have with your own hands opened the gates of misfortune for yourselves, and planted your feet in the net of calamity and woe. You have fallen together into the decoy of destruction, and none of you will escape from this dangerous place." "Masud," says the chronicler, "felt like a fish in a net, in view of these unseen enemies and unseen threats—hardly knowing which way to turn." At length, after waiting for nine days, he determined to go on to Rustemdar. When he reached the village of Yasminelateh, he found the men of Mazanderan barring his path in hostile array. He thereupon put to death Kia Jemal ud din and his nephews, and then set out on his retreat by the route of Lavij. He and his men were vigorously pressed, and some were killed and others captured at almost every step. He reached the Irlu river with a few followers, but found that his retreat was cut off in that direction by a force under Sherif ud daula Gustehem ibn Taj ud daula Siar, and turned aside; but the troops of that commander followed him, and captured him in the village of Bandis. They carried

him off to Izkander. For two days he was kept in custody, and on the third day was put to death.* Mirkhavend says the people of Rustemdar did not want to kill him, but the son of the vizier, Khoja Alai ud din, whom he had put to death, demanded his blood. Masud's vizier, the Seyid Sehir ud din, was also captured, and, when questioned, said that forage had to be provided every night for 14,000 horses, 600 mules, and 400 camels; whence the number of the invading force may be guessed.† Masud was put to death in 1344, and had reigned seven years.

MUHAMMED AI TIMUR.

When Wejih ud din Masud marched against Sheikh Ali Kavan, he left Muhammed Ai Timur, also called Aka Muhammed Timur, one of his father's servants, and distinguished for his courage and liberality, as his substitute in Sebzevar. When he heard of Masud's death, he took upon himself the government. We have seen how important the dervishes and religious devotees were in that town. Muhammed seems to have neglected them. When he had reigned for two years, the Khoja Shems ud din Ali, who was distinguished alike by his birth and his other good qualities, gathered round him a body of dervishes and scholars of Sheikh Hasan, entered Muhammed's room unexpectedly, and addressed him in the following words: "It is a strange thing that the dervishes have no longer any power or consideration, although your fortunes and those of your master were really made by this venerable brotherhood. You treat them as if they were mere ragamuffins and a thievish rabble." As the Khoja's companions used similar language, Muhammed was confounded. Being alone, and having no weapons by him, he addressed them in a kindly speech. "Hitherto," he said, "I have not injured a single dervish. I have taken the greatest pains and solicitude in the affairs of the state. Meanwhile, I am ready to do what you think advisable." Thereupon they replied, "Get up and enter this room, for we no longer desire your government." He now entered the room named, whereupon the mutineers closed the door behind him, and begged the Khoja to seat himself on the throne, promising to support him. Although he apparently coveted the position, he did not wish to make it appear as if he had personally profited by Ai Timur's death, so he refused the post for himself, and suggested that Kalu Izfendiar should be raised to the throne, while Ai Timur should be put to death as a punishment for his evil doings. His death is variously dated in 1346 and 1347. His reign lasted two years and a few months.‡

* Dorn, op. cit., 170-171. † *Id.*, 171. Ilkhans, ii. 329.
‡ Dorn, op. cit., 171-172. Ilkhans, ii 340.

KALU IZFENDIAR.

Shems ud din, as we have seen, raised Kalu Izfendiar, who was favourably disposed towards him, to the throne. He was not long, however, in falling out with the dervishes, and was accused of tyranny and ill conduct, and was put away, as Ai Timur had been, after reigning only a few months. This is the account given by Khuandemir. Fasih says that Muhammed was immediately succeeded by Lutf Ulla, the son of Masud, who was deposed in ten days, on account of his youth and incapacity. Mirkhavend says Lutf Ulla was merely proposed, but never acknowledged. Jennabi says he was actually acknowledged, but Shems ud din nominated him as regent.

SHEMS UD DIN FADL ALLAH.

The dervishes once more took counsel with their guide, Shems ud din, as to who should be placed on the throne. Some were in favour of Masud's son, but he was deemed too young, and eventually his nephew, Shems ud din Fadl Allah, the son of Abdur Rezak (Fasih calls him Shems ud din, son of Fazl Ulla, brother of Masud), was fixed upon. Devoted to luxury, he neglected taking precautions against the aggression which threatened him from Jorjan, whither Toghai Timur had retired, and left the control of matters in the hands of the Khoja Shems ud din Ali, and in the course of seven months he was pointedly urged to resign his position, which he accordingly did. One of his couplets is preserved by Khuandemir:—

> The kingdom of poverty and a life of hardship are better than to be a ruler;
> A breath of tranquillity of mind is better than anything a man can wish for.†

SHEMS UD DIN ALI.

The Khoja Shems ud din Ali, who had hitherto been a kingmaker, now accepted the responsibility of government himself. We are told he ruled with the greatest severity, to restrain on the one hand the turbulence of the dervishes, and on the other the licentiousness of the Serbedarians. He banished the use of wine from his dominions, and five hundred prostitutes were on one occasion put to death; Fasih says they were burnt. He used to perambulate the streets at night, to see for himself how order was kept. Meanwhile, his valour, determination, and continual state of preparation for war, deterred his neighbours—Toghai Timur, in Jorjan, and Hussein, the Malik of Herat—from attacking him. He suppressed the outbreaks which took place at Tus and

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* Dorn, op. cit., 172. † *Id.*, 171-172. Ilkhans, ii. 340.

Dameghan, but was eventually assassinated by Haidar Kassab, after he had reigned four years and nine months. This Hassan had charge of the Customs. His accounts having been overhauled, he was found to be a considerable sum in arrear. The Khoja thereupon gave orders that what property Haidar had appropriated should be confiscated. As he had nothing left, and the demands kept accumulating upon him, he seized an opportunity and laid his distressed condition before his master. Shems ud din, who was a harsh man, impervious to shame, replied: "Let thy wife enter a brothel, and in this way cancel thy debt to the Divan.' Affronted by this brutal answer, he determined upon revenge, and confided his purpose to the Khoja Yahia Kieravi. At the time of evening prayer, he went up to the fortress when Yahia was in Shems ud din's assembly-room, and, having demanded his compassion for his misfortune, sprang forward and thrust a dagger through him. Hasan Dameghani would have killed the murderer, but was stopped by Khoja Yahia. He replied that he did not wish the deed to appear as if it had Yahia's approval. The date of these events is variously given. Khuandemir apparently puts it in 753 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1352), Fasih in 755 (*i.e.*, 1354), Mirkhond in 753, and Jennabi in 756 (*i.e.*, 1355), adding that Shems ud din had reigned five and a half years, and was 65 when he died.*

YAHIA KIERAVI.

The Khoja Yahia Kieravi, who was privy to the murder of Ali, now became chief of the Serbedarians. He also maintained stringent discipline and strict manners, and devoted the greater portion of his time to profound disputations with the learned. His whole Court was dressed in woollen garments, and only the most learned men were appointed to public offices. In consequence of this he was held in the highest respect by his neighbours. Ghazan Khan, the ruler of Mavera un Nehr, sent him splendid presents, and Toghai Timur, whose realm was now reduced to the district of Jorjan, made a treaty of peace, and interchanged verses with him. Toghai Timur having summoned him to go to him with his submission, he duly went, but took advantage of his visit to assassinate him, as I have described. The Serbedarians now occupied Asterabad, Bostam, Dameghan, Khuar, Semnan, and Taberan, and withdrew to Sebzevar with their booty. When Yahia had reigned four years and eight months, his brother-in-law, Alai ud din (Fasih calls him Alai ud daula, while Mirkhond says it was Yahia's brother Iz ud din), sprang on to the saddle behind him when entering the courtyard of his house (Khuandemir says on his horse, Mirkhavend on his mule), and thrust a dagger into his side. The Khoja himself

* Dorn, op. cit., 173-174. Ilkhans, ii., 340-341.

seized him. Both fell from the horse together, and as they struggled, the wounded chief gave his antagonist a mortal blow, so that both perished together. Haidar Kassab was at this time at Asterabad with Sultan Maidan. As soon as he heard the news, he went to Sebzevar. Those who had concurred in the murder of Yahia withdrew to the fortress of Shekkan, to which Haidar applied fire for sixteen days, so that it was burnt, together with all who had sought refuge in it. These events, according to Khuandemir, took place in the year 756 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1355). Fasih and Jennabi say in 759 (*i.e.*, 1357).*

KHOJA DHAHIR UD DIN KERIAVY.

Khuandemir says that, according to the Matla el Sadain, the prince who now succeeded was a nephew of the Khoja Yahia Keriavy, while the author of the "History of the Serbedarians" says he was his brother, as does Fasih. He was appointed chief of the Serbedars, with the concurrence of Haidar Kassab. He was liberal, good natured, and steadfast, and fond of playing at dice and cards. Haidar Kassab had charge of the administration. He deposed the Khoja, according to Mirkhavend and Khuandemir, after a reign of forty days; Fasih says in the year 760 (*i.e.*, 1359), after a reign of eleven months; while Jennabi says after a year and a month.†

HAIDAR KASSAB.

After Haidar had reigned for four months, he was assassinated by the Pehluvan Hasan Dameghani, named Kutluk Bugha, at the instigation of his master. Fasih calls the murderer Kutluk Aga, and says it was in 762 (*i.e.*, 1360). Mirkhavend says Haidar had previously expressed his intention of marching against the Amir Vali in Asterabad, but gave up his plan after he had advanced a day's march. He then went to Izferain.‡

LUTF ULLA.

The Amir Lutf Ulla, son of the Amir Wejih ud din Masud, now succeeded to the chieftainship of the Serbedars, under the tutelage of Hasan Dameghani. After a reign of a year and three months at Sebzevar, discord broke out between him and Hasan, in consequence of which the latter had him imprisoned in the fort of Destjerdan, and gave orders that he was to be put to death. The Serbedars styled him Mirza.§

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* Dorn, op. cit., 174-177. Ilkhans, ii. 340-342. † Dorn, op. cit., 177-178.
‡ *Id.*, 178. § *Id.*, 178.

HASAN DAMEGHANI.

The Pehluvan Hasan Dameghani now reigned (*i.e.*, in 1361). During his rule the dervish Azis, a disciple of Sheikh Hasan Juri, acquired great fame for his pious observances in the holy city of Meshed, and collected many people about him. With their aid he acquired some power, and captured the fort of Tus. Hasan, on hearing of this, marched to Tus, which he re-captured, gave the dervish some loads of silk, and bade him not remain long in this district. He accordingly went away to Ispahan, and settled there. Hasan seems at this time, according to Mirkhavend, to have marched against the Amir Vali, at Asterabad, whence, having been defeated, he returned again. Some time after, Khoja Ali Muayid Sebzevary revolted in Dameghan, drove out Nasr Ulla, who commanded there on behalf of Hasan, and ordered Mahmud Riza to go to Ispahan to fetch the dervish Azis. He said he would do so on condition that, if the Khoja became the chief of the Serbedarians, he would nominate him his vizier. He agreed to this, and Mahmud duly brought the dervish, known as "the father of excellence," to Dameghan. Khoja Ali enlisted himself among the disciples of the dervish, an example which was followed by many inhabitants of the place. Presently, a conspiracy broke out in the fortress of Shekkan, or Shegghan, against Hasan. He accordingly left Sebzevar, and marched against and attacked the rebels. When news reached the Khoja Ali and his *protégé*, the dervish Azis, that Hasan had left Sebzevar, they marched thither, occupied it without any trouble, and speedily secured the place and the control of the army. They seized the vizier, Khoja Yunis Semnani, and put him to death, in revenge for that of Amir Lutf Ulla. Hasan saw there was no other course than to submit, and set out for Sebzevar with the intention of becoming a disciple of the dervish Azis, and a subject of the Khoja Ali; but the latter had issued orders that he was to be put to death. A number of people therefore went out to meet him, held the reins of his horse, and assisted him to dismount, and one of them cut off his head, which they sent to Khoja Ali. According to Fasih, this occurred in the year 763 (*i.e.*, 1362).* Hasan had reigned four years and four months.

KHOJA ALI MUAYID

Jennabi gives Ali Muayid the surname of Nasr Ulla; while Frœhn, who has published some of his coins, gives his name, in full, as Nasr Allah Nejm ud din Ali ibn el Muayid. As he attained his position through his devotion to religion, he continued to be very attentive to its calls, and spared no pains to give honour to the great Seyids; while, in the

* Dorn, op. cit., 178-179.

expectation of the coming of the Lord of Time, he had a horse prepared for him each night and morning. He abstained from the use of wine and hemp juice (? bang).* We are told in the "Chronicle of Herat" that he gave a great impetus to the spread of the Shia doctrines, and had the names of the twelve imaums placed on the coins.† When he had been on the throne nine months, he gave the Dervish Azis the command of an army, and sent him against the Malik of Herat, Moiz ud din Hussein Kert. When the dervish reached Nishapur, the Khoja, who had apparently changed his mind, sent word to the commanders of the army that they were to abandon Azis and return to him. They viewed this as a piece of good fortune, and duly returned to Sebzevar; but the dervish, with a body of his scholars, set out for Irak. Thereupon the Khoja sent some people in pursuit, who put them all to the sword. This he followed up by ruining the tombs of the dervish Khalifah and of Sheikh Hasan Juri in the market-place of Sebzevar, and making them over to the market people as a latrine. All this was done probably in the interests of orthodoxy. In 777 (*i.e.*, 1375), Ghiath ud din, the Malik of Herat, captured Nishapur, which was one of the Khoja's possessions, and appointed Izkander Sheikhy, son of Afrasiab Chelabi, as its amir. In 778 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1376), the dervish Rukn ud din, a disciple of Sheikh Hasan Juri and the dervish Azis, went to Fars, and asked for a contingent of troops from Shah Shuja. When he presently arrived in Khorasan at the head of this army, Izkander Sheikhy acknowledged himself as his disciple, and both went together to Sebzevar. Khoja Ali was not in a position to resist them, so he withdrew towards Jorjan; while the dervish Rukn ud din planted himself at Sebzevar, and, in 779 (*i.e.*, 1377), had the khutbeh said and money struck in his own name. In 780 (*i.e.*, 1378), however, Amir Vali, who, on the death of the Khan Toghai Timur, had become the ruler of Jorjan, offered the Khoja Ali his assistance, and they marched together on Sebzevar. Rukn ud din now fled, and the Khoja once more mounted the throne. In 781 (*i.e.*, 1379), he visited Asterabad and asked assistance from the amir (*i.e.*, the Amir Vali) against the great Timur, who was now pursuing his victorious career; but finding that he could not get any substantial help from him, he determined to submit, and handed the great conqueror the keys of his towns. He visited him at Nishapur, and there offered his submission, was well received by him, and lived peaceably under his protection for the rest of his life.‡ Sherif ud din says Timur conferred Sebzevar on him.§ He died in 1386, apparently of a wound received in the campaign of Timur against Luristan.‖ Fræhn has published three of his coins, struck in the years 772, 777, and 780 HEJ., at Sebzevar, Dameghan, and Lais Abad (? Asterabad) respectively.¶ A coin of his in the British Museum was struck in 775 HEJ. at Asterabad.

* *Id.*, 179. † Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 515. ‡ Dorn, op. cit., 179-180.
§ Op. cit., i. 356. ‖ *Id.*, 407. ¶ Recensio, 632-633.

On the death of Ali Muayid, Timur seems to have nominated one of his own people governor of Sebzevar. About the year 791, while he was encamped at Alkushun, news arrived that the Serbedarian princes and Hajibey Yun Garbani had revolted, and had been joined by the garrisons of Kelat and Tus. Timur sent the Mirza Miran Shah against them. He encountered the rebels near Behrabad, a town not far from Tus. They charged with their usual brave recklessness, "but," says Sherif ud din, "they were inclosed by the right and left wings of the Mirza's army like birds in a net." They were cut in pieces. Prince Meluk, half dead, escaped to Persia, with two or three companions. Meanwhile, the Amir Akbuka had marched upon Tus from Herat. He captured that town after Hajibey, who was a younger brother of Ali Bey Yun Garbani, had managed to escape; but he was captured at Semnan by the Sherifs of Hezarégheri, and sent to the Mirza, who had him put to death.*

SULTAN ALI.

About the year 807 HEJ., Sultan Ali, son of the Khoja Masud, forgetting the benefits he had received from Timur, rebelled against his son, Shah Rokh. He put himself at the head of a body of Serbedarians and others, and occupied the districts about Sebzevar. Seyid Khoja sent a body of 600 picked men to attack him, while he opposed them with 200 well-armed horsemen, who made a vigorous charge, and as they consisted of old, well-seasoned men, they cut in pieces a large number of their opponents. Seyid Khoja was much disturbed by this defeat, and went hastily to retrieve it with 2,000 men. On reaching the battle-field, however, he only saw a number of mutilated corpses. Going on to Jajerm, he overtook a party of the rebels, who retained the martial virtues for which the dervishes had been famous. The place was taken, and the people in it slaughtered, but it cost him dear, he himself having been wounded. Seyid Khoja then went on to Firumed, whence the people went for shelter into the citadel. He accordingly proceeded to destroy the gardens and orchards in the vicinity. The Seyids and learned men of the place entreated his clemency, and he agreed to spare it on the payment of a ransom. He then went on to Mezman, which he captured. Thence he passed to Sebzevar, which he ordered to be girdled round with a deep ditch. After an attack of ten days, news arrived that Pir Padishah (or Perek), the king of Mazanderan, was marching to the rescue. Thereupon the siege was raised, and Seyid Khoja went to meet the latter. Meanwhile, Sultan Ali left the town and joined Perek. The two armies met. As is so often the case, the

* Sherif ud din, ii. 31-34.

right wing of each broke the opposing left wing; but eventually Perek, who commanded the centre, was obliged to give way. Sultan Ali, who was in charge of the right, hearing of this, went after him. A cruel slaughter of the fugitives followed, and Seyid Khoja returned towards Sebzevar with a great booty.*

After his defeat, Khoja Sultan Ali Sebzevari repaired to Asterabad. When he heard that the Mirza Miran Shah had arrived at Kalpush, he went to meet him there. The Mirza's officers, Seyid Khoja and Midrab, urged that his recent rebellion should be duly punished. He was accordingly arrested and sent in chains to Herat, together with Sultan Hasan, son of Perek Padishah, while the rest of the conspirators at Sebzevar were put to death.† Seyid Khoja afterwards defeated Perek Padishah a second time, captured his son, crushed the power of the Serbedars, and re-organised the province of Khorasan.‡

Thus closes the history of a singular episode in Eastern history, in which we have a number of religious devotees and fanatics virtually controlling, for a considerable period, the fortunes of such an important province as Khorasan.

THE MALIKS OF HERAT.

MOIZ UD DIN HUSSEIN KERT.

The history of the Ghurian chiefs descended from Shems ud din Kert, who had authority at Herat from the days of Khulagu to the death of Abusaid, has been incorporated in the previous pages with that of the several Ilkhans, their contemporaries, to whom they were in fact subject and subordinate. When the power of the Ilkhans broke to pieces, like other dependent chiefs elsewhere, the maliks of Herat, who had a more established position than any of them, naturally followed their example, and became independent. We have seen how, in the year 732 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1331-32), Malik Hafiz was murdered by a number of turbulent chiefs.§ He was succeeded by his brother, Moiz ud din Hussein, thanks to whose vigour the rebels who had caused confusion during the previous two reigns were subdued, and the people who had been driven from Herat by the civil commotions there, returned to their hearths. This tranquillity was broken by the attack of the Serbedars, which we have described.‖ The result of the war was not only the defeat of the Serbedars, but the Malik of Herat was acknowledged as master in Kuhistan. He then proceeded to subdue the districts of Shiburghan and Andkhud, and surprised the tribes of

* Abdur Rezak, Notices et Extraits, &c., xiv. 26-30. Ante, 724-725. † *Id.*, 53-54.
‡ *Id.*, 81. § Ante, 622-623. ‖ Ante, 730.

Arlat and Eperdi (Aibirdi) in Badghiz, dispersed them, and built two columns out of the heads of the prisoners whom he had caused to be decapitated. These two columns were placed one on each side of the Khiaban, near the tomb of Fakhr ud din Razi. "They are still in existence," says the chronicler of Herat.* At this time there was a struggle going on in Transoxiana between the Amir Kazghan and his master, the Jagatai Khan, Kazan Khan, which we shall describe later on, and Moiz ud din deemed the time favourable to declare himself independent. He accordingly did so, and adopted the various signs of royal prerogative, including the five flourishes of trumpets (nôobet), &c.† His enemies, including the chiefs whom he had vanquished at Badghiz, together with the sheikhs of Jani, denounced him to Kazghan, who, in a rage, demanded if the stock of Jingis Khan was extinct, that no account seemed to be made of the royal majesty. "Does not this Ghurian plebeian any longer recognise it? Does he think there is no one greater than he?" Kazghan declared he would ruin his towns and fortresses, and make a river wider than the Oxus out of the blood of his most valiant soldiers.‡ He consequently assembled at Balkh all his forces from Andkhud as far as Kashgar, and was joined by the Khan and the other princes, and marched upon Herat. When the Malik heard of this, he sent an amir with 300 men as far as the Murghab to explore, who speedily returned with the news that Kazghan was on the march, and that the dust raised by the tramp of his men and war machines rose up to heaven, &c. The Malik now summoned his council, and said to them: "An army, so large that the dust it raises obscures the sun, has invaded Persia from Tartary, composed of men who in the assault are as firm as a mountain, and when charging with their heads low are as impetuous as torrents rushing down from the rocks. These heroes only put on their helmets when they have resolved to sacrifice their lives for the sake of victory." Each one present then said his say, and notwithstanding that the invaders were more numerous and more skilled in fighting a pitched battle—the Malik Hussein's forces amounting only to 4,000 cavalry and 15,000 foot soldiers—he determined not to stay in the town, nor the citadel, nor in the gardens and streets of the environs, in order not to create alarm, and so that the enemy might be the more easily surprised. It was determined to go out and meet the foe, and also to make an intrenched camp to the east of the town, and extending from Kehdistan as far as the village of Bui Murgh. The Malik addressed his men, and bade them fight bravely, saying that it was not the strong battalions that always won, but that victory depended more on courage and skill, and if they showed these, the enemy would find the world too small as a place of refuge.§

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 505-508. † *Id.*, 508-509. ‡ Sherif ud din, i. 5-9.
§ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 509.

Meanwhile, Kazghan passed Pashnan, and advanced upon Kehdistan, and the next day he mounted on horseback with the Khan Bian Kuli and the Princes Sitilmish, Uljaitu, and 30,000 troops, who occupied the heights surrounding Kazurgah. Kazghan surveyed the Herat army, and remarked that the Malik was ignorant of the art of war, and that the place where he had planted his camp would secure his defeat on two grounds—first, because his people would have to charge uphill to reach their enemy, while the latter would be able to charge down upon them; and, secondly, that when the sun rose, its light would be in their faces, and they could not see who was approaching. The Amir Kazghan and his companions descended from their vantage already assured of victory. The next day their army was ranged in the form of a crescent, and advanced after the usual patriotic address. Kazghan mounted a height, and ordered the attack to begin. The battle was hotly fought, and the cry of "Sela" arose from both hosts. The word meant that no quarter was to be given; and soon the ground was strewn with blood, bucklers, cuirasses, and lances, mingled with corpses. Hussein's men were at length defeated, and as he had opened some dykes behind him to prevent the fugitives from retreating, a portion of them perished in the morass thus created, while the rest were pursued by the Mongols, who made a terrible carnage. Hussein retired to Herat with difficulty, accompanied only by his guards, who occupied the gardens and crooked streets in the environs, while Kazghan returned to his camp. The next day he began the siege, and his men fought night and day, at night by the light of fires which were made for the purpose. The siege lasted for forty days, when terms were proposed. Sherif ud din and the chronicler of Herat are at issue as to which side proposed them, but it would seem probable that they came from Hussein, who sent his enemy a present of some splendidly caparisoned horses, curious stuffs, and rich carpets, together with a large sum of money, and promised that if Kazghan would withdraw, he would go the next year in person and make his submission to him. This promise was, as usual, accompanied by a solemn oath. Kazghan, who was of an amiable and generous disposition, readily assented, as he saw the country would be utterly ruined if the war continued, and set out again for Transoxiana, accompanied by the Khan. This was in the year 752 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1351 A.D.)*

The reverse which he had sustained aroused the animosity of his subjects against the Malik, especially of the turbulent Ghurian chiefs in his service, and his brother, Malik Bakir, was set up as a rival by the rebels. Seeing himself surrounded by a number of Ghurians, whose conduct was menacing, he had the presence of mind to point out some Mongols to them who had come from Badghiz with horses for sale

* *Id.*, 509-510. Sherif ud din, i. 12-15.

as proper subjects for pillage, and profiting by the disorder which followed, he fled from Herat to Amankuh. There he learnt that his brother was being proclaimed, and determined accordingly to go to Transoxiana, and in effect to keep the promise he had made the year before. When he arrived on the borders of Transoxiana, he met Kazghan with a party of people hunting. He thereupon dismounted and approached him with only two servants, and with every confidence. Kazghan embraced him, saying: "Friend or enemy, you are always a man of spirit." The Malik having told him of what had happened at Herat, he promised to reinstate him there; but the Mongol chiefs were envious of these attentions, and they asked Kazghan to arrest him. As he refused to do this, they formed a plot to put him to death. Kazghan thereupon summoned him, and told him what was going on, adding that it was not in his power to save him, and begging him accordingly to escape on a fleet horse. He did so, and re-entered Herat without being recognised, made his way to the citadel, where his partisans gathered round him, and gave orders for the arrest of his brother. That young prince, who had been a mere plaything in the hands of his officers, was exiled to Fars, and lived there till his death. Directly Moiz ud din re-mounted the throne, he invaded Kuhistan, whose chief, Sitilmish Bey, asked assistance from Muhammed Khajeh, who ruled at Andkhud, Shiburghan, and the country as far as the Oxus. The latter marched with his army to Badghiz, and there joined Sitilmish. The Malik met the confederates at Firamurzan on the route to Sarrakhs. The two allies rushed with impetuous bravery on the troops of Herat, and were both killed. Their men then fled in disorder. After this victory, which was won on the 25th of February, 1358, the Malik returned to Herat, where he had an interview with the Amir Chaku, who had been sent to him as an envoy by the Great Timur, and whom he received with due honour. He promised to go to Sarrakhs to meet Timur, and there make a treaty of peace with him. The latter, who was well aware of the way in which the Kert princes had murdered Nuruz, Danishmend, and Choban, did not place much confidence in these promises; but he deferred any hostile intentions he might have, and sent his son Jihanghir, under the care of Mubarek Shah Sinjari, to Herat. Shortly after, in the year 1369, when Timur's position was more assured by the death of his rival Hussein, Moiz ud din was taken ill with a dangerous sickness. Seeing his end was approaching, he summoned his chief dependants, and made them swear allegiance to his son, Ghiath ud din Pir Ali, whom he nominated his successor. His other son, Malik Muhammed, whose mother belonged to the Arlat tribe, received Sarrakhs as an appanage. The dying chief made Ghiath ud din promise not to molest his brother's possessions, and gave him some wise counsel, reminding him that God and the Prophet had never permitted an unjust

and wicked ruler to hold dominion long at Herat. Moiz ud din died in June, 1370, and was buried under the northern dome of the Great Mosque, near the tombs of his father, Ghiath ud din Muhammed, and of Muhammed, son of Sam.*

GHIATH UD DIN PIR ALI.

The new ruler, faithful to his father's advice, used every effort to live at peace with his brother, Malik Muhammed; but the latter was led astray by perfidious counsels. He suppressed his brother's name from the khutbeh, and put his own on the coins. Thereupon Ghiath ud din marched against Sarrakhs in person; but the severity of the winter caused an interruption of operations, and he consented to enter into an arrangement. The two brothers had an interview, and parted apparently reconciled.†

In the spring of 773 (*i.e.*, 1371), Ghiath ud din sent Haji Vizier, as his envoy, to Timur, who was then hunting near Karshi, with presents of Arab horses, sumpter mules, mules to be used as palfreys, and a quantity of rich stuffs, girdles, and robes. He was presented to Timur at Kabamiten. Among his presents, we are told, was a famous piebald horse, named Konk Oghlan, bearing a golden saddle. Timur received the envoy courteously, and gave him a robe and other presents; and then wrote the Malik a letter full of friendly phrases, which he sent him, together with a present of a state robe.‡

Meanwhile, Khoja Ali Muayid, the ruler of the Serbedarians, profited by the power he had acquired in the district of Sebzevar, gave an impetus to the spread of Shia doctrines and caused the twelve imaums to appear on the coins. At the instigation of several ulemas of the Hanefi sect, who represented to him that it was his duty to oppose the progress of this sect, Ghiath ud din made several invasions of the Nishapur district in successive years. That district was governed by the deputies of Muayid. The third of these campaigns was marked by a cruel devastation of the country, in which the canals were laid dry, and the trees uprooted. The chronicler of Herat quotes the following story from the "Matlá es Saadin": "One day, a peasant from the neighbourhood of Nishapur was captured and taken before the Malik, who, wishing to learn his religious views, said: 'Good man, how many fundamental dogmas are there in Islamism?' The peasant replied, without hesitation, 'Sire, according to your sect, Islamism reposes upon three dogmas—destroy the crops of the Mussulmans, fill up their canals, and tear up their trees.'" This answer had such an effect on Pir Ali that he returned, with his army, to Herat. But the following year (*i.e.*, 1375), he renewed his invasion, and captured Nishapur, of which he nominated Izkander Sheikhy, son of Afrasiab

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 510-515. † *Id.*, 515. ‡ Sherif ud din, i. 229-231.

Jelali, governor. The next year, Timur sent an envoy to Herat to conclude a treaty of peace. The Malik was much pleased at this, and ordered his son, Pir Muhammed, to repair to his camp; that young prince accordingly set out for Mavera un Nehr. This was in 1377. Timur received him kindly, and affianced him to his niece, Sevend Kutluk Agha, daughter of Shirin Beg; and, having given him many presents, sent him back again, and a few days after the princess was sent after him. Pir Ali prepared a splendid reception for her, and several triumphal arches, richly decorated, were raised between the Jui nu and the round space of the great bazaar. The nuptial festivities lasted several days, and the Malik, to show how much honoured he felt by the alliance, heaped presents upon amir Daud and Muayid Arlas, who had conducted the princess.* The good feeling between the two rulers did not, however, last long. Timur, in 1378, sent an envoy to the Malik to inform him that he proposed holding a kuriltai, or diet, in the spring, where the various princes of the empire would assemble, and that he hoped he would attend it. The Malik replied that if his friend the amir Haji Seif ud din Berlas was sent to escort him—he had much faith in him—that he would at once set out to pay his respects. Timur assented, and the following day sent Seif ud din to Herat. The Malik delayed setting out for a long time, under various pretences—his real object being to provision the town, to supply it well with weapons of defence, and to perfect its fortifications. Only the previous year he had surrounded the place with a new wall two leagues in circuit, which inclosed the faubourgs and gardens outside the old town. The amir having noticed what was going on, returned alone to his master, and reported what he had seen.†

This was a sufficient excuse for Timur to prepare his sword. In the autumn of 1380 he nominated his son, Mirza Miran Shah, governor of Khorasan, although he was only fourteen years old, and appointed as his assistants the amir Jehanghir, brother of the amir Haji Berlas, together with the amirs Haji Seif ud din, Akbuka Osman Abbas, Muhammed Sultan Shah, Komaré (brother of Temuké), Taban Behadur, Uruz Buka (brother of Sarbuka), Pir Hussein Berlas, Hamza (son of the amir Musa), Muhammed Kazghan, Sarik Etekeh, Muzaffar (son of Ushkara), and others. He also gave him fifty companies (? *hazarahs*) of cavalry. They crossed the Oxus by an admirable bridge of boats, and spent the greater part of the ensuing autumn and winter at Balkh and Shiburghan. Towards the end of the winter they occupied Badghiz, where they secured a large booty of horses and other valuables. In the spring, Timur himself collected his forces, and prepared to advance. He crossed the Oxus and proceeded to Andkhud, where he paid a visit to the devotee, Babasenku, one of the class of dervishes who are either half-witted or profess so to

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 515-517. † Sherif ud din, i. 308-310.

be. When Timur approached him, the dervish sent a sheep's breast at his head. Timur accepted this as a good omen, saying, "I am assured that God has granted me the conquest of Khorasan, for this kingdom has always been called the breast, or the middle, of the habitable world."*

Meanwhile, Malik Muhammed, the brother of the ruler of Herat, who, as we have seen, held the appanage of Sarrakhs, went to offer his submission. He was well received, and given some presents. Timur now advanced across the Murghab, and determined to cut the communication between Herat and Nishapur. When he reached Kusuyeh, called Kusupa by Sherif ud din, its governor, Pehluvan Mehdi, submitted, whence the inhabitants of that district were not molested. Timur turned aside to Taibad, and visited the learned doctor, Zain ud din Abubekr Taibadi, who was greatly renowned for his piety and austerities, and with whom he had a long conversation.† Rejoining his army, he went to Fushenj, which threatened resistance. It was duly environed, and four days after an assault was ordered. Timur, we are told, dispensed with his cuirass in order to encourage his men; and a heavy storm of weapons fell on either side, Timur himself being struck by two arrows. Mirza Shah, son of the amir Muayid Arlas, who resembled Timur, Aiku Timur Belkut, Omar, son of Abbas Mubasher, and others, scaled the ramparts. The Sheikh Ali Behadur and his younger brother, Khosru Buket, with Mirek, son of Elchi, and other warriors traversed the ditch and reached the city gate, which they burst open. Meanwhile, breaches were made in various places, and, after desperate fighting, the fortifications were captured, the garrison was put to the sword, and the town pillaged, while the walls of the citadel were razed. This being the first town of Iran which had fallen, the capture was the subject of great rejoicings. The town of Fushenj, we are told, was famed for its strength, being surrounded by high walls and an excellent rampart. Its citadel was deemed one of the strongest in the world, and was girdled by a deep ditch filled with water. It was also well provisioned, and otherwise supplied.‡ Timur now proceeded to attack Herat. The army laid waste the gardens in the environs, and destroyed their walls; and then built lines of contravallation about it. Meanwhile, Talek, with a body of Ghurians, deemed the bravest people of Iran, made a sortie, but were repulsed. Sherif ud din says "that the citizens, who knew little of what had passed, preferred the repose of their houses, decorated with the beautiful porcelain of Kashan—a town four days' journey north of Ispahan—to the troubles of war, and thought only of their own safety." Talek determined to arouse them, and sent public criers round, ordering them to repair to the walls and to share their defence among them. A deaf ear was turned to these appeals.§

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* *Id.*, 314-316. † *Id.*, 316-318. ‡ *Id.*, 319-322. § *Id.*, 323-324.

The "Chronicle of Herat" says that Timur's people made no progress for four days, when some intrepid soldiers advanced towards Kiushk Murghani, and discovered a subterranean conduit, which conveyed water into the city. This they seemed to have followed, and a combat ensued. Pir Ali, who was posted with the *élite* of his men at the gate near Pul Enjil, could not drive them back, and withdrew to the citadel. Khalil Yasaul now stormed the walls, and drove out the defenders. Two thousand Ghurians were made prisoners, and taken before Timur, who greatly praised their prowess, presented each of them with a tunic, gave them their liberty, and bade them tell the citizens that no harm would come to them if they remained quietly in their houses.* Seeing that resistance was hopeless, the Malik determined to send his mother, Sultan Khatun, daughter of Toghai Timur Khan, with his eldest son, Pir Muhammed, accompanied by Izkander Sheikhi, who was said to be of the race of Bijen (a famous princely stock of ancient Persia), to offer his submission. Timur presented the young prince with a magnificent robe, and then sent him back with his mother to bid him come to him in person, while he retained Izkander Sheikhi to inform himself of the affairs of the country, and of what had passed in the town. He then went to a kiosk in the garden of Baghé Zaghan (*i.e.*, the garden of the ravens). The Malik spent the next day in preparations. "The day following," says Sherif ud din, "abandoning his pride, he quitted the city, and went to find Timur, whose carpet he kissed while on his knees, and asked pardon for his fault." He was presented with a robe of honour and a jewelled girdle. The following day the Sherifs, mollahs, imaums, and grandees of the town also went to kiss the conqueror's carpet, and to greet him in the accustomed fashion. The conquest of Herat took place in the month of Moharrem of the year 783 (*i.e.*, March, 1381). Timur now moved his camp to Kehdistan, east of the city, while the treasures amassed by the Ghurian princes were carried away. Among these were money, uncut stones, very rich thrones, crowns of gold, silver bowls, gold and silver brocades, &c.† The old walls of Herat, as well as those recently built, were razed. An impost was levied on the town in lieu of its being pillaged, which was paid in four days. Molla Kutb ud din, son of Molla Nizam ud din, who was the chief imaum and doctor in the country, with 200 old men of consequence, were ordered to go to Shehr i Sebz as hostages, and Timur Tash, nephew of Akbuka, governor of Termed, was ordered to escort them. The gates of the town, which had iron bands of chiselled work upon them containing various inscriptions (the "Chronicle of Herat" says they were inscribed with the names and titles of the various Maliks), were transported to Kesh, "where," says Sherif ud din, "they remain to this day."

* Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 518. † *Id.*, 519. Sherif ud din, 322-326.

Pir Ali had another strong fortress, named Izkelejeh or Amankuh, which he had intrusted to his younger son, Amir Ghuri, who determined to resist. Timur accordingly sent the Malik, his father, to Izkelejeh, to persuade him to surrender, forbidding him, under grave penalties, at the same time to enter the citadel. Pir Ali went to the foot of the walls, and after a parley with his son, persuaded him to be prudent, and returned with him to Timur,* who forgave him, and gave him a royal robe. Timur now sent Jihanshah Yaku to secure Nishapur and Sebzevar, and seems, after making a detour towards Kelat, to have gone in person to Nishapur, and then to have received the submission of the Serbedarian chief of Sebzevar. His troops then captured Izferain, which belonged to Vali, the ruler of Mazanderan. Having wintered at a country house, called Oghul Yatu Yailak, he made several regulations for the government of Khorasan. He sent Ghiath ud din back to Herat, and the other princes and governors to their several posts, and sent his son, Miran Shah, to Sarrakhs, who arrested Muhammed, brother of Ghiath ud din, and sent him to Samarkand.†

The next year Timur once more crossed the Oxus, and marched westwards. Near Kelat he was joined by Ghiath ud din, with the troops of Herat, while Miran Shah similarly came from Sarrakhs. He first attacked the rebellious ruler of Kelat, and, having left a force to blockade that place, marched upon Tershiz, where Ali Sedid Ghuri held command on behalf of the Malik of Herat. Timur passed by way of Yassi Dapan, and reached Kabushan, whence he sent the princess Dilshadaga, who was not well, back to Samarkand. Tershiz was situated among mountains, and had the reputation of being impregnable, on account of the exceptional height of its walls and the depth and width of its ditches. It was garrisoned by Ghurians, who were a race famous for their prowess, and was well supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Timur complained to Ghiath ud din that these people, who were his subjects, should resist him so stoutly. He said it was due to their ignorance, and he volunteered to go and speak to them. He did so, but they would not heed his orders, and the siege accordingly proceeded. The walls were sapped, and endeavours were made to draw the ditch. The resistance was bravely sustained, but at length the walls and parapets were almost ruined by the stones fired from the catapults, and the garrison, worn out, asked for quarter. Timur treated them well, praised them for their bravery, took them into his service, and appointed their commander governor of the frontier between Turkestan and Kashgar. Tershiz itself was confided to the care of Sarik Etekeh.‡ Timur now marched against Mazanderan, whose ruler submitted to him. He thereupon returned to Samarkand, taking the Malik Ghiath ud din and

* Sherif ud din, i. 327-328. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 519. † Sherif ud din, i. 332-334.
‡ *Id.*, 347-350. Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 520.

his children with him.* The Mālik's grandson, Amir Ghuri, and his brother, Malik Muhammed, were arrested and placed in confinement at Andikan. He himself, with his eldest son, Pir Muhammed, were also imprisoned.† Herat was confided to Amirgah, son of Timurgah. Meanwhile, a serious outbreak took place in the recently conquered district of Khorasan. Malik Muhammed and Abusaid his brother, the sons of Fakhr ud din, formerly ruler of Herat, had led a life of great poverty during the reigns of the two last maliks. When Timur conquered Herat they represented to him how they had been robbed of their fortunes by Malik Hussein and his son. Timur pitied and released them. He intrusted the government of Ghur to the elder of them, Malik Muhammed, and a famous Ghurian chief, Abusaid Espahbed, who had been kept in prison for ten years by Ghiath ud din, was released.

Meanwhile, the Mirza Miran Shah, with the troops of Herat, had gone in the autumn of 1381, to encamp on the Murghab, in a place called Yendi, which the Persians called Penchdeh (*i.e.*, the five villages). Malik Muhammed deemed it a good opportunity to surprise Herat. He advanced against it with a body of people, and was joined *en route* by Abusaid Espahbed, with a party of vagabonds. The governor and garrison were obliged to withdraw to the fortress of Ikhtiar ud din, where the governor died. Its gate was burnt by the rebels; whereupon the Turkish garrison, to escape the flames, tried to escape over the walls, but were cut to pieces. Mirza Miran Shah having heard of this, at once sent the amirs Seif ud din and Akbuka towards Herat, and followed with the bulk of his army. The Ghurians marched against them, and a struggle took place in the promenade of Khiaban, in which they were defeated. A terrible massacre of the inhabitants now followed, and a very high tower was built up of their heads. Herat itself was largely reduced to ruins. Ezfizar, whose governor, Ali Daud Khototai, had also rebelled, suffered the same fate. Ali Daud himself was burnt in his house; and two thousand of the citizens were buried alive in holes filled with mud. "It was thus," says the chronicler of Herat, "that an outbreak, fomented by miserable adventurers, spread over Khorasan, and devastated its two most beautiful districts; and the ambition of two fools cost the lives of many innocent people, and converted a land, which was the image of paradise, into an arid desert. We belong to God, and we supplicate Him to prevent the return of such terrible calamities."‡

When Timur heard of the outbreak, he gave orders that the Malik Ghiath ud din, his brother Malik Muhammed, his grandson Amir Ghuri, and Ali Bey Yan Garbani "were to say their prayers and prepare for death" (*i.e.*, he had them executed).§ In the year 791 HEJ. the garrisons of Kelat and Tus having revolted, Timur returned hastily to Samarkand,

* Sherif ud din, i. 356. † *Id.*, 357-358.
‡ Journ. Asiat., 5th ser., xvii. 520-522. Sherif ud din, i. 358-360. § Sherif ud din, i. 361.

and put to death Pir Muhammed, son of the Malik Ghiath ud din, and his two sons, Zain al Abidin and Mahmud, and thus put an end to the royal stock of Herat.*

SIVAS.

BURHAN UD DIN.

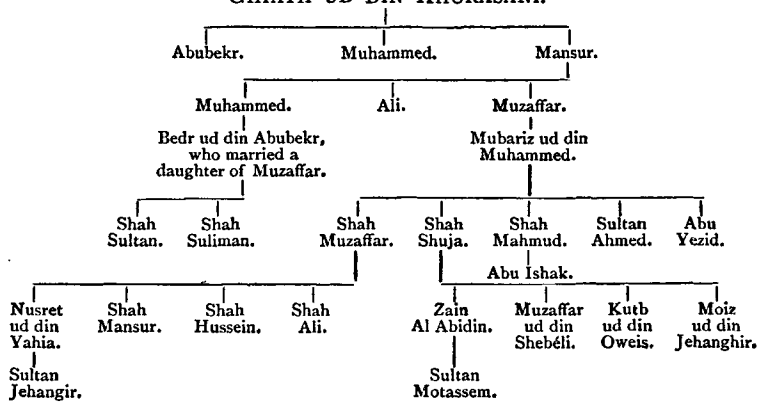
I must conclude my notice of the fragments into which the Ilkhanian Empire broke with a few words about a small and short-lived principality at its western extremity. When the general break up of authority took place in the latter years of the Khanate, which led to the supremacy of the Turkomans in Armenia, we are told that Ahmed Kadhi Burhan ud din, who had been a judge in the service of the Prince of Kaiseriyah, and who combined literary and political abilities, secured the allegiance of various Tartar tribes, which had obeyed the Ilkhans, and which were encamped in the district between Sivas and Kaiseriyah. Elsewhere we read that on the death of the Prince of Kaiseriyah, Ahmed Burhan ud din, with his amirs, divided that principality among them, Haji Geldi took Tokat, Sheikh Mejik took Amasia, and Burhan ud din himself Sivas. Burhan ud din was doubtless supreme, and was able to put 20,000 or 30,000 armed followers in the field. His turbulent followers speedily made attacks on the borders of the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid's territory, and having determined to prevent this new enemy from acquiring too great an authority, he marched against him. Burhan ud din was too prudent to face the Sultan, and retired towards Diarbekr to the mountains of Kharpurt. There he was eventually attacked by Osman beg of the tribe Bayanlu, who then ruled at Diarbekr, and was killed with the greater part of his following. Sherif ud din says it was Bayazid who put him to death, and who also captured his son, Kara Osman.† Another son, Abed Abbas Burhan ud din, we read, attacked his father-in-law, the Prince of Erzenjan, and appropriated his principality, and was afterwards defeated and killed by Kara Yuluk, the Turkoman chief.‡

SEINOL AABIDIN.

On his death, Burhan ud din's people were divided as to what should be done. The greater part of them wished to transfer their allegiance to his son Seinol Aabidin, but a minority deemed it more prudent that their country should accept the powerful Ottoman ruler as its master, and Seinol Aabidin, who was apparently a boy only, was sent to his relative Nasir ud din beg. The Prince of Sulkadr and Bayazid appropriated his dominions, which included the towns of Sivas, Tokat, and Kaiseriyah.§ These events took place in 1392.

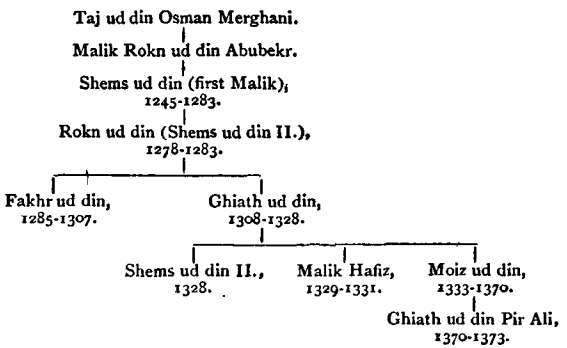
* *Id.*, ii. 32. † Op. cit., iii. 256. ‡ Von Hammer, Osm. Reiches, i. 153.
§ Zinkeisen Gesch Osm. Reiches, i. 351-352. Von Hammer Gesch des Osm. Reiches, i. 189.

GENEALOGY OF THE MUZAFFARIANS.



This table is copied from Defremery, Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., iv. 95.

GENEALOGY OF THE MALIKS OF HERAT.


Taj ud din Osman Merghani.
Malik Rokn ud din Abubekr.
Shems ud din (first Malik), 1245-1283.
Rokn ud din (Shems ud din II.), 1278-1283.
Fakhr ud din, 1285-1307.
Ghiath ud din, 1308-1328.
Shems ud din II., 1328.
Malik Hafiz, 1329-1331.
Moiz ud din, 1333-1370.
Ghiath ud din Pir Ali, 1370-1373.

Note 1—*Hosn Kaifa.*—A small principality which survived, as a vassal state, throughout the Mongol domination in Persia, was Hosn Kaifa, or Hosnkeif. Quatremere has given a detailed account of it.* I have described its capture by Khulagu Khan.† The place was ruled by princes of the Ayubit family; and I owe to Dr. Rieu some notices of them which may be welcome to some of my readers. It was in the year 629 HEJ. that the Ortokids were dispossessed of Amid and Hosn Kaifa by the Ayubit chief, Malik al Kamil, son of Malik al Adil, who was Sultan of Egypt. Kamil, who died in 635 HEJ., was succeeded as ruler of the Ayubit dominions by his son, Abubekr, surnamed Malik al Adil, and he by his brother, Malik al Salih. During Salih's reign, his son, Moassem Turan Shah, was in possession of Hosn Kaifa. He went to

* Hist. des Mongols, 333, &c. Notes. † Ante, 161.

Egypt on his father's death in 647 HEJ., and the next year was assassinated. Turan Shah was the last Ayubit Sultan of Egypt. His son, Muayid, succeeded him at Hosn Kaifa, and, as we have seen,* was ruler there when that place was captured by the Mongols, who put him to death. His full name was Al Muayid Abdallah. His son was called Kamil Abubekr Shadi, and his son Salih Yusuf. Salih Yusuf paid his respects to the Sultan of Egypt, Malik al Nasir, son of Kelavun, in Ramazan, 726, and was dismissed with marks of favour, and a recommendation addressed to the amir Choban. On his return to Hosn Kaifa, he was put to death by his brother, Adil Mujir ud din Muhammed, who reigned after him.† He was succeeded by his son, Adil Shihab ud din Ghazi, who left two sons, viz., Salih Saif ud din Abubekr and Adil Fakhr ud din Suliman. The first of these succeeded him, and set out, in the year 776 HEJ., for Mekka, with the intention of abdicating. He was, however, persuaded to return again; but was soon after superseded by his brother, Suliman, who, in 783, fought with Gharz ud din, chief of the Sulimanis, and the amirs of Bedliz and Diarbekr.‡ In the year 803, he went to Timur, when he was on the way to Mardin, to whom he gave presents and did homage. Timur gave him a robe of gold tissue, a girdle of precious stones, and a sword with a golden scabbard.§ Suliman died in the year 827 HEJ., and was succeeded by his son, Ashraf Ahmed, who was a poet and a patron of learned men. Having encountered the Sultan Barsabai before Amid, he was slain by a body of Turkomans, and was succeeded by his son, Malik Khalil, who compelled Karailik—who had made an inroad into his territory—to come to terms.‖ He died in 832 HEJ, according to the "Sherif Nameh," which says his nephew, Khala ibn Suliman, defeated Hasan beg Ak Kuyunli. He was murdered in his bath by his cousin, and Hosn Kaifa then fell into the hands of the Turkomans.

Note 2—*Great Luristan.*—I carried the story of this principality down to the death of Afrasiab and the succession of his brother, Nusrat ud din Ahmed, in 696 HEJ.¶ Hamdullah speaks of the latter as an excellent ruler, who made the province rich and prosperous. He made Malik Kutb ud din, son of Imad ud din Pehluvan, lieutenant, and nominated him his successor; and gave the command of the army to Khosru Shah, son of Hosam ud din, who joined their efforts to make the country prosper. Ibn Batuta speaks of the atabeg in the same terms. He says that he built 460 hermitages in his kingdom, of which there were 44 at Idhej, his capital. He divided the taxes of the kingdom into three equal parts. The first was devoted to supporting the hermitages and schools, the second to paying his troops, and the third to the maintenance of his family and servants. He sent a present annually to the King of Irak (*i.e.*, Abusaid Khan), and often paid him a visit. The greater part of his pious foundations were on high mountains (*i.e.*, the Kurdish mountains), through which the roads had to be cut through the solid rock, which was very hard, and yet were so well made that sumpter beasts could traverse them with their loads.

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* Ante, 161. † Abulfeda, v. 364. Tarikh al Aini, add. 22,360, f. 176.
‡ Inba al Ghumr, add. 7,321 ff. 14-272. Shifa al Kulub, add. 7,311 ff. 126-127.
§ Sherif ud din, iii. 355-357. ‖ Inba, f. 307. Suluk, 164.
¶ Ante, 407. I have erroneously called the latter Nasir ud din, as Von Hammer in one place does. Ilkhans, ii. 321.

Oaks grew there, with the acorns of which they made bread. At each station was a hermitage, at which food for the traveller and forage for his beast were provided, whether he asked for it or no; each person receiving two round loaves, some meat, and sweets made of grape juice mixed with flour and butter, which were duly provided from the legacy left by the atabeg. At each hermitage there was a sheikh, an imaum, a muedhdhin, a servant to assist the poor, and servants of both sexes to cook the food. Ahmed was an ascetic, and wore a horsehair shirt close to his skin, which, as we have seen, attracted the attention of Abusaid.* According to Defremery, he died in the year 1332.† The "Habib Ussiyer" says he died in 733 HEJ. He was succeeded by his son, Yusuf, who, Ibn Batuta says, reigned for ten years; but Defremery makes his successor mount the throne in 1339.‡ The "Habib Ussiyer." says he died in 740 HEJ. Hamdullah says he followed in his father's footsteps. In the history of Mirza Izkander, abstracted for me by Dr. Rieu, we read that he captured Shuster, Huwaizah, and Basrah, and that he reigned for five years and nine months. Yusuf was succeeded by his brother, Afrasiab, who was reigning when Ibn Batuta visited Idhej, which, with Shuster, were then the chief towns of Great Luristan. He describes Shuster as a beautiful city, with fertile surroundings, and girded about by a river, on which were water wheels. There was living there a famous preacher named Sherif ud din Musa, whose preaching was unapproached elsewhere. He tells us that, after he had finished his discourse, a number of people sent him pieces of paper with critical questions upon them, which he took up and answered in the most finished style. He surrounded himself with learned men and with disciples. The town of Idhej, he tells us, was the residence of the atabeg. Ibn Batuta failed to see him for some time, as he only went out on a Friday, being an habitual drunkard. He had an only son, who fell ill. The authorities fancied that our traveller was a leader of a body of fakirs. They sent him some refreshments and money, and some musicians, with a request that he and his fakirs would dance and pray for the young prince. He protested that he and his companions knew nothing of music or dancing: they offered prayers for the Sultan. The same night, however, the young prince died. The next day, the sheikh bade him accompany the grandees of the town, khadis, fakirs, sherifs, and amirs to present their condolences. He went, and found the hall of audience filled with men, children, slaves, soldiers, &c. They were dressed in rough carpets and horse covers, and had their heads covered with dust and straw; some had also cut off the hair from the front of their heads. They were divided into two bodies, planted at either end of the audience chamber, and advanced towards one another, striking their breasts, and saying Khoudsarima (*i.e.*, "My Lord"). The spectacle disgusted Ibn Batuta. The khadis, khalifs, sherifs, &c., in the audience chamber had covered their ordinary dress with dirty cotton cloths, &c., roughly made, and some of them having pieces of dervishes' habits or black veils on their heads. They leaned against the walls and wept, or pretended to do so, or looked down at the ground. This mourning lasted forty days, and the Sultan sent each of the mourners a robe after it was over.

* Ante, 626. † Ibn Batuta, ii. 31. ‡ *Id.*, ii. 31-34.

Ibn Batuta, looking round and not seeing a place to sit, noticed a raised platform, on one corner of which, apart from other people, sat a man, dressed in a woollen garment made of felt, such as was worn by travellers in rainy or snowy weather. To the astonishment of everybody, our traveller went up to this man, mounted the platform, and saluted him. He returned the salute, half rising in order to do so. Ibn Batuta then sat down at the opposite angle, while the audience stared. One of the khadis beckoned him to descend, but he sat on, and he then realised that it was the atabeg himself. Presently, the bier was brought in; orange trees, lemons, and citrons, bearing fruit, were carried on either hand—lanterns, fixed on lances, going in front. A prayer having been said over it, it was conveyed to a place called Hélâfihân, four miles from the town. There was a large college there, traversed by a river, and inclosing a mosque; outside was a bath and a large orchard, where refreshments were given to travellers. Some days after, the atabeg summoned Ibn Batuta. He found him seated on a cushion in a room in which there was no carpet, on account of the mourning, and before him were a pair of covered bowls, one of gold and the other of silver. There was a small green prayer carpet in the room, which was spread for the traveller near the prince. There was no one else present except his chamberlain, the fakir Mahmud, and an attendant. The atabeg inquired from him about the Sultan of Egypt, and about the province of Hijaz. He noticed that the prince was rather drunk; and on his telling him, in Arabic, to speak, he ventured to say: "You are one of the children of the atabeg Ahmed, celebrated for his piety and devotion. There is nothing to reproach you for in your government save that," and he pointed with his finger to the two vessels. He was ashamed at these words, and presently said, "It is a mark of the Divine pity to be allowed to consort with such as you." Presently, seeing that his host was nodding from side to side, and wished to go to sleep, he rose and left. He had left his sandals at the door, but did not find them on leaving. Two fakirs went up and down stairs to find them, and, when found, one of them kissed the sandals and put them on his head in sign of respect, saying, "God bless you; what you have said to our Sultan no one else could say. I hope it will have made an impression on him." On his way from Idhej, Ibn Batuta stayed some days at the place of royal sepulture previously named. The atabeg sent him and his companions a present of coin. On leaving there, he travelled for ten days through the mountains, staying nightly at one of the hospices already named. On the tenth day he reached a station called Giurisva's rokh, which marked the boundary of the atabeg's dominion.* According to the historian of Mirza Izkander, already mentioned, Afrasiab reigned eleven years, when he was succeeded by his son, Nur al Ward, who spent the treasures accumulated by his forefathers in pleasure and in pious foundations, and reigned for thirty-nine years. "The Jihanara" says he was taken and blinded by Muhammed, the Muzaffarian, A.H. 756, and that he was succeeded by his nephew, Pesheng. Mirkhond tells us how, when the Muzaffarian princes, Shah Shuja and Shah Mansur, were at strife, the atabeg Shems ud din Pesheng, who was being hard pressed by the

* Ibn Batuta, ii. 30-42.

latter, sent to ask the aid of the former, promising to conquer Shuster for him. They eventually attacked Shuster together, and captured it, after which Pesheng set out for Idhej.* Pesheng, according to the "Jihanara," was succeeded by his son, Ahmed. The historian of Izkander says Nur al Ward was succeeded by his *son*, Ahmed, who alienated all by his suspicious disposition, and killed his brother, Hosheng, doubtless the Pesheng of the other story. He paid homage to Timur, when the great conqueror attacked Fars in 789 HEJ.† The same writer tells us that on his return to Fars, in the spring of 795 HEJ., the Atabeg of Great Luristan, whom he calls Pir Muhammed, went to do him homage at Ram Hormuz, and made him presents, and was well received.‡ This interview was at the instance of some of Timur's grandees. In the history of Izkander, we read that on Timur's return to Samarkand from this campaign (*i.e.*, in the year 798 HEJ.), he brought Ahmed's two brothers, Afrasiab and Masud Shah, as hostages. He subsequently released Afrasiab, and divided the country between him and Ahmed. After Timur's death, Mirza Pir Muhammed seized upon the latter, who remained four years confined at Kuhendiz. He was released and restored in the year 811 HEJ., and was eventually slain by his own people. His son, Abusaid after being kept for one or two years by Izkander at his court, was sent to Luristan as his father's successor. He was still living in 815 HEJ., when the biographer of Izkander wrote. "The Jihanara" tells us he was succeeded by his son, Shah Hussein, who was, some time after, killed by his relative, Ghiath ud din ibn Kavus ibn Hosheng. This was in 827 HEJ. Ghiath ud din, who was the last of his line, was expelled by the Mirza Ibrahim, son of Shah Rukh.

Note 3—*Little Luristan.*—I have already related the earlier history of Little Luristan during the Mongol domination.§ I brought it down to the accession of Iz ud din Mahmund in 695 HEJ. He is called Iz ud din Amir Muhammed in Mr. L'Estrange's MS. translation of Hamdullah, which is before me. That author tells us he was very beautiful when a child. Bedr ud din Masud, the son of his uncle Hasan, who was his senior, opposed him. In the reign of Uljaitu orders came that Bedr ud din Masud should be governor of one section of the country, and take the title of atabeg, and that Iz ud din should be governor of another.‖ But presently both provinces came into the hands of Iz ud din again, and he reigned over them until his death, whereupon Daulat Khan became queen of the country. During her reign various governors were appointed by the Mongol divan, which, says Hamdullah, is the case to the present day. Dr. Rieu has abstracted some later notices of Lesser Luristan for me from a general history written in A.H. 815 for Timur's grandson, Mirza Izkander. We read there that Iz ud din Hussein, brother of Daulat Khatun, who had married Yusuf Shah, the ruler of Great Luristan, was appointed atabeg of Little Lur by Abusaid at the beginning of his reign, and that he reigned fourteen years. He was succeeded by his son, Shuja ud din Mahmud, who disgusted his subjects by his tyranny, and became the victim of

* Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., iv. 458-462. † Sherif ud din, i. 459. ‡ *Id.*, ii. 184.
§ Ante, 140 and 406-407. ‖ Illegible in the MS.

a general conspiracy. His son, Iz ud din, succeeded him at the age of twelve, A.H. 750, and had a long and prosperous reign. He gave a daughter in marriage to Ahmed ibn Oweis Ilkani, and another to Shah Shuja, the Muzaffarian. Defremery calls him Fakhr ud din, and tells us how, after having been a dependant of Shah Shuja, he afterwards sought refuge with Sultan Oweis. He then sent Shah Shuja a present of horses and precious objects, had the khutbeh said in his name, and also put his name on the coins.* Sherif ud din tells us that in the year 788 HEJ, Timur determined to prosecute a campaign in Iran, and, having crossed the Jihun and reached Firoz Kuh, he made inquiries about the behaviour of various rulers in the West, and learnt of the actions of Malik Iz ud din, prince of Lesser Lur, and of the crimes continually perpetrated by his people, who were great robbers, and had recently plundered a caravan on its way to Mekka. He determined to punish the freebooters, and, having selected two men from every ten, he put himself at the head of a flying column of picked troops and invaded Luristan. He ravaged Urudgurd and its environs, and eventually captured Kurrambad, an almost impregnable fortress, which he razed to the ground, and put to death the greater part of its defenders, who were thrown down from the rocks. Having thus subdued Little Luristan, Timur returned to his camp in the plain of Nehavend.† It is necessary to remember that at this time there was a second prince of the same name, and who is qualified as Iz ud din Shirin, who ruled over Van and Vastan, and who also felt the weight of Timur's arms.‡ After his various victories, Timur held a reception at Shiraz, which was attended *inter alios* by the princes of Luristan. The biographer of Izkander tells us that Iz ud din fell into Timur's hands, A.H. 790, at the capture of Kalah Rumiyan, and was sent with his son, Sayyidi Ahmed, to Andijan. After three years of captivity, he was restored to his government. During the interval between 790 and 795 we find him assisting the Muzaffarian prince, Zain al Abidin, to escape from confinement, and conducting him to Ispahan, which was soon besieged by Shah Mansur, whereupon Iz ud din visited the latter's camp, and soon after the place surrendered.§ He must afterwards have proved insubordinate, for we read in Sherif ud din how, in the year 795, Timur sent troops to ravage Luristan; while Iz ud din, who was then at Kurrambad, fled, and was pursued by the Mirza Omar Sheikh as far as the fortress of Munkereh, not far from Vasith, on the Tigris, reducing the country *en route*.‖ In this campaign other districts of Kurdistan and Luristan were overrun by the Mirzas, Muhammed Sultan, and Pir Muhammed.¶ The same year Timur made over Little Luristan to Pir Ahmed, the ruler of Great Luristan.** The biographer of Mirza Izkander tells us that Iz ud din accompanied Timur in his Syrian campaign. I am not sure that he has not confused him with a third prince of the same name, who was then ruler of Jeziret. He goes on to say that his son Sayyidi, having failed to pay the tribute, Iz ud din was accused of treachery and flayed alive after a reign of fifty-four years. "The Jihanara," which also mentions this fact, dates it in HEJ. 804. Sherif ud din tells us how, in the year

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* Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., iv. 447. † Sherif ud din, i. 406-7. ‡ *Id.* 437-440.
§ Sherif ud din, ii. 174-181. ‖ Op. cit., iii. 167-168. ¶ *Id.* 172. ** *Id.* 206.

806, there arrived at the Imperial camp a Circassian officer, who had with him the head of Malik Iz ud din of Little Lur, who had revolted. The officer said that he had flayed his victim, stuffed his skin with straw, and exposed it to public view as a terror to marauders.* His son, Sayyidi Ahmed, called Pir Muhammed and Pir Ahmed by Sherif ud din, succeeded him. The latter author tells us how he did homage to Timur in the year 795 HEJ., and, the same year, was confirmed in his principality by the great conqueror, and we are told he returned to his ancient appanage with 2,000 families whom Shah Mansur had pillaged.† The "Jihanara," also abstracted for me by Dr. Rieu, tells us he reigned till 815 HEJ., and was then succeeded by Shah Hussein Abbasi. He captured Hamadan in the time of the Timurid Abusaid; and was surprised and killed by a Baharlu chief, Kur Pir Ali, in A.H. 871. Our notices are now very broken. We read in the same author of Shah Rustem attending upon Shah Ismail Safavi; then of Aghur, son of Shah Rustem, accompanying Shah Tahmasp in his campaign in Khorasan in the year 940 HEJ. During his absence the throne was seized by his younger brother, Jehanghir, who slew him on his return. Jehanghir was in turn put to death, by order of Tahmasp, in A.H. 949. He was succeeded by his son, Shah Rustem, who is the last prince of this line of whom I have any notice.

Note 4—*Yezd.*—The first atabegs of Yezd, according to the "Jihan numa," as reported by Von Hammer, sprang from the Dilemite, Abu Jaafer Muhammed Kakuyeh, which last name the Arabs corrupted into Kakeweih. His son, Abu Mansur Firamur, was appointed governor of Yezd by the Seljuk ruler, Tughrul, in the year 443 HEJ., and was succeeded by his son, the Amir Ali Ibn Firamur, who fell fighting against the Karakhitai, 536 HEJ. Sultan Sinjar gave the government of Yezd to Sain ibn Wirdan, whose mother was a daughter of the amir Ali just named. He built a great mosque at Yezd, and surrounded the grave of Ali at Meshed with a wall; and was succeeded by his brother, Iz ud din Beshker in 590 HEJ. He was a brave prince, and was intrusted with Shiraz and Ispahan by the Seljuk rulers. He was succeeded in 604 HEJ. by his brother, Wirdansor, and he by his brother, Abu Mansur, surnamed Kutb ud din, the Khaljeh, who died in 616 HEJ., and was succeeded by his son, Mahmud. Mahmud died in 621 HEJ., and was followed by Salghur Shah, the builder of Salghurabad; and he by Toghan Shah, who was a contemporary of Khulagu Khan,‡ whom he conciliated, and was permitted to continue in his principality. He was apparently the father of Alai ud daulat, whose sister, Turkan Khatun, married the ruler of Fars, and came to a very tragic end, as I have described.§ When Khulagu marched against Baghdad, Alai ud daulat sent the amir Abubekr, with 300 horsemen, to his assistance.‖ He was succeeded by his son, Yusuf Shah, who, in the year 1291, and during the reign of Gaikhatu, the ruler of Yezd, rebelled, and the Ilkhan sent Yisudar with a force to punish him.¶ Ghazan, it would seem, attacked Yezd, and incorporated its revenues in the

* Op. cit., vol. 4, 130. † Op. cit., iii. 184 and 206. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 68-69.
§ Ante, 202-203. ‖ Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., iv. 96. ¶ Ilkhans, i. 40 492-3.

imperial treasury (*i.e.*, displaced its ruling family).* In 1294, the Ilkhan Baidu appointed Sultan Shah, son of the great amir Nuruz, amir of Yezd, with a diploma for 10,000 dinars.† About the year 713 HEJ. (1314), the Muzaffarian prince, Mubariz ud din Muhammed, attacked Haji Shah, the atabeg of Yezd, fought with him in the bazaar at Yezd, and compelled him to fly with his servants and riches, thus putting an end to the dynasty which, according to Mirkhond, had lasted 300 years.‡

Note 5—Shebankareh.—I have already given a short account of the earlier history of this Kurdish principality.§ Jelal ud din Taib Shah, who mounted the throne there, as I mentioned, in the year 664 HEJ., was put to death, by order of Sultan Ahmed Khan, in the year 681 HEJ. He was succeeded by his brother, Bahai ud din, who reigned prosperously till the year 688 HEJ. Ghiath ud din and Nizam ud din, the sons of one of these brothers, were reigning at Shebankareh when Wassaf wrote his history in 706 HEJ. About 755 HEJ., their successor, Ardeshir, was attacked at Ij, or Idhej, his capital, by Shah Mahmud, son of the Muzaffarian ruler, Mubariz ud din Muhammed. The place was captured, and Ardeshir fled by a road behind the citadel. The principality was then appropriated by the Muzaffarians.‖

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* *Id.*, i. 69. † *Id.*, ii. 27. ‡ Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., iv. 98. § Ante, 204-205.
‖ The 'Jihan numa" quoted by Von Hammer, Ilkhans, ii. 139. Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., iv. 108.

NOTES, CORRECTIONS, AND ADDITIONS.

Page 1 line 13—Insert "boundary of" before Mongol.

„ 2 „ 1.—I have overlooked describing the end of Rokn ud din. When Muhammed Khuarezm Shah fled from Kazvin to the Caspian his second son went to Kerman, where, reinforced by the troops of Zuzan, the governor of that province, he secured the capital and the treasure, which he distributed among the troops. After a stay of seven months he returned to Irak and prepared to attack Jemal ud din Muhammed, who had seized it. When he neared Rai he heard of the approach of a Mongol force under Taimaz and Tainal, and accordingly shut himself up in the fort of Sutun Abend, near Rai, which was situated on a scarped rock, and deemed impregnable. The Mongols assailed it, and after an attack of six months captured it, and Rokn ud din refusing to do homage was put to death with his people. This apparently happened in the year 619 HEJ. (1222). Zakaria of Kazvin, in his geographical work entitled "Assar-ul-Bilad," under the heading Demavend, states that it was in the latter fortress, situated near Rai, that Rokn ud din Gursaiji locked himself in the year 618, *i.e.*, 1221. Rashid ud din says it was at Firuzkuh. (D'Ohsson, i. 347-48). Jemal ud din having heard of the death of the prince offered his submission to the Mongols, hoping thus to retain the district of Hamadan. The Mongol generals sent him a robe of honour and invited him to their camp, where they killed him, with his suite. (D'Ohsson, i. 348-49.)

„ 2 „ 13—For "Hasan Karak," read "Hasan the Karluk." (See Note * to page 43.) Hasan the Karluk has left coins struck in 633 and 634 HEJ., but without mint names. His full name was Saif ud din al Hasan Karluk. (See Thomas' "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings," 92-98.) Uzbeg also struck coins, on which he styles himself Uzbeg Pai, and minted at Multan. (*Id.*, 98-99.)

„ 3 lines 10 and 11—The names "Salgar and Salgarids" are sometimes written "Salghur and Salghurids," and I have spelt them both ways.

Page 8 line 33—Taimaz was probably the Aitmas of Abulghazi. That author says that Ogotai sent Charmaghan and Aitmas with 30,000 men, and that Charmaghan dispatched Aitmas ahead with an advance guard. (Op. cit. 5.)

„ 8 „ 34—Tainal was doubtless the Tainal or Ainal who is named as a noyan in the service of Juchi Khan. (D'Ohsson, i. 223; Erdmann, 374.) One of Jingis Khan's cousins, the son of his uncle Daritai, was called Tainal Ineh. (*Id.*, 252.)

„ 11 „ 12—For "Lôré," read "Lôrhé."

„ 11 „ 17—By "Serirs," the well-known "Sirhghers" or "Kubachi," a tribe of armour-makers in the Caucasus, are meant.

„ 15 „ 9—For "the latter," read "Chin Timur."

„ 17 „ 16—For "they," read "the Mongols."

„ 18 and 20 lines 2 and 4—Or Khan, Uz Khan, and Otuz Khan are doubtless three forms of one name. He is called Azar Khan in the "Shajrat ul Atrak," which says he was one of Jelal ud din's confidential servants. When he heard of the advance of the Mongols he went to the bedside of the Sultan, who was asleep, and awoke him. The Sultan being confused from drink, had some cold water thrown on his head, mounted his horse and fled, leaving Azar Khan to resist the enemy, which he did for some time to allow his master to escape. He then followed him. The Mongols mistook him for the Sultan, and pursued him to Rai, but, finding out their mistake, they went after the latter and massacred every follower of his they met. (Op. cit., 185.)

„ 18 „ 30—The "Shajrat ul Atrak" says that Ogotai when he dispatched Taimaz with Charmaghan prophesied that Jelal ud din would fall by his hand, which actually came to pass. (Op. cit., 206-77.)

„ 21 „ 4—As I have described this campaign in so much greater detail in these pages, I think it well to repeat the anecdotes here referred to, which I have already quoted in the first volume. The princes of Diarbekr, Mesopotamia, &c., hid away, and the people were stupefied. "I have been told," says the historian Ibn al Athir, "things which are almost incredible, so great was the terror which seized upon everyone. I heard, for example, of a single Tartar horseman entering a populous village and proceeding to kill the inhabitants one after another, without resistance. I heard of a Tartar who, having no arms with him, and wishing to kill a person whom he had made prisoner, ordered him to lie still till he went to find a sword, which the man actually did, and was put to death accordingly. One person told me: 'I was going along with seventeen people. We met a Tartar, who ordered us to tie ourselves together, with our hands behind

us. My companions began to do so, when I said, "This man is alone; let us kill him, and escape." "We are too much afraid," they replied. "But this man will kill you," I answered.' None of them would, however, help, and he had to kill him himself, and they all then escaped." (D'Ohsson, iii. 69 and 70.)

Page 39 line 6—Isferain I have elsewhere written Ezferain.

" " " 15—Nussal was a Kerait of the tribe Tubaut, Erdmann calls him Bisel (Erdmann, 243).

" " " 19—Erdmann says Chin Timur was an Ongut. (Op. cit., 243.)

" " " 32—Ungu Timur is called Atgu Timur by Erdmann. (Op. cit., 243.)

" 40 " 1—Instead of "Bahu ud din," read "Bahai ud din."

" 40 " 12—On reaching the Imperial Court we are told that Ogotai wished to dine in the tent where Ongu Timur had done homage to him. After the banquet he went out for a short time, when a gust of wind came and blew down the tent. The Emperor ordered it to be cut in pieces. A few days later Kurguz entertained Ogotai in a tent in which all kinds of precious objects, which he thought would please him, were set out, among them a girdle made of certain stones called yarkand (*i.e.*, doubtless of jade). The Emperor was in a good humour, and drank freely. He eventually decided in favour of Kurguz. When the latter's rival, Ongu Timur, was ordered to be handed over to Batu, Chinkai went to Ogotai with a message from him: "The Khakan is Batu's superior. Does it seem right that a dog like I am should cause two such sovereigns to deliberate? The Khakan should decide himself." "You say well," said Ogotai, "for Batu would not in such a case have pardoned his own son." (D'Ohsson, iii. 114.)

" 40 " 42—Instead of "Ante 134," read "Ante i., 134."

" 41 " 35—After "there," insert "called Sertak Gajan."

" 42 " 1—After "Rogdi," read "he was arrested by Tubedai, son of Bisel Noyan (*i.e.*, Nussal)."

" 43 " 12—In regard to this obscure campaign, Rashid ud din mentions a General Hukatu who was sent by Ogotai to conquer Kashmir and Hindustan. Stephen the Orpelian calls him Hogata, and says he advanced towards Heutgasdan, by which India is doubtless meant. (St. Martin Memoirs ii., 121 and 269.) Bar Hebræus in his Syriac Chronicle (page 503) says this expedition went towards India, while in his Arab Chronicle (page 306) he says it went towards Tibet. In the "Yuanchao pi shi," published by the Archimandrite Palladius, Ogotai is made to say of the Khalif of Baghdad: "Chormakhan has already been sent against him; I shall now send thither Okhotur with Mungétu to reinforce him." (Mems. Peking Mission, iv. 152.)

Page 59 line 16—This name, Ilchikidai, I have elsewhere also written Ilchikadai.
" 59 " 25—*Vide* ante, page 42.
" 60 " 23—He is called Kara Buga by Chamchean, see Avdall's tr., p. 241.
" 62 " 42—After "Albania," insert "*i.e.*, Arran."
" 72 " 36—Instead of "their," read "his."
" 76 " 37—After "Vastak," insert "*i.e.*, Vataces."
" 80 " 37—Erase the note of interrogation after Ammorico.
" 81 " 32—For "dogs," read "a dog."
" 84 " 36—On this city of Kurmán, now called Kirmán, situated about 82 miles from Ghazni, in Afghanistan, see Thomas' "Coins of the Pathan Sultans," p. 26, note 2.
" 85 " 21—The British Museum has recently acquired some silver coins with the name of Mangu upon them struck at Herat and Nimruz. David the Georgian king struck coins with the name of Mangu upon them. One of them has on one side the inscription, "King David son of George by the aid of God," struck at Tiflis; on the other, "By the power of God and the good pleasure of the padishah Mangu Kaan in the year 650" (*i.e.*, 1252). On a bilingual coin of the same prince we read, "King David the slave of the padishah of the world, of Mangu Kaan." (Melanges Asiatiques, St. Pet. Acad. ii., 105.)
" 92 lines 29, 32, &c.—Orkhan is otherwise called Uzkhan.
" 96 line 27—For "Yushmut," read "Yashmut."
" 97 " 2—"Tokuz" is also written "Dokuz."
" 98 " 14—Erase the words "set out in February, 1254, and"
" 99 " 37—After "Journal Asiatique" read "5th series."
" 100 " 25—For "Sigistan," read "Sijistan, or Seistan."
" 101 " 6—Insert "in the 'Herat Chronicle'" after "event."
" 102 " 19—For "Hadari" read "Haidari."
" 103 " 34—For "they" read "he."
" 110 " 6—For "those," read "their."
" 110 " 10—For "Arkauns," read "Arkhauns."
" 116 " 41—For "Jehangir" read "Jehanghir."
Pages 132 and 133 lines 37 and 29—For "Arbil," read "Erbil or Irbil."
Page 135 line 7—Instead of "asking that," read "but asked for."
" 140 " 16—"Sidak" ought perhaps to be read "Susak."
" 140 lines 17 and 24—For "Arslan," read "Arghun."
" 143 line 42—"Maghreb" really means "the West."
" 153 " 1—For "Gazan," read "Ghazan."
" 160 " 32—For "Loré," read "Lórhé."
" 161 " 4—For "Mowahid," read "Muayid."
" 162 " 23—For "Gazan," read "Ghazan."
" 165 " 3—Insert "were," after "orders."
" 170, 172 and 176, lines 15, 29 and 2—For "Ain Julat," read "Ain Jalut."
" 183 line 29—For "Pershwa," read "Peishwa."

Page 184 line 8—For "Siraj," read "Saraj."

" 185 " 30—For "Kurt," read "Kert."

" 190 " 21—For "Ain," read "Ani."

" 192 " 8—For "he," read "she."

" 203 " 10—"Hasneviyeh" is otherwise written "Hasuieh" and "Hasnuieh" (See the two next pages. Von Hammer writes it "Fashiyeh." Ilkhans, ii. 139).

" 203 " 24—Coins of this princess, who is also called Ayish—one in gold, struck at Shiraz in A.H. 679, and the other in silver, in 684—are in the British Museum.

" 204 " 24—"Almarz" is called "Mobariz ud din" by Von Hammer. (Ilkhans, i. 69.)

" 204 " 43—For "Mirkhoud," read "Mirkhond."

" 205 " 9—Von Hammer calls "Nusret ud din" "Nasir ud din." (Ilkhans, ii. 139.)

" 207 " 35—For "Khurestan," read "Khuzistan."

" 208 " 1 and 4—For "Gazan," read "Ghazan."

" 209 " 14—Khanikof says he found Khulagu's grave on the right bank of the Jaghatu or Chagatu, not far from its outfall into Lake Urmia. The Nomades call the place Kizil Kurujan, and it seems some remains of the mausoleum erected over him by his sons still exist. (Melanges Asiatiques, St. Pet. Acad., ii. 508.)

" 213 " 13—"Kunkurtai" I have elsewhere written "Konghuratai," following Von Hammer.

" 213 " 40—The British Museum has recently secured a gold coin of Khulagu.

" 215 " 29—Aujan is mentioned by Clavigo under the name of Hujan or Hugan.

" 219 " 26—Mirkhond calls Tudan the son of Sugunjak. (See D'Ohsson, iii., Corrections et Additions.)

" 220 " 19—For "Yesd," read "Yezd."

" 221 " 37 For "Sheikh of Islam," read "Sheikh ul Islam."

" 224 " 1—After "and" insert "he."

" 225 " 19—For "Ablastan" read "Ablestin."

" 225 " 18, 30, and 226, line 6—For "Toros," read "Thoros."

" 225 " 30—In the "Mesalek Alabsar Ji memalek alamsar" of Shihab ud din Abul abbas Ahmed we read that, in regard to the pretensions set up by the princes of Kipchak to the towns of Tebriz and Meragha, our author was told by the Mollah Nidam ud din Abul Fazl Yahia Taiari that Khulagu, after making his conquests, assigned to the contingent sent by the Khan of Kipchak and Khuarezm to help him, Tebriz and Meragha and their revenues. On the death of Khulagu the soldiers of Kipchak assured his son and successor, Abaka, that Bereke wished to build a mosque at Tebriz. They obtained permission to build one, and put Bereke's

name on it. They then obtained permission to set up a manufactory there, where stuffs were made for their own use and that of Bereke. When the war broke out between Abaka and Bereke the former destroyed this manufactory. On the restoration of peace it was rebuilt, and it was agreed that the subjects of Bereke should continue to receive the dues from their appanage as before, and also should manufacture what they wished. Presently, the princes of Kipchak set up claims to the possession of Tebriz and Meragha, on the ground that Bereke had built the mosque and manufactory, and sent envoys to Ghazan to assert their claims, declaring that it was their forefathers who had conquered these places, and that they consequently belonged to them by way of inheritance. Ghazan replied that it was to his sword, and not to inheritance, that he owed his possessions, among which were Tebriz and Meragha, which he meant to keep, and the sword should decide between them. Uzbek, Khan of Kipchak, continually reasserted these claims. (Notices et Extraits, &c., xiii. 283-284.)

Page 240 line 9—For "him" read "them."

" 253 " 7—For "Soukor" read "Sonkor."

" 255 " 20—For "was," read "had been."

" 255 " 28—For "Kai Kobad," read "Kai Kavus."

" 256 " 37—For "now," read "then."

" 258 " 32, and 267, line 24—For "Kongurtai" read "Konghuratai."

" 259 " 41—For "Musud," read "Masud."

" 260 " 19—The Ering here named is called "Irenchin" by Eastern writers.

" 260 " 30—For "Ibek," read "Eibeg."

" 266 " 22—For "they," read "the Egyptians."

" 269 " 43—For "Armeine," read "Armenie."

" 270 " 5—Abulfaraj says that Jelal ud din was the patron of the Papa previously named, and had been put to death with him, and that Masud's death was brought about on the accusation of Jelal ud din's sons.

" 272 " 6—I owe to the courtesy of Sir Charles Wilson a reference to the following translation of a letter written by a crusader, Sir Joseph de Cancy, a Knight Hospitaller, to King Edward the First of England, giving him an account of these events. This document, as the handiwork of a contemporary who actually shared in the struggle, is most valuable. With the king's answer it is preserved among the Royal Letters in the Record Office, and the translation is from the accomplished pen of Mr. W. B. Sanders. It will be seen that the letter somewhat mitigates the accounts of the disastrous rout of the Mongols given by other writers.

NEWS FROM SYRIA.

"To the Most High and Puissant Lord, my lord Edward, by the Grace of God, most worthy King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, the least and lowest of his servants, Joseph de Cancy, humble brother of the Holy House of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, dwelling at Acre, kneeling in the service of your Highness, sendeth greeting.

"Forasmuch as your worthy lordship commanded us to continue sending you news of events as they befell in the Holy Land, know ye, sire, that after our Master was come to Tripoli in the close of the month of October, as we have already informed you by our letter written during the passage of the Holy Cross, the hosts of the Tartars and Saracens drew so near as to place the Saracens between our men and the Tartars, so that neither we nor the Prince [of Antioch, Boémond VII.]—the King of Cyprus [Hugh III.] not being yet come up—could join the Tartars, nor they send to us as they had settled to do. Upon this the armies advanced to the close. The Soldan divided his army, which consisted of 50,000 horsemen, into three battalions, and he himself was with that of the centre, which they call the "Heart," after their custom. Sangar Layfscar, Lord of Saone and our marches of Margat, was captain of the left, and the right was commanded by a valiant Turk named Heysedin Laffrain. The Tartars, seeing the array of the Saracens, also formed their people, who numbered 40,000 horsemen, into three battalions, for their Chief had sent the rest of his men to his eldest brother Abagua, who was marching through La Berrie, imagining that Abagua would reach Damascus before him. In one of these three battalions was the King of Armenia with his power and 2,000 Tartars and 1,000 Georgiáns; and a Turk named Samagar, who had become Tartar, was also in his company with 3,000 of his countrymen whom he had brought from Turkey, and who called themselves Tartars. The King of Armenia, thus arrayed, threw himself upon the Saracens' left, and so broke and discomfited it that few escaped being put to the sword, and of this left battalion none would have escaped but for the disloyalty of Samagar, who fled with most of his people without either striking or receiving a blow. The right battalion, commanded by Manguodamor, closed with the Soldan's right, in which he had 10,000 Tartars without counting their allies, and put them to rout, but their discomfiture was not nearly so complete as that which had been inflicted upon their comrades in the left. Manguodamor, who is a valiant, bold, and trusty knight, with the remnant of his people, threw himself upon the division in which was the Soldan, and then ensued a great carnage, and the battle raged from before the hour of tierce until sunset. And now, had it not been for the Soldan's gallant bearing, and his prudence and valour, the fate of the left wing would have befallen himself also; but in the midst of the disasters which surrounded him, seeing his men so evil-handled and killed and some turning in flight, he commanded his trumpets and nakirs to sound, and rally round his person those who survived; without which all would have been destroyed, for of his entire host 600 men alone obeyed the call. The Tartars, imagining that the Saracens were completely defeated, rushed to the pillage, and entirely took the tents of the Soldan and other Saracens, with so great a

spoil that no one could with certainty tell us the value thereof. And of the rabble who followed the camp, who made it like a city full of people, so many were slain that the number could not be known. With which said spoil most of the Tartars returned to their fastnesses, as men who are very covetous, riding on the horses of the dead Saracens, which were better than their own, and leaving their sorry beasts behind them. And know ye this, sire, which is considered a great marvel, never was booty taken from one side or the other that could be reckoned, nor could anyone say that anyone had been wounded or afterwards hurt to the death [onqes piles niot trait d'une part ni d'autre qui aconter face ni qe nul puisse dire qe nul fust feri ni nafré de pues à la mort].

"The Soldan, seeing the great cloud of dust raised by those who were thus departing with the spoil, and fancying it was caused by the Tartars, marched towards it. Manguodamor, who was at hand, and had got together a few men amounting to no more than sixty horsemen, advanced to meet him, thinking they were his own people: for the Kings of Armenia and Georgia had gone forward with their following into the country of the Saracens. Now when the Soldan and his people saw Manguodamor, and recognised his companies by their ensigns, they suspected that an ambush was laid for them, and that the display of so small a force was intended to betray them into it. Manguodamor on the other hand, seeing the weakness of his own hand, and the danger of awaiting an attack by the Soldan, fell back and went his way. The Soldan saw this, and imagining him to have done so for the purpose of hastening up his whole army, retired in haste. And so night parted them. So neither the one nor the other held the field; but because the Soldan was the last to retreat men thought the victory ought to belong to him. But well may one say with truth that never since the first conquest of their country have the Saracens received so great a check or been so completely cowed as they were then and are still.

"The King of Armenia, with a great portion of his host, returned to the battle-field, and finding it unoccupied thought to pitch his tents and remain there till the morrow, which, as he was preparing to do, came the traitor Samagar with a part of his men, saying, "Sir King, why dost thou this? Our lord Manguodamor is gone." The King answered that he wished to encamp there for the night, for his men were worn out with fatigue; but Samagar maintained that it would be great treason and disloyalty to do so after their chief had left. So, after many words, the King believed him, and ordering his troops to horse, rode all night till he had passed the place from which the tents had been moved, but found not Manguodamor. The King halted for a short time to rest his horses, but Samagar went his way. Then the King turned towards his own country and passed through the Dry Lands, where there is neither water nor grass, insomuch that many of his horses and companions died of thirst upon the road or perished through the toil they underwent, till he reached his kingdom at last safe and sound, but in evil plight, while many of his followers who had tarried behind came as they best could: for Samagar's people had robbed them by the way, stripping them to the skin and leaving them no horses to ride. The Soldan took counsel with his people by which road he might safest return to

his dominions. Some advised that he should go by the sea-coast into the country of the Christians, with whom he had truce; others by La Berrie, where the Tartars should not find him; while others again advised him to choose the shortest and straightest path. With these he agreed, and so came to a town which is called Le Lagon, where he had formerly camped on his advance against the Tartars. The Count of St. Sevrin, bailiff of Acre, sent messengers and presents to him in order that he might see and ascertain his condition, which they found poor and little enough and his attendance scanty. The Soldan, because he would not that the Franks should know his poverty and misfortune, making courteous reply to the Count, departed by night, and marched into Babylon. There he tarried some days, and caused a tax to be levied on all his subjects, taking a third upon those who had 10,000 bezants, and so from each, rich and poor, according to his condition, whereby his subjects are much discouraged with him, and think themselves doomed to death or ruin. Then he caused to be proclaimed throughout the land of Egypt that all those who wished to receive their pay to go to Margath and into Armenia should come and take it and make ready for the journey. And he caused this proclamation to be cried once in each week for one month, in spite of which that most persons say he will not quit Babylon because of his great losses in men and horses.

"On the other hand, sire, he has put to death fifteen Emirs, as well of those who deserted him in the field, as of those whom he had left behind in Babylon, and those whom he had cast into prison, by reason of which things his subjects are much disheartened and filled with hatred against him. None of his people for all these threats which he has made, are as yet come to Babylon or Damascus at the time of writing these present letters, yet it is true that the Chastelain of Saphet and his other bailiff on our Marches have made the Bedouins, who were in the pasturage near us, retire into the mountains, because they say that the herbage must be kept for the coming of the Soldan. And we suspect them to give out this that they may make us wish to enter into some evil truce with them, which may God forbid we should do! Moreover, sire, we understand by the mouths of good and trustworthy persons lately come from the parts about Hamous (*i.e.*, Hims) that there is so great a panic there, and in Hallamp and La Chamelle, that each day men fear a surprise by the Tartars, who have sworn to come without fail; but this we think cannot be till the setting in of winter. Wherefore the Soldan of Hamous seeing these things, has sent his wife and children and most of the treasure of the city into Babylon. On the other side the men of Baudac understanding by the Soldan's letter that the Tartars had been defeated, rose in revolt against the rulers whom the Tartars had set over them. Abagua being then near at hand in La Berrie, hearing this rode thither and took the city of Baudac, which was subject to him at the time of the revolt, putting all the men-at-arms to the sword and cutting off the thumbs of the footmen and . . . , for you know, sire, that they draw with the thumb.

"Other news have we none, at the time of writing these presents to send to your Highness, save that we have garrisoned our castle with brethren and men-at-arms, as it behoved us, promptly. Our Master, at the prayer of the

King of Armenia, and considering the evil plight he was in and the ravages committed by the Turcomans in his kingdom since his return by burning and laying waste the city of Lays and other of his towns and villages, has sent him 100 horsemen, 50 brethren well appointed, and 50 Turcoples. But know ye, sire, that never in our remembrance was the Holy Land in such poor estate as it is at this day, wasted by lack of rain, divers pestilences, and the paynim—the greater part of Babylon left unsown for fear of war, and the reason above mentioned; and not only this country but Cyprus and Armenia are in the same condition . . . . the King of Sicily will suffer no provisions to be sent out of his dominions into Syria because of his war with the Greeks, as we understand. Therefore, sire, as we have already written to your Highness, if any of the great lords of your country should come to these parts he would do well to advise the King of Sicily to permit provisions to be carried into Syria as in former times they were wont to be.

"And know, sire, the Holy Land was never so easy of conquest as now, with able generals and store of food; yet never have we seen so few soldiers or so little good counsel in it. May your worthy and royal Majesty flourish for all time by increase of good for better. And would to God, sire, that this might be done by yourself, for it would be accomplished without fail if God would give you the desire of coming here. And this is the belief of all dwellers in the Holy Land, both great and small, that by you with the help of God shall the Holy Land be conquered and brought into the hands of Holy Christendom. These news, sire, are . . . . those which you may believe in spite of any other things that may be told to you. And pardon us, sire, that our letter is so long, for we could not more briefly inform you of these things, the certainty of which your Majesty has left me here to record.

"Written on the last day of May.

"To the most noble, excellent, and puissant King of England."

It was probably Sir Joseph de Cancy's account of Sultan Kelavun's victory that occasioned the following letter from King Edward, the draft of which is still preserved among the Royal Letters in the Record Office, though a good deal damaged by damp and time.

"EDWARD, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to his dearest in Christ and faithful secretary, brother Joseph de Chauncy, greeting: For the accounts which you have sent us in your letters from the Holy Land we give you great thanks, because we are made the more joyful the oftener we hear good news of that land and its condition, the which we vehemently wish and desire to hear more frequently. And whereas you desire to hear prosperous reports of our state, we signify unto you, in order to the increase of your comfort, that on the day of the making of these presents, we and our Queen and our children are—blessed be the Most High—flourishing in full health of body; which we would rather know of yourself by true relation than hearsay. For the rest we have received, with cheerful hand, your New Year's gift of jewels which you have sent to us—to wit—two Circassian saddles and two saddle-cloths; and two Gerfalcon's hoods and four Falcon's hoods, for which we return you our abundant thanks. Wishing you

to know that we have not considered these presents as small, because we have weighed the goodwill of the giver more than the gifts themselves in this case. Nor indeed do we at present want any more hoods, as by reason of arduous matters of our kingdom which intimately concern us, and do not as yet wish to keep more falcons than we already have. But as regards those stones of rubies which you have sent us . . . . . And because we much wish that you should be near us, for our solace and convenience we will and require you that you hasten your arrival in England by the best and quickest means you can—and this as we entirely trust in you—you shall in no case omit . . . . . of the Hospital in England or the possessions of the same we will have in commendation and uphold them as far as we can by law, as you have requested. Concerning your own estate, which may the Most High prosper, we desire that you certify us thereof by frequent notification. Given at Worcester on the 20th day of May, in the tenth year of our reign." [1282].

Page 278 line 24—The rulers of Hosn Keif were "Ayubits," and not "Ortokids."
" 283 " 3—For "Safr," read "Safi."
" 283 " 4—For "Urmeir," read "Urmevi."
" 283 " 32—Among the recent acquisitions of the British Museum is a gold coin of Abaka, struck at Baghdad, and a silver coin struck at Tebriz. Others struck in the same town are in the Hermitage collection at St. Petersburg. On the word read "darugha" by Schmidt, see page 355.
" 290 " 2—Von Hammer calls him Bulghuvan in the citation given, but on page 368 of his work he names him "Bulughan."
" 290 " 3—For "Toghajar," read "Togachar."
" 298 " 19—For "ask," read "urge upon."
" 298 " 20—Erase "to state."
" 298 " 40—For "Sengi," read "Zengi."
" 300 " 11—For "Bekhr," read "Bekr."
" 300 " 30—For "80 tumans," read "8 tumans."
" 304 " 33—For "Abugan," read "Abukian."
" 307 " 19—For "Mosellemin," read "Mosellemi."
" 310 " 33—Mr. S. Poole refers me to a coin in one of the Russian collections, on which is inscribed "Sultan Ahmed," in Mongol characters.
" 315 " 17—For "famous," read "also noted."
" 326 " 5—For "Bekhr," read "Bekr."
" 328 " 18—Insert "and" before "had."
" 332 " 41—For "they," read "the Mongols."
" 335 " 30—This Choban Sulduz became very famous, and was the founder of the later dynasty of the Chobanids.
" 338 " 39—For "while," read "for."
" 342 " 14—Transfer the words "put to death" to the end of the sentence.
" 344 " 44—For "5-8," read "58."
" 347 " 36—Erase "and."

Page 352 lines 7 and 8, &c.—Instead of the sentence "having heard of it he had" read "having heard that some of the principal Saracens had greatly rejoiced," &c.

„ 352 line 9—Erase "and that."

„ 355 „ 21—In his posthumous essays, Fraehn publishes a coin of Arghun struck at Izferain, and Mr. Stanley Poole writes me that there is one in the Hermitage collection struck at Meragha.

„ 357 „ 27—For "Imeuthi," read "Imerithi."

„ 365 „ 42—For "Kabushane," read "Kabushan."

„ 377 „ 34—Fraehn, in his posthumous essays, publishes a coin of Gaikhatu, struck at Hamadan. There is another in the British Museum.

„ 392 „ 45—The Japanese first used paper money, which they called kami zeni, in the years 1319-1331; but in Japan the issue was never so excessive, nor did the value depreciate in the same way. (Klaproth Mems. Relatifs a l'Asie, 388.) In regard to the Persian experiment, Colonel Yule says aptly that block printing was practised, at least for this one purpose, at Tebriz in 1294. (Marco Polo, i. 416.)

„ 394 „ 10—For "in charge of," read "in charge to."

„ 400 „ 27—For "Erzenrum," read "Erzerum."

„ 407 „ 36—For "669 HEJ," read "696 HEJ."

„ 407 „ 39—For "Nasir ud din," read "Nuzrat ud din." (See D'Ohsson, iv. 170. Ilkhans, ii. 39. Ibn. Batuta, ii. 31.) In Von Hammer's Ilkhans, ii. 321, he is called Nasir ud din.

„ 416 „ 2—For "Chaunters at funerals, as prescribed by the Koran," read "Chaunters of the Koran at funerals."

„ 427 „ 42—Insert "ibn" between Kaikobad and Firamurz.

„ 430 „ 33—For "Thoras," read "Thoros."

„ 435 „ 14—Insert "for" after "and."

„ 435 „ 25—In the "Chronicle of Cyprus," by Florio Bustron, published in the collection of "Documents Inedits etc.," we read that Ghazan sent a messenger to Henry, King of Cyprus, and to the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic knights there, asking them to join in the campaign, promising to make Egypt (here called Babilonia) over to them; saying that he had sent Rabanata as his envoy to "Franza," and now sent Cariedin to the kings of Armenia and Cyprus to bid them march with all their men, and that he himself was setting out with one hundred tumans. The letter was written from Averel on the 21st October, in the year of the *pig*. The envoy duly arrived at Cyprus on the 3rd of November and was received with honour, and was followed by a second messenger, who arrived on the last day of November. (Op. cit., 129-130.) The King of Cyprus sent two galleys and two frigates to Butron under the command of

Polo del Anecto, with orders not to advance beyond that place. He was tempted, however, by the statements of the Christian fugitives who went to him there to make an attempt to capture Tripolis, and set out with a small force, but was attacked about a league from Butron by the Egyptians, who compelled him to retire. He barely escaped with his life, and his companions returned to Cyprus with the galley. (*Id.*, 130-131.) Thereupon the King consulted with the master of the Templars, the "Comendator" of the Hospitallers, and "Signior Chiol," ambassador of Ghazan, and dispatched fifteen galleys under the Captain Bennondo Visconte and the Admiral Baduin de Pinquani, and made a descent upon a place called Rasni, situated on one of the mouths of the Nile. We are told that in the skirmish which ensued Chiol carried a banner of Ghazan. The fleet made descents upon Alexandria, Acre (where the Cypriots landed and defeated the garrison), Tortosa, Maraclea, and returned again to Cyprus by way of Little Armenia. (*Id.*, 131-132.)

Page 440 line 32—Transfer the comma from after Ghazan, to after hyperbolically.

„ 442 „ 42—For "Christian," read "Christians."

„ 446 „ 20—For "he," read "the Sultan."

„ 446 „ 41—The "Chronicle of Cyprus," which calls Kutlugh Shah Catholesso, says it was he who sent on the King of Armenia, and with him Giudo de Iblia, Count of Zaffo, and Geormane, Lord of Siblet, to have an interview with Ghazan. (Op. cit., 132-133.)

„ 450 „ 36—For "chapter," read "volume."

„ 458 „ 5—Insert a comma after "before."

„ 477 „ 25—For "my," read "our."

„ 481 „ 21—Erase the words "at this time."

„ 486 „ 36—For "Armüah," read "Arminiyah."

„ 486 „ 43—In his posthumous essays Fraehn publishes Amid and Mosul as mint towns of Ghazan. In the Hermitage collection at St. Petersburg, as Mr. S. Poole tells me, there occur the additional mint towns of Khelat and Khartapirt; in Major Trotter's collection is a coin struck at Amasiya (Numis. Chron. for 1887, page 334); while among the recent additions to the British Museum are coins of Ghazan struck at Jajerm, Nishapur, Yezd, Erzenjan, Samsun, and Wasith.

„ 513 „ 6—For "they," read "and."

„ 530 „ 20—Insert "that of" before "older."

„ 543 „ 40—In the 55th chapter of the book of the Histories of Johannes of Dzar there is inserted a notice about Uljaitu, which is apparently taken from some unknown contemporary document. In this we read that during the year 1306 "Karbanda Khan, autocrat of the nation of the Archers, a wicked man,

who hated the Christians, led away by sorcerers and heretical sheikhs, and inspired by the wicked counsels of their assistant, Satan, began the struggle against the invincible rock of Christ. A decree was published in all the universe, referring to the Christians under his domination, that they should adopt the stupid religion of Mahomet, or that each person should pay a kharaj tax of eight dahecans; that they should be smitten in the face, their beards plucked out, and should have on their right shoulders a black mark—all on account of his hatred to Christ. The wicked ones thereupon spread themselves over the towns and villages, and convents, sowing terror everywhere; for the fatal decree forbade the performing of mass, the entering of a church, and the baptism of infants. It was determined to overwhelm the Christian religion by one blow. Meanwhile, the Christians remained faithful. They paid the exactions, and bore the torments joyfully. Karbanda Khan, seeing that these means were insufficient, ordered them all to be made eunuchs, and to be deprived of an eye, unless they became Muhammedans. Many perished in this persecution." (Brosset, Collection d'Historiens Arméniens, i. 568-569.)

Page 557 line 37—The "Chronicle of Cyprus" in relating these events calls the town here named "Anazarba," "Navarsan." It says that Bilarghu demanded that it should be made over to him in order that he might defend it against the Saracens. Haithon replied it was not in his power to make it over, saying he was merely governing the country on behalf of his nephew Leon, who had been crowned when a child, and was still an infant, and that he could not dispose of any part of the kingdom without the consent of the Holy See. Bilarghu said he did not want the town making over to him, but only to be allowed to put a garrison there. Haithon thereupon consulted with his barons, and as the result sent to his friend Almeric Signor de Sur, governor of Cyprus, asking him to send him some help, who sent him 300 horse and 1,000 foot soldiers. Bilarghu having heard of this sent to the king bidding him and his chief men go to the court to have a conference. He set out, according to this account, with his nephew, with the Constable and Marshal of Armenia and others. When they arrived they were all decapitated. Haithon, according to this authority, left two brothers, Chwysin (*i.e.*, Oshin) and Alinach, who were twins, but as Chwysin had first seen the light, his brother ceded the throne to him, and he was duly crowned. On the withdrawal of Bilarghu the Cypriots returned home again. (Op. cit., 156-157.) The "Chronicle of Cyprus"

agrees with Abulfeda in making Alinach go to the royal ordu to complain of this murder of his relatives (*Id.* 161).

Page 550 line 38—For "bull," read "paizah."

" 562 " 1—For "the latter," read "Said," and transfer this and the two following lines to the end of the next paragraph.

" 566 " 2—For "filled," read "fitted."

" 568 " 31—For "art now," read "at now being."

" 568 " 37—For "Yesaul," read "Yassaul."

" 569 " 13—For "King," read "Malik."

" 570 " 8—Baba was not a prince of the Golden Horde, but a descendant of Juchi Khasar, and grandfather of Toghai Timur, whose history occupies a later chapter.

" 580 " 22—In his posthumous essays, Fraehn adds the mints of Ferusan and Hamadan, while among the recent additions to the British Museum are coins of Uljaitu struck at Izferain, Asterabad, Jajerm, Nishapur, Amid, Erzerum, El Bazar Ordu, Kaiseriyah, Kerman, and Med Meruyeh (Isfahan). In the Hermitage collection Mr. Poole tells me are coins struck at Tiflis, Baran, Jezair el ma'mur, and one with the double mint of Sultania and Tiflis, while in the Asiatic Museum at Moscow there is a coin of Uljaitu struck at Amol.

" 590 " 40—For "is," read "will be."

" 592 " 10—In the year 1318, Jiamaluk, the turbulent chief of the Arab tribe Kafaja, having encamped between Shiraz and Yezd, molested the caravans there. He was attacked by Muzaffer, and his head was taken to the Ilkhan Abusaid. (Journ. Asiat., 3rd ser., xi. 306-307.)

" 597 " 10—For "turtu," read "turtur."

" 601 " 5—For "Ismal," read "Ismail."

" 628 " 9—M. Khanikof found on the walls of a mosque at Ani an inscription containing a yarligh or order of Abusaid Khan, which reads thus: "God, who embraces in his immensity all his slaves. Abu Said Behadur Khan, who is at this time the ornament of the capital of the sovereignty of the world, the grandeur of the earth, and of religion. May his reign be eternal. Yarligh: As everything from the East to the West is under the shadow of his clemency and his justice, may God, the all-powerful, exalt his might and commandments. His command to us is that the people who are subject to his orders, or group themselves about the tribunal of his victorious name, must do neither little nor much to any of his creatures. They must not receive any dues, in the form of tamghas, and of Customs, and may not demand from any creature anything else under the form of kalan or of wine cup, inasmuch as formerly in this town of Ani, and in other parts of Gurjistan (Georgia), under

pretext of kalan, of wine cup tax, and other illegal taxes, great iniquities have been committed. And inasmuch as, on account of the oppression, the place has begun to be ruined, and its people to disperse, and the assemblies of the people in the town and country are abandoning it because of the kalan; and they have appealed to me in regard to their movable and immovable goods and their houses; in order that the Almighty may not remove his shadow from over our heads . . ." The inscription is here broken off, but doubtless continued with the statement of the privileges conferred. Abusaid, as we have seen, took the title of Behadur in the year 719 HEJ. (*i.e.*, 1319-1320). (Melanges Asiatiques, St. Pet. Acad., ii., 63-68.)

Page 628 line 32—In the Melanges Asiatiques of the St. Petersburg Academy, vol. viii., p. 443, etc., is the description of a very fine medallion of Abusaid, struck at Tebriz, in the year 724 HEJ., and found in the bed of the river Ijim, an affluent of the Ausa, in the district of Minussinsk, on the Chinese frontier. It is made of silver, and of the value of 4 roubles 87 kopeks. It contains, *inter alia*, the names of the four orthodox Khalifs. Mr. Lane Poole tells me that in the Hermitage collection at St. Petersburg are coins of Abusaid struck at Izferain, Kalensuwar, Berdaa, Abulshak, Asterabad, and Jeziret. In Mr. Leggett's collection is a coin of Abusaid, struck at Arjish, near Khelat. (Numis. Chron., 1886, 230.)

„ 629 „ 23—Dr. Rieu suggests that "Comerum" may be "Kerman."

„ 629 „ 25—He also suggests that Huz is the modern Khuzistan.

„ 639 „ 18—There is a copper coin of Musa struck at Tebriz in 736 HEJ. at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

„ 639 „ 38—The amir called Artena by Ibn Batuta is apparently the same person who is called Irshad or Yeshed by other authorities. (See page 637.)

„ 642 „ 22—At the Hermitage there is a coin of Muhammed's struck at Arrachin (?) in 738, and at the Oriental Institute at St. Petersburg is one struck at Sultania in the same year. In Mr. Calvert's collection is a coin of Muhammed, struck at Baghdad in 738 HEJ., and another at Erzenjan in 739. (Numis. Chron., 1885, 235.) Major Trotter has one of his coins struck apparently at Kaiseriya in 728. (*Id.*, 1887, 334.)

„ 645 „ 27—At the Hermitage there is a coin of Satibeg struck at Sultania in 739 HEJ.

„ 653 „ 29—At the Hermitage is a coin of Anushirvan struck at Ganja, *i.e.*, Kentsak, while at the Asiatic Museum, also at St. Petersburg, is one struck at El Kab.

Page 653 line 40—Ibn Batuta tells us the dominions of the Ilkhans were divided among eleven princes: (1) Sheikh Hassan, son of the Sultan's maternal aunt. (2) Ibrahim Shah (really Haji Toghai), son of the Amir Sunitai, who took Mosul and Diar Bekr. (3) The Amir Artena took Rum. (4) Hassan Khoja, son of Timurtash, took Tebriz, Sultania, Hamadan, Kom, Kashan, Rai, Weramin, Farghan (Werkan), and Karaj. (5) Toghai Timur took a part of Khorasan. (6) The Amir Hussein, son of Ghiath ud din, took Herat and the greater part of Khorasan. (7) Malik Dinar took Mekran and Kij. (8) Muhammed Shah, son of Mozaffer, took Yezd, Kerman, and Warku. (9) Malik Kotb ud din Tehemten, took Ormuz, Kish, Kathf, Bahrain, and Kalhat. (10) Abu Ishak took Shiraz, Fars, and Ispahan. (11) Afrasiab the Atabeg took possession of Idhej and other lands. (Op. cit., ii. 124-125.)

„ 654 „ 29—After the death of Abusaid, the town of Hillah was conquered by the Amir Ahmed, son of Romaitha, Prince of Mekka, who held it several years, and was praised by the people of Irak. Eventually he was vanquished by Hassan, ruler of Irak, who put him to the torture, killed him, and secured his treasures, &c. (Ibn Batuta, ii. 99.)

„ 657 „ 9—Insert "had" before "arrived."

„ 657 „ 36—Shems ud din Zakaria was Hussein's vizier. (Quatremere, Hist. des Mongols, lvi.)

„ 664 „ 38—For "that," read "to that which."

„ 667 „ 37—For "there," read "at Baghdad."

„ 672 „ 40—Insert "he" before "crossed."

„ 673 „ 40—For "Mir," read "Nur."

„ 678 „ 25—Erase the comma before "Sheikh."

„ 682 „ 23—For "Imirethi," read "Imerithi."

„ 692 „ 29—It was Abu Ishak's ambition to rival the generosity of the Sultan of Delhi, says Ibn Batuta, "but what distance separates the Pleiads from the Earth." The most generous act recorded of Abu Ishak was when he gave the Sheikh Zâdeh al Khorasani, who came to him as envoy from the Malik of Herat, 70,000 dinars, while the ruler of India had repeated such a gift many times. (Ibn Batuta, ii. 71-73.) Tash Khatun, wife of Abu Ishak, built a great medresseh and hermitage, where travellers found refreshment, and where the Koran was continually read, at Shiraz, near the sacred tomb of Ahmed Ibn Musa, descended from Abu Thatel. The Khatun used to go to this sepulchral chapel on the Sunday night, where the khalifs, fakirs, and sherifs also met. The Koran was then recited antiphonally, refreshments were brought, and then the preacher preached. Meanwhile the Khatun

occupied an elevated chamber protected from the public gaze by lattice work. Then cymbals were beaten and trumpets were sounded, as was customary at the gates of royal residences. On Thursday and Friday nights she visited the tomb of the saint Abu Abdallah, son of Khafif, when similar services took place. Near this last chapel was the mausoleum of the Amir Muhammed Shah Inju, father of Abu Ishak. (*Id.*, 77-79.) In one of the mosques at Shiraz, Ibn Batuta saw a number of Korans in their silken cases on a kind of stand. On the north side was a hermitage with a lattice opening on to the market place. There sat a sheikh who was well dressed, and was reading the Koran. He told one traveller that he had built and endowed the mosque, while the hermitage was intended for his tomb. He lifted up a carpet and disclosed a grave covered with planks, and close by showed a box containing money which was to be devoted to his funeral expenses and to alms for the poor. (*Id.*, 85-87.) This is very like a picture of a Christian anchorite. At Kazirun, two days' journey from Shiraz, and situated in a district inhabited by Shuls, Ibn Batuta went to see the tomb of the Sheikh Abu Ishak Kaziruni, after whom the Sultan had been named. The Saint was specially venerated by the navigators in the Indian seas, who addressed their prayers to him when bad weather or pirates threatened, and who devoted large sums in offerings. (*Id.*, 89-90.)

Page 692 line 38—Three of his coins have the name of Muhammed Khan upon them, whom he probably recognised as his suzerain. A coin in Mr. Kay's collection, struck in 719, was minted at Kazirun, the birthplace of the saint, his namesake.

„ 695 „ 17—M. Khanikof describes a mosque he saw at Kerman with an inscription saying it was built by order of Muhammed the Muzaffarian in the year 750. (Mémoire sur la partie meridionale de l'Asie Centrale, 195.)

„ 699 „ 6—For "his," read "Shah Shuja's."

„ 712 „ 42—Ibn Arabshah attributes the victory in a considerable measure to the defection of one of Mansur's officers, a native of Khorasan, named Muhammed Ibn Zain ud din. He went over to Timur at the beginning of the fight, and Shah Mansur was left with barely 1,000 men. He also gives a different account of the hero's death, and tells us that when his men were defeated, and he could hardly hold his sword from exhaustion, he buried himself under the slain and wounded, while he discarded his armour, in the hope that he would not be recognised, and might thus escape. Timur, however, had the battle-field searched, and a Mongol stumbled upon him. He disclosed who he was to him, and

offered him many precious stones he had with him if he assisted him to escape; but he beheaded him, and took his head to Timur. (Weil v., 39 and 40, notes.) Thomas of Medzoph tells us a curious anecdote about this struggle. He says that Shah Mansur had sent an envoy to Timur with considerable presents, on whose arrival the latter feigned to be ill. A lamb was killed, of which he drank the blood; and at the audience with the envoy, his face seemed like that of a corpse, while he had an iron bowl brought in, into which he spat out the blood he had taken. The envoy was delighted at the spectacle, declaring his end would come that day or the day following. He mounted a fast horse, and sped to his master. When he reported the news, general rejoicings broke out throughout Fars, and those who were reduced to misery set about providing themselves with arms. Timur now set out by forced marches towards Shiraz. (Op. cit., 14.)

Page 718 line 23—Major Trotter has a coin of Toghai Timur, struck at Amasiya in 737 HEJ. (Numis. Chron., 1887, 334.)

„ 723 lines 8 and 9—For "we suppose," read "is generally supposed."

„ 725 line 3—Insert "he" before "sent."

„ 734 „ 2—For "Hassan," read "Haidar."

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